THE HISTORY

OF THE

MOHAMMEDAN DYNASTIES IN SPAIN;

EXTRACTED FROM THE

NAFHU-T-TÍB MIN GHOSNI-L-ANDALUSI-R-RATTÍB WA TÁRÍKH LISÁNU-D-DÍN IBNI-L-KHATTÍB,

BY AHMED IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ,

A NATIVE OF TELEMSÁN.

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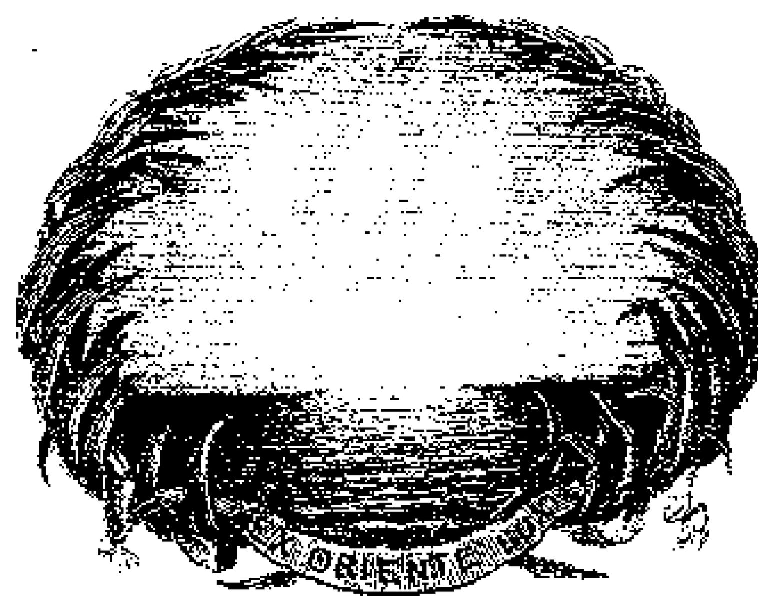
ILLUSTRATED WITH CRITICAL NOTES ON THE HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND ANTIQUITIES OF SPAIN,

BY PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS,

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR GORE OUSELEY, BART.,

VICE-PRESIDENT R. A. S., F. R. S., &c. &c.

This Work

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT AND HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE TRANSLATOR.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE conquests and settlements of the Arabs in the south of Europe may be ranked among the events best calculated to engage our curiosity and attention. The followers of Mohammed, whether considered as the enthusiastic warriors whose victorious arms spread terror and consternation over our continent, or as the cultivated race who led the way for us in the career of letters and civilisation, are certainly entitled to a prominent place in the annals of modern Europe. That part of their history especially which relates to the occupation of the Spanish Peninsula merits a careful investigation. It was from Spain that issued those dreaded expeditions which threatened more than once the liberties of Europe; in Spain shone the first rays of that civilisation which subsequently illumined the whole of the Christian world; in the Arab schools of Cordova and Toledo were gathered, and carefully preserved for us, the dying embers of Greek learning; and it is to Arab sagacity and industry that we owe the discovery or dissemination of many of the most useful and important modern inventions.

However palpable and undeniable these facts may now appear, it was long before men of letters in Europe could be brought to admit them; and the Arabs, instead of being commended to the gratitude of modern ages, as they assuredly deserved to be, have been often charged with corrupting the infancy of modern literature. In no country of Europe, perhaps, were the pernicious effects of this unjust accusation so sensibly felt as in Spain, once the seat of their glory, and the country which participated most largely in the benefits of their civilisation. Mariana, and the best Spanish historians, actuated either by violent national hatred, or by a spirit of religious bigotry, have always manifested the greatest contempt for the writings of the Arabs, whom they frequently stigmatize as "a ruthless warlike "nation, hostile to science and polite literature." Rejecting the means of research afforded them by the abundant historical records of the Arabs, as well as the advantages

likely to result from a comparison between the Christian and Mohammedan accounts of the same events, they compiled their histories chiefly from one-sided national authorities; and, without attending to the successive revolutions of the Arab states, their internal wars, divisions, and numerous dynasties,—without stopping to consider their social condition, or to inquire into the causes of the rise and fall of their power,—topics all so closely allied with the subject they had in hand,—those historians proceeded on their course wholly unmoved by the vicissitudes of the Mohammedan kingdoms, and as if not deigning even to cast a glance on the enemies of their country and religion. The effects of such illiberality on their writings need scarcely be pointed out. The history of Spain during the middle ages has been,—and still is, notwithstanding the labours of modern critics,—a tissue of fable and contradiction. What else could be expected from authors who confidently believed and blindly copied in their writings the wretched production of the Morisco Miguel de Luna, whose work,[1] it might be plausibly argued, was intended rather as a hoax upon the grave inquisitors at whose command it was written, than as a history of the Spanish Moslems; inasmuch as his ignorance of the language of his ancestors,—sufficiently evinced in the etymologies interspersed throughout his work,—cannot adequately account for his not knowing that Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, in whose time he places the invasion of Spain, lived five centuries after that event!

It would, however, be unfair to attribute the neglect above complained of solely to the bigotry—real or affected—of authors otherwise commendable for their criticism or their learning. The real cause of it must be sought for in the superstition and intolerance of the Spanish Government. No attempt was made at any time to repair the awful injury inflicted on literature in general, and, above all, on the history and antiquities of the Spanish Peninsula, by the barbarous decree of Cardinal Ximenez, who caused eighty thousand Arabic volumes[2]

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[1] Historia verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo, con la perdida de España y la conquista que della hizo Mirammolin Almançor, Rey que fue del Africa, y de las Arabias, y vida del Rey Iacob Almançor. Compuesta por el Sabio Alcayde *Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique, de nacion Arabe*. Nuevamente traduzida de la lengua Arabiga por Miguel de Luna vezino de Granada. Interprete del Rey Don Felipe nuestro Señor. Granada, 1592. This work was reprinted in Granada, 1600; Zaragoza, 1603; Valencia, 1606 and 1646; Madrid, 1653, 1654, and 1675. No better illustration can be given of the utter contempt in which the study of Arabic literature was held in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, than the fact that this wretched production should have gone through so many editions, whilst the "Historia Arabum" of Rodericus Toletanus, an invaluable treasure of Spanish history, was never printed but out of that country.

[2] According to Robles, who wrote a life of Cardinal Ximenez, the number of volumes consumed in this literary *auto de fé*, was one million and five thousand,—no doubt a monstrous exaggeration of that writer, who thought thereby to increase the merits of his hero! *Rebel. de los Moriscos*, p. 104.

to be burnt in the public squares of Granada, on the pretence that they contained doctrines adverse to the diffusion of the Gospel among the vanquished people: on the contrary, the works still remaining in the hands of the Moriscos were eagerly sought out and committed to the flames. The Arabic language was anathematized as "the rude language of an heretical "and proscribed race," unworthy of being learned by a Christian, unless for theological purposes; and the few works that escaped the general destruction remained in the hands of ignorant priests, the only persons deemed capable of perusing them without danger of contamination.

However, towards the latter half of the last century, the Spanish Government, stimulated by the example of other nations, and actuated by a more liberal policy, began at last to encourage the study of Arabic literature. The fire which broke out in the Escurial, and which is said to have consumed more than three-fourths of the magnificent collection of Eastern manuscripts therein contained, roused the Spanish Government from its lethargy, and the task of making a catalogue of the remaining manuscripts was intrusted to the learned Casiri. His "Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis," which appeared in the years 1760-70, bears traces of great assiduity and labour, and, considering the time in which it was written, displays considerable learning. It is, however, hasty and superficial, and contains frequent unaccountable blunders. The historical extracts given in the second volume are for the most part incorrectly printed, and the version is far from being either accurate or faithful. Yet, with all its imperfections, Casiri's work must ever be valuable as affording palpable proof of the literary cultivation of the Spanish Arabs, and as containing the first glimpses of historical truth, afterwards so successfully developed in the work of the Jesuit Masdeu.[3] Nearly contemporary with Casiri lived Don Faustino de Borbon,[4] an author

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[3] *Historia critica de España.* Madrid, 1783-1800. Twenty vols. 4to.

[4] Great obscurity hangs over the family and the name of this writer. He was born at Madrid in 1755 or thereabouts, and was reputed to be the natural son of the Infante Don Gabriel, brother of Charles III., then the reigning monarch. He nevertheless passed as the son of a Maltese gentleman who filled the office of Eastern interpreter to the Government. His printed works bear the name of 'Faustino de Borbon,' or the initials 'F. de B.;' but in other productions of his pen, which are preserved in manuscript in the library of the British Museum, he styles himself 'Don Faustino Juan Nepomuceno de Borbon, Vandoma, Guzman, *vulgo* Muscat.' He wrote the following works: I. *Algunos puntos bíblicos para la inteligencia de varios lugares del viejo testamento,* Mad. 1794.—II. *Cartas para ilustrar la historia de la España Arabe,* ib. 1796.—III. *Discursos ó preliminares Cronológicos para ilustrar la historia de la España Arabe,* ib. 1797. The following have not been printed: IV. *Diccionario topográfico de la España Arabe,* 5 vols. 4to.—V. *Demostraciones Cronológicas,* 5 vols. 4to.—VI. *Diccionario topográfico del Principado de Asturias.*—VII. *Topografía de las Asturias de Liébana hasta la raya de Vizcaya.*—VIII. *Topografía*

who seems to have passed most of his life in the Escurial Library, with a view to the illustration of the history of his native country during its occupation by the Moslems, but whose works are little known, and, from circumstances not easily explained, have become exceedingly scarce. His *Cartas para ilustrar la historia de España*,—the only production of his pen which I have been able to obtain,—were printed at Madrid in 1796, in monthly parts. They relate to a period of Spanish history which is, of all others, the most important, namely, from the insurrection in the mountains of the Asturias to the death of Pelayo in 727. The author has shown vast erudition and learning in the historical antiquities of his country, and occasionally displayed great sagacity in the unravelling of the historical difficulties in which he found himself entangled at every step; but he was evidently no critic, and, whilst defending with great ardour untenable historical points, he often indulged unnecessarily in the wildest speculations, as I shall have occasion to show in the notes to this volume.

Then came Don José Antonio Conde, to whom literary Europe is indebted for the only complete history of the Spanish Moslems drawn entirely from Arabian sources,—an author whose name cannot be mentioned otherwise than respectfully by those who, like me, follow in his steps. But, popular as his work may have been,—and may still be, with a certain class of readers,—there can be no doubt that it is far from fulfilling the expectations of the scholar; and competent judges have lately put it on a level with that of Cardonne, a French writer by no means Conde's equal in learning or literary accomplishments. Disparaging as this judgment may appear on a work which has been the foundation of all our knowledge on the history of Mohammedan Spain, it is, nevertheless, in some manner justified by the uncouth arrangement of the materials, the entire want of critical or explanatory notes, the unaccountable neglect to cite authorities, the numerous repetitions, blunders, and contradictions. But the defects of Conde's work will be more clearly perceived, as well as more readily excused, if we first form an idea of the materials used in its composition. By some strange fatality, the library of the Escurial, though rich in works valuable for their antiquity or their contents, is yet particularly deficient in the very depart-

de las Provincias de Leon, Vierzo, Valladolid, Zamora y Toro.—IX. *Diccionario topográfico de las Provincias de Valladolid, Toro, Zamora, Segovia, Avila y parte de la de Salamanca á medio dia del Duero.*—X. *Diccionario topográfico de Vizcaya, 'Alava, Guipuzcoa, Toro, Merindades de Castilla, Palencia y Partidos de Carrion.*—XI. A Spanish translation of the life of Saládin by Boháu-d-dín. All these MSS., with the exception of the first-mentioned, which is in the Bodleian Library, (*Caps. Or.* C. 19-24,) and of the last, which I have seen at Madrid in private hands, are now preserved in the library of the British Museum, having passed into it from the collection of Mayans.

ment which ought to have constituted its chief treasure, namely, the history and geography of the Peninsula during its occupation by the Moslems. The reason for this deficiency is obvious enough: the collection of Eastern manuscripts now in the Escurial is not the result, as elsewhere, of the constant solicitude of an enlightened Government, but the mere work of accident; and had not two Spanish galleys, while cruising in the Mediterranean, captured three Moorish vessels having on board an extensive collection of books belonging to Muley Zidán, Emperor of Morocco, it may be presumed that the Libraries of Spain would not now contain a single Arabic manuscript; for, whilst those of Paris, Vienna, and Leyden, which scarcely counted a few volumes at the beginning of the last century, have increased their stocks to a number double and treble that of the Escurial, the Government of Spain has made no effort to augment that rich but dilapidated collection. The few works of any historical value which exist in that Library are Biographical Dictionaries,—a favourite branch of literature with the Arabs,—where the genealogy, the year of the birth and death, the masters and pupils, of the individual panegyrized, together with a list of his writings, and some extracts from his verses, are given at full length, while those important historical events with which he may have been connected are dispatched in a few words. If the individual, moreover, happen not to be a poet, or a patron of literature, whatever his military talents may have been, or however important the transactions in which he was engaged, he is taken no notice of.

From such rough materials Conde's work is chiefly composed, and with the exception of the second volume,—which is an unfaithful and rambling version of the *Kartás*,[5]—the remainder is but a confused mass of biographical articles borrowed from various writers, and joined together without the least regard to the age or style of the composition. The incoherence of the narrative, and the numerous blunders resulting from such an assemblage of heterogeneous materials, need scarcely be pointed out. Events are frequently related twice in quite different moods, and the same individual is made to appear repeatedly on the stage under various names.[6] If to this it be added that Conde, a victim to mental anxiety and

[5] A Portuguese translation of this work by José Moura has since been published at Lisbon, 1828, 4to.

[6] The mistakes in Conde's work, though unnoticed by the generality of its translators or compilers, must be palpable enough to all those who peruse it with the least attention. The last three chapters of the second volume are repeated, with very slight verbal alteration, in the third. He writes the name of Ibráhím Ibn Humushk, a celebrated warrior, in six different ways. Ben Humusqui (vol. ii. p. 230); Aben Hemsek (p. 323); Aben Hamusek (p. 362); Hamasek (p. 373); and Aben Hamasec (p. 377). Hariz Ibn Okkéshah, the general of Al-mámún, King of Toledo, is also variously called—Hariz Ben Alhakem (p. 29); Hariz Ben Alhakim Ben Alcasha (p. 38); Haríz Ben Hakem ben Okeisa (p. 56); and mentioned

suffering, was surprised by death in the midst of his labours,[7]—that his unfinished manuscript fell into the hands of parties totally unacquainted with the subject, and who increased, instead of remedying, the confusion,—that his work has since been terribly mutilated by translators and compilers, who, with very few exceptions, have suffered his most palpable mistakes to pass uncorrected,—the reader may form an idea of the degree of confidence due to the more modern works on the history of the Spanish Moslems.

No sooner had I become sufficiently master of the language of the Arabs to be able to peruse their historical writings, than I was impressed with the idea that, until these were printed in the original with a literal translation, and their narrative compared with those of the Christian chroniclers, no great progress could be made towards the elucidation of Spanish history. I imparted my idea to the venerable President of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, who not only agreed with me as to the necessity of such an undertaking, but pointed out the manner in which it could be best accomplished, communicating to me, at the same time, the plan of a similar project which had once seriously occupied the attention of that learned body. An application made by me to the proper quarter met, however, with no success, and I was obliged to postpone, if not to relinquish entirely, my undertaking. It was then that I first thought of translating the history of Mohammedan Spain by Ahmed Al-

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in a manner as if these names applied to three distinct persons. Limiting, however, my observations to the first volume,—for which alone Conde can be made answerable, since he himself saw it through the press,—I can point out many glaring errors. Abú 'A'mir Ahmed Ibn Shoheyd, the celebrated Wizír of Abdu-r-rahmán III., is called at times Ahmed Ibn Sahid (p. 432), at other times Ahmed Ben Said (p. 446). The same might be said of Bahlúl, who at p. 223 is represented as in arms against Hishám I., and a few pages afterwards is called Wizír to Al-hakem I.

[7] Conde having, like others of his literary friends, espoused the cause of the French during their partial occupation of the Peninsula, was appointed by Joseph Buonaparte chief librarian of the Royal Library of Madrid, which charge he filled as long as the French were in possession of the capital. On the evacuation of the Peninsula by the French troops, Conde retired to Paris, where he passed some years in arranging the materials he had collected for his history of the Arabs. When his task was completed, he returned to Madrid in 1819, intending to give it the last touch and commit his work to the press; but, instead of meeting with the protection and assistance to which his arduous undertaking entitled him, he was, owing to his political offence, persecuted and oppressed; every possible obstacle was thrown in his way by the members of the Government, and, if I am not misinformed, the use of the Oriental manuscripts in the Escurial was refused to him. These marks of indifference to his pursuits, and animosity towards his person, on the part of his countrymen, and the extreme poverty to which he was reduced by the refusal of Government to grant him any portion of the emoluments of his former office, seriously affected the health of Conde, who died in 1820, in a state of almost entire destitution, just as his friends were about to print his work by subscription.

makkarí. I knew that, by command of Charles IV., a copy of that work, made under the superintendence of the celebrated French orientalists De Sacy and Langlés from a manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, had been transmitted to Madrid as early as 1816; and although Conde, for whose use the transcript was made, had never been able to ascertain to what recess it had been consigned, I still hoped that, by searching the Libraries, I should be able to find it. In this expectation, however, I was likewise foiled; and notwithstanding my personal exertions and the most diligent inquiries, I have not yet been able to discover what has become of it. Good fortune procured me at that time the acquaintance of Dr. Frederic William Lembke, a Hanoverian gentleman, the author of an excellent history of Spain,[8] who possessed a copy of Al-makkarí, diligently collated by him with those of Gotha and Paris. Having obtained the loan of the manuscript, I transcribed it entirely, and soon after began a Spanish translation. This I had nearly completed and illustrated with notes and copious extracts from other Arabian manuscripts in the public libraries, or in my own collection, when, in one of my visits to this country, I had the honour of becoming acquainted with the President of the Oriental Translation Fund, who kindly suggested to me the idea of offering to the Committee a translation of Al-makkarí's work, copies of which were to be found in the library of the British Museum. My offer being accepted, I fixed my residence in London, and recommenced the version in English,—a language in which, owing to my family connexions and my long stay in this country, I am, fortunately for the accomplishment of my wishes, tolerably well versed.

In undertaking a translation of Al-makkarí's work, I was well aware that large extracts from it had been made by Professor Shakespear from a copy in his possession, and printed in Murphy's History of the Mohammedan Empire in Spain; that Cardonne and Desguignes had known and consulted it, and that Dr. Lembke had also borrowed from it. All this, added to several defects of composition to which I shall presently allude, rendered a translation of that manuscript less desirable, perhaps, than it would have been under other circumstances, especially as several historical pieces of undeniable merit still remain untranslated. Yet, with all these disadvantages, I fixed upon Al-makkarí's text as being the only one, to my knowledge, presenting a continuous history of the conquests and settlements of the Mohammedans in Spain, and thus offering a vast field for such illustrations and additions from

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[8] *Geschichte von Spanien*, Hamb. 1831, forming part of the historical collection entitled *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*, by Heeren and Ukert. I have only seen the first volume of this work, which, from its conciseness, and the use the author has made of the writings of Nuwayri, Al-makkarí, and other Mohammedan historians, promises to be one of the best written histories of the Peninsula.

other historians as I proposed to collect, so as to form a sort of "Critical History of the Spanish Arabs."

The work of Al-makkarí is divided into two parts; one relates to the history of Spain, the other contains the life of the celebrated historian and Wizír, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah, better known by the surnames of Ibnu-l-khattíb (the son of the preacher), and Lisánu-d-dín (the tongue of religion),—a writer whose works are still highly prized and eagerly read by the learned of Fez and Morocco, and who was himself a pupil of Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Al-makkarí At-telemsání, one of our author's ancestors. As Al-makkarí himself informs us (see Preface, p. 10), his first intention was merely to write a biography of that celebrated individual. This he had completed, and divided into eight books, in which he treated of the Wizír's ancestors and birth, of his youth, education, writings, &c., when the thought struck the author that his work might be rendered more interesting, were he to write an account of the conquests and settlements of the Moslems in Spain. He then composed the historical part, which he likewise divided into eight books. Al-makkarí seems to have met at first with considerable difficulties in the execution of his task from the scarcity of historical records, having, as he informs us, left the whole of his books in Africa, including a very complete history of Spain under the Moslems, on which he had bestowed considerable labour. He must, however, have procured books in the East, for he introduces quotations from the best authors of Mohammedan Spain,—quotations which, as far as I have been able to ascertain by a comparison with the original works cited, are always correct, and show that he must really have possessed copies of their writings. Indeed, the work of Al-makkarí is entirely composed of passages transcribed or abridged from more ancient historians, (the author himself seldom speaking in his own words,) and chronologically arranged, so that the title of "Historical Collections" would perhaps be better suited to it than that of "History." The plan followed by the author is this: when relating a particular event, he either transcribes at length or abridges the words of a historian; immediately after which he relates it again in two or three different ways from other sources; thus affording several versions of the same event. If to this it be added, that in transcribing the words of a historian he frequently makes longer extracts than are necessary, and perhaps quotes three or four pages merely to tell us the opinion of that historian respecting a matter that might be related in two lines,—that his narrative is continually interrupted by the introduction of poems and long extracts from rhetorical works nowise connected with his subject,—that in his historical information he is at times exceedingly diffuse, while he is often as much too laconic, relating in few words the most important event, or wasting several pages in the discussion of another of little or no interest, according as his inclinations as an author

or the abundance or scarcity of his materials prompted him, and that he but seldom introduces critical or explanatory remarks of his own,—the reader will form a very mean estimate of Al-makkarí's qualifications as a historian.

Yet with all these imperfections, and notwithstanding the defects which he has in common with the generality of the Arabian writers and historians, Al-makkarí possesses many advantages not easily to be met with in other authors. He gives an uninterrupted narrative of the conquests, wars, and settlements of the Spanish Moslems, from their first invasion of the Peninsula to their final expulsion,—which, as far as I am aware, does not occur in any other author: and besides, his mode of writing history, though involving repetitions, is in my opinion the best he could have adopted; for, if the historical facts recorded by contemporary writers had been garbled and disfigured by a Mohammedan author of the seventeenth century, the utility of such a production would have been impaired, together with its authenticity. As it is, Al-makkarí transmits to us a collection of historical extracts and fragments relative to the history of Spain, taken from works, the titles of which, as well as the names of their authors, are in most instances given; and thus presents the original text of ancient historians whose writings are now probably lost.

The deficiency in certain periods of his history, occasioned, no doubt, by his want of proper materials, is an evil of a more serious nature; but this I have attempted to supply by inserting, in an Appendix, such fragments from valuable unpublished manuscripts as were calculated to fill the void, while I have thrown into the Notes and Illustrations such additional matter as appeared necessary to corroborate or refute his assertions. In short, by borrowing considerably from other writers who have partially treated the same subject, I have endeavoured, as far as was in my power, to augment the real value of this work.

I now proceed to state what parts of the work I have selected for translation. From the second part, viz., that treating of the life and writings of the Wizír Mohammed Ibnu-l-khattíb, I have made only a few short extracts relating to the history of the kingdom of Granada. Of the first part, however, I have availed myself in the following manner: Book I., giving a physical and topographical description of Mohammedan Spain, I have entirely translated, with the exception of various poetical extracts, and some lengthy *risáleh* or epistles, which, besides being strewed with difficulties of no ordinary nature, contain no historical fact of any importance. Book II., which details the invasion and conquest of Spain by the Moslems, I have also translated entirely, as well as Book III., containing a chronological account of the various Mohammedan dynasties which ruled over that country, and Book VIII., in which the historical narrative is continued till the final expulsion of the Mohammedans from the Peninsula. Book IV., giving a topographical account of

Cordova, together with a description of its principal buildings and great mosque, I have likewise translated. Of Book V., which contains the lives of illustrious Spanish Moslems who travelled to the East in search of knowledge, I have made little or no use, except in the Notes. Not so with Book VI., which contains those of eminent Mohammedans who left their native towns in the East to settle in Spain; this being perhaps the portion of the work which affords the most abundant and valuable information, since it treats of the Arabian Amírs who governed Spain in the name of the Eastern Khalifs,—of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., the founder of the dynasty of the Beni Umeyyah,—of other illustrious Moslems who either commanded armies or filled high offices in the state,—in fact, of almost every individual of eminence who figured in Spanish history during the first four centuries after the invasion. Book VII., being almost entirely composed of poetical extracts, intended as proofs of the extent of genius and wit of the Andalusian poets, I have thought fit to suppress, excepting merely a precious fragment on the literature of the Spanish Moslems, which occupies the fourth and fifth Chapters of Book II. of this translation, and a few anecdotes therein related in proof or illustration of the superiority of the Andalusians to every other nation. In order to render the translation a little more readable, I have changed the order of the Books, and divided the matter into Chapters. I have also suppressed repetitions, and inverted in a few instances the order of the narrative, which I found frequently arranged without the least regard to chronology.

The copies of Al-makkarí's work which I have used for this translation are the following:

1. A large folio volume, of upwards of 1200 pages, written in the *neskhi* character, upon thin glazed paper of Eastern manufacture. The hand-writing is extremely handsome and uniform, but so minute as to render the reading almost painful to the eyes, each page containing fifty-one lines. The title-page is tastefully illuminated, and the introductory part of the preface enriched with gold; each page of the remainder of the manuscript is enclosed within a thick line of blue and gold. A note at the end of the volume[9] states that the transcript was completed in the night of Friday the 29th day of Safar, A.H. one thousand one hundred and sixty-three (A.D. 1750). The copy is correct,

[9] I here translate it:—"We terminated the composing and writing of the present work on the "evening of Sunday the 27th of Ramadhán, A.H. one thousand and thirty-eight (A.D. 1629). Praise "be given to God, in whom only we place our trust! May the peace of God be on his servants, those "whom he selected! Having, however, after the above was written, thought of adding to our work, "we subsequently made considerable additions, so that the whole was not completed until the last "day of the month of Dhí-l-hajjah, A.H. one thousand and thirty-nine (A.D. 1629). May the blessing "of God be on our Lord Mohammed, and everlasting salvation be the share of his people and companions until the last day of judgment!"

and may in every respect be considered a valuable one. (Bibl. Rich in Brit. Mus., No. 7334.)

II. A small folio volume, containing the whole of book the fifth of the first part. The transcript, which from a note at the end appears to have been executed at Túnis, and completed on the last day of Jumáda II., A.H. one thousand and ninety-nine (A.D. 1688), is fairly written in a small but plain African hand. (Brit. Mus., No. 9593.)

III. A small folio volume, containing book the sixth, and the greatest part of the seventh, of the first part. The hand-writing, if not the same, is very similar to that of the preceding volume. (Brit. Mus., No. 9592.)

IV. A volume of the same size, but belonging to a different set of the work. It is written in the African hand, but so badly as to be in some parts almost illegible; the text, besides, is far from being correct. It contains the greatest part of book the seventh, and the whole of book the eighth, of the first part; also the first two books of the second part. (Brit. Mus., No. 9594.)

V. The first and second volume of an abridgment of the work made in the year 1165 of the Hijra (first day of Dhí-l-hajjah), by an author named Sídí Ahmed Ibn 'A'mir Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'A'mir Al-jezayrí (from Algiers). The transcript, which is not only badly written but incorrect, was completed on Friday the 14th of Jumáda I., A.H. one thousand two hundred and five (A.D. 1791). Brit. Mus., Nos. 9591-9595.

VI. Besides the above copies in the library of the British Museum, I have used one of my own, taken from Dr. Lembke's manuscript, and since carefully collated by me with the several copies of the work in the Royal Library at Paris, Nos. 704, 705, 758, 759.

VII. I likewise possess the first volume of a work purporting to be an abridgment of Al-makkarí, made in the year one thousand one hundred and eighty-five (A.D. 1771-2),

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Immediately after this comes the following note by the transcriber of the work.

"This fair transcript of the work (may the Almighty permit that it meet every where with his "blessings!) was completed on the night of Friday the 29th of the month of Safar (the good and the "blessed), one of the months of the year of the Hijra one thousand one hundred and sixty-three "(A.D. 1750), by the hand of the weakest of the scribes and the dust of the feet of the poor, the Lord "Ibráhím, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Ibráhím, son of Ahmed, son of Mohammed, better known "under the surnames of Ibnu-l-hakem, Al-hanefí, Al-bakshandí, Al-khalwatí, Al-kádirí, (all these "epithets being significant of the profession of religious opinions followed by the natives of the East.) "And this copy was written under the direction of our master, the Sheikh 'Abdu-l-ghaní Ibn An-"nablusí, in whose company and friendship we lived for sixteen years, transcribing his works and "profiting by his lessons, at his dwelling in that quarter of the city of Damascus named Sálehiyyah, "close to the spot known as the *Markad Ibni-l-'arabí.*"

by Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Ibráhím At-telemsání. Unlike most abridgments of Arabic works, the present is made with great judgment and care, and that too by a person fully conversant with the subject. Indeed, such as it is, the work cannot be adequately styled an abridgment, inasmuch as it occasionally contains some additional matter. The author states in the preface, that happening to have in his possession some of the works quoted by Al-makkarí, he bethought him of giving the cited passages entire whenever it was expedient. He has also in many instances most judiciously changed the order of the events recorded, and suppressed such passages as were repeated. In short, he has cleansed and recast, as it were, the text of Al-makkarí; and as this has been done with the utmost judgment and criticism, I need scarcely say that in most instances I have followed this text in preference to that of the original author, regretting that I should possess only one out of the four volumes of which this valuable *rifaccimento* seems to have been composed.[10]

As I have cited various Arabic works in my notes, I think it proper to apprise the reader what they are, and where they are to be found; but, before I proceed, I must state a fact which, however painful to my feelings, I feel myself called upon to disclose. Having decided on publishing this work in English, and my arrangements for coming to this country having been completed, I felt that unless I could spend some time at the Escurial, and ramble amidst the hallowed treasures of its Library, many of the historical points which it was my wish to ascertain, and to elucidate in those notes, would remain, for want of proper research, as obscure as they were before. I accordingly petitioned the Ministers of Her Catholic Majesty for permission to visit that Library; but, strange to say, notwithstanding repeated applications on my part, and the interference of persons high both in rank and influence,—notwithstanding the utility, not to say necessity, of the work I contemplated,—my request was, as often as made, positively denied, professedly on the plea that the Library could not be opened, (a contention having, two years before, arisen between the Government and the Royal Household as to the possession of it,) but, in reality, from no

[10] It would have been highly satisfactory to me to have procured a sight of a complete copy of Al-makkarí's work, once belonging to Dr. Carlyle, but which is now in the possession of Professor Shakespear, who was the first, in 1816, to make that work known to the public, through his valuable extracts inserted in Murphy's History of the Mohammedan Empire in Spain. His copy, which seems to be a very good one, would have afforded me additional confirmation in the readings of proper and geographical names, an object which the translator of an Eastern work ought always to bear in mind; but I regret to say, that although I applied in time for the loan of it, it has been out of the power of that gentleman, with whom I am personally acquainted, to gratify my wishes.

other motive than my having publicly avowed the intention of making use of my materials in this country. This remnant of inquisitorial jealousy about its literary treasures ill suits a country which has lately seen its archives and monastic libraries reduced to cinders, and scattered or sold in foreign markets, without the least struggle to rescue or secure them.

Owing to the above reason, my quotations from the MSS. in the Escurial Library will be scanty, being limited to a few short extracts taken on a former occasion. I have, however, availed myself fully of some transcripts from historical works in that Library, which the Spanish Government caused to be made at the close of the last century by two Maronite Christians, and to be deposited in the Royal (now National) Library at Madrid. In this number are the *Silah*, by Abú-l-kásim Khalf Ibn Bashkúwál; the *Bighyatu-l-multamis,* by Adh-dhobí; the *Hillatu-s-seyrá,* by Ibnu-l-abbár; the *Tekmilah likitábi-s-silah,* by the same, &c.; a description of which may be read in Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 31-121, 133-140). Of these and other Arabic manuscripts in the same establishment I have made a very ample use; and it is but just to add, in contrast to the illiberality above complained of, that I am indebted to its enlightened and zealous Librarian, Don Joaquin Patiño, for the most unreserved perusal of all the valuable works therein contained.

I need not dwell on the statement, that, whilst in this country, I have met with every possible kindness and encouragement on the part of my friends,[11] as well as of the several persons intrusted with the custody of Oriental books in the libraries I have visited: I shall, accordingly, have frequently to acknowledge in the course of my notes my numerous obligations for kind assistance, or the loan of scarce and valuable manuscripts.

The works which I have consulted and cited are the following:

Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán fí maháseni-l-'ayán[12] (gold necklaces on the brilliant actions of the illustrious); a biographical dictionary of poets and learned men who flourished in Spain during the fifth and part of the sixth century of the Hijra, by Abú Nasr Al-fat'h Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Obeyd-illah Ibn Khákán Al-kaysí. There are two copies of this work in the library of the British Museum. One marked Add. MSS., No. 9579, is bound up with a commentary on the *Makssúrah,* a celebrated poem by Ibn Házem, of Cartagena; the other (Bibl. Rich, No. 7525) is also bound up with the *Muntekhabu-l-loghati,*

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[11] To Dr. John Lee I am particularly indebted for the loan of several valuable manuscripts, which I shall duly notice whenever I happen to quote from them.

[12] قلايد العقيان في محاسن الاعيان

by Ibn Koteybah. It contains only the second part out of the four into which the work is divided; but though incomplete, it is valuable for its antiquity,[13] and I have frequently used it to correct the readings in the former. Besides these two copies of that valuable work, I have used one in my possession: it is a volume in quarto, of 236 folios, transcribed about the middle of the sixteenth century of our era by Al-hasen Ibnu-l-huseyn Al-is'hákí.

Mattmahu-l-anfus wa masrahu-t-tánnus fí milhi ahli-l-andalus[14] (the spot of recreation for the eyes and the field for familiarity on the witty sayings of the people of Andalus); another biographical dictionary, by the above-mentioned writer. The copy in the British Museum (No. 9580) is a volume in octavo, very badly and incorrectly written in the month of Rabi' II., A.H. one thousand one hundred and ninety-two (A.D. 1778-9). The work is ill described in the Catalogue of Additions for 1833, where it is given as a copy of the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán.*

Al-muktabis fí tárikh rejáli-l-andalus[15] (the imparter of information, or the fire-striking steel on the history of the eminent Spanish Moslems); being a history of Mohammedan Spain by Abú Merwán Hayyán Ibn Khalf Ibn Hayyán, a historian of the twelfth century of our era. The third volume, out of the ten which compose the work, is in the Bodl. Lib. (Nic. Cat. CXXXVII.) It contains the reign of 'Abdullah, son of Mohammed, the seventh Khalif of the family of Umeyyah in Spain.

Jadh'watu-l-muktabis[16] (the sparkle of fire from the *Muktabis*); or an abridgment of the above work by Mohammed Ibn Abí Nasr Fatúh Ibn 'Abdillah Al-azdí Al-homaydí, a native of the island of Mallorca, who died at Baghdád in A.H. 488. This work is also in the Bodl. Lib., *Hunt.* 464. Its contents are the lives of eminent Spanish Moslems, divided into ten parts, and preceded by a valuable historical introduction. The transcript, which appears to have been executed towards the middle of the sixteenth century of our era, is a fair and correct one.

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13 A note at the end of the volume states that the transcript was made by *Abú-l-walíd Ibn Zeydún.* I need scarcely point out the inaccuracy of such a statement, which has also found its way into the Catalogue of the Rich MSS. How could Abú-l-walíd Ibn Zeydún, who died in A.H. 463, make a transcript of a work which was not composed until nearly seventy years after his death, and in which he himself figures among the illustrious men of his age? The fact is, that the name of Abú-l-walíd Ibn Zeydún being written in large letters at the head of the biographical notice of him, with which the work begins, gave rise to that strange mistake. This shows that an Oriental scholar cannot be sufficiently on his guard against the ignorance or the knavery of an Arabian bookseller.

14 مطمح الانفس و مسرح التانس في ملح اهل الاندلس

15 المقتبس في تاريخ رجال الاندلس

16 جذوة المقتبس

Adh-dhakhírah fí mahásení ahli-l-jezírah [17] (the hoarded treasure of the commendable deeds of the natives of Spain); or a biography of illustrious Spanish Moslems, divided into three parts, and each part into two books, by Ibn Besám or Bessám, of Cordova. The second volume of the second part, containing the lives of eminent men born or residing in the western districts of Spain, is in the Bodl. Lib. (Uri Cat., No. DCCXLIX.)

Al-holalu-l-maushiyyah fí akhbári-l-marrékoshiyyah [18] (variegated silken robes from the history of Morocco); or a history of the Almoravides and Almohades who reigned in Africa and Spain, compiled from the best authorities. This work, a copy of which is in my possession, appears to have been written towards the close of the fourteenth century of our era, but the name of the author is not ascertained. It is true that both my copy and another of the same work in the Royal Library at Paris (No. DCCCXXV.) attribute it to the celebrated traveller Ibn Battúttah; but, as I shall show hereafter, this can hardly be the case.

The history of Spain under the Almoravides and Almohades, by Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, a historian of the thirteenth century of our era. The second volume of this valuable work, containing the narrative of events which happened in Spain from A. H. 554 to 568, is in the Bodl. Lib. (*Marsh.* 433.)

Táríkh Ibn Habíb [19] (or the history of Spain, by 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb As-solamí). This is a miscellaneous work, mostly treating of theological subjects, traditions, the beginning of the world, the prophets, the life of the Prophet Mohammed, predestination, the doctors who first introduced in Cordova the sect of Málik Ibn Ans, &c. Some of the chapters, however, relate to the history of Spain, giving an account of the conquest of that country by the Moslems; the series of the Amírs who governed it in the name of the Khalifs; a short history of the first seven Sultáns of the house of Umeyyah who reigned in Spain, &c.

Táríkh Kodhát Kortobah (the history of the Kádís of Cordova); or a biographical dictionary of all those who discharged there the functions of that office, from the conquest of that city by the Moslems to the year three hundred and fifty-eight of the Hijra (A. D. 968-9), by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Hárith Al-khoshaní or Al-khoshní.

Both these works, which were transcribed in A. H. six hundred and ninety-five (A. D. 1296), by 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Al-lawatí, are bound up in one volume in the Bodl. Lib. (Nic. Cat., No. CXXVII.)

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17 الذخيرة في محاسن اهل الجزيرة

18 الحُلَل الموشية في ذِكر الاخبار المرّاكشية

19 تاريخ ابن حبيب

Kitábu-l-iftifá fí akhbári-l-kholafá[20] (the book of sufficiency in the history of the Khalifs), by Abú Ja'far Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk Al-khazrejí, of Cordova, a writer of the twelfth century of our era; containing a history of the Mohammedan empire, both in the East and the West, beginning with Abú Bekr, and ending with Al-mámún Mohammed, son of Al-muktafí bi-amri-llah, of the house of 'Abbás, who began his reign in A. H. 560.

Ahádithu-l-imámati wa-s-siyásati[21] (traditions of commandment and government); a very ancient history of the Khalifs from Abú Bekr to Hárún Ar-rashíd, with a full account of the conquest of Spain. See Appendix E., p. l.

Kitábu-t-ta'ríf bitabakáti-l-amam[22] (the book of acquaintance with the races of mankind), by Abú-l-kásim Sá'id Ibn Sá'id, Kádí of Toledo. (Bibl. Arund. in Brit. Mus., No. 6020.) See Appendix C., p. xxxix.

The history of the Western Arabs and Berbers, by Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khaldún. (Brit. Mus., Nos. 9574-5.)

Kitábu-l-ahátatati fí táríkhi gharnáttati[23] (the book of the circle of the history of Granada); or a history of Granada, followed by a biographical dictionary of eminent men born at or domiciled in that city, by the celebrated historian Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'íd As-salmání, better known by his surname Ibnu-l-khattíb. A fair transcript of the first volume of this work is in my possession. It is a thick folio, written in the African hand at the beginning of the sixteenth century of our era. It contains the lives of one hundred and seventy-nine individuals whose names began with the first eleven letters of the Arabic alphabet, passing afterwards to those whose first name was Mohammed. A copy of the second part is preserved in the Escurial Library, No. MDCLXVIII. There is in the Royal Library at Paris, No. 867, an epitome of this valuable and scarce work, entitled *Markazu-l-ahátatati fí adabá gharnáttati*[24] (the central point of the circle of the literary men of Granada).

'Ib'ratu oúlí-l-abssár fí táríkhi molúki-l-amssár[25] (admonition to the clear-sighted on the history of the kings of countries); or a general history of the world, by 'Omádu-d-dín

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[20] كتاب الإكتفآء في اخبار الخُلفآء For a fuller description of this work the reader is referred to page xlii. of the Appendix, where some extracts from it have been introduced.

[21] احاديث الامامة و السياسة

[22] كتاب التعريف بطبقات الامام

[23] الاحاطة في تاريخ غرناطة

[24] مركز الاحاطة في ادبآ غرناطة

[25] عبرة أولي الابصار في تاريخ ملوك الامصار

Isma'íl Ibn Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Mohammed, better known under the surname of Ibnu-l-athír. This work is but a commentary upon and a supplement to a poem called *'Abdúniyyah*, from the name of its author, Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-mejíd Ibn 'Abdún, Wizír to 'Omar Ibn Al-afttas, the last King of Badajoz. After the death of his royal master, who, together with his two sons, was executed by order of Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín, into whose hands he fell a prisoner, A. H. 487, Ibn 'Abdún composed an elegiac poem[26] to commemorate that catastrophe, as well as the tragical events attending the rise and fall of the dynasty to which he was attached. In order better to exemplify the instability of human fortune, the poet takes a short review of all the once powerful empires that fell into decay. This poem, which, from the tenderness of its strain, and the rhetorical beauties with which it abounds, is justly considered as one of the brightest gems of Arabian literature, was, shortly after the death of Ibn 'Abdún (A. H. 534), commented upon by the most eminent authors of that nation. Ibnu-l-athír, among others, continued the poem down to his own days, adding fifty-two verses to the forty-one of which it was composed, and then commented upon the whole, or rather gave a detailed account of every one of the dynasties, whether Mohammedan or not, that are mentioned in it. An ancient copy of this valuable work is in the British Museum (Bibl. Arund., No. 9969). I also possess one which must have been written soon after the death of the author; for in the note at the end of the volume I find that the transcript was completed on the 6th of Dhí-l-ka'dah, A. H. 729, and, according to Hájí Khalfah (voc. *'Ib'ratu*), Ibnu-l-athír died in 699.

Raudhatu-l-manáthir fí akhbári-l-awáyil wa-l-awákhir[27] (the garden of the overlooking places on the history of the first and the last); or a compendious history from the beginning of the world to the year 806 of the Hijra, by Abú-l-walíd Mohammed Ibn Shihnah, who died in eight hundred and eighty-three (A. D. 1478). There is a good copy of this work in the British Museum (Bibl. Rich, 7328), but I have generally used one in Dr. John Lee's collection, which, besides being very ancient, having been written shortly after the author's death, is filled with valuable marginal notes.

Murúju-dh-dhaháb wa ma'dánu-l-jauhar[28] (golden meadows and mines of precious stones), by the celebrated writer Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibnu-l-huseyn Al-mes'údí. I have used a fine

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26 A Latin translation of this poem has lately appeared in the collection entitled *Specimen e litteris Orientalibus exhibens Diversorum Scriptorum locos de regia Aphtasidarum familia et de Ibn Abduno poeta*, by Marinus Hoogvliet, Leyden, 1839.

27 روضة المناظر في اخبار الاوايل و الاواخر

28 مروج الذهب و معدان الجوهر

copy of this work, in two folio volumes, in my possession, the readings of which I have occasionally collated with those of another in the British Museum.

Al-khamís fí ossúl nafs nafís[29] (the book of the five divisions on the principles of a reasoning soul); a voluminous general history from the beginning of the world to the year 820, by Huseyn Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed, a native of Diarbekr. A copy of this work, in two thick closely-written folio volumes, is in my possession. It is also in the Royal Library at Paris, No. DCXXXV.

Kitábu-l-jumán fí akhbári-z-zamán[30] (gathered pearls from the history of the times), by Sídí Al-háj Mohammed Ash-shátibí (from Xativa, in the kingdom of Valencia). It is a general history, divided into three parts. Part I. embraces from the beginning of the world to the birth of Mohammed. Part II. is exclusively dedicated to the life of the Prophet. Part III. gives the history of the various Mohammedan dynasties that ruled in the East or the West, including an account of the Berber tribes, and a chronological notice of the sovereigns of the house of Umeyyah who reigned in Spain. The work appears to be an abridgment of a larger one which Shehábu-d-dín Ahmed Al-fású wrote under the same title. (See *Not. et Ext. des MSS.* vol. ii.) The copy of the work which I possess is fairly transcribed in the African character.

Reyhánu-l-lebáb wa rey'anu-sh-shebáb fí marátibi-l-adab[31] (the sweet gales of the prudent, and the flower of youth shown in the various degrees of education); a sort of Cyclopædia, treating of various subjects, but especially of history, by Mohammed Ibn Ibráhím.

Al-wáfí bi-l-wafiyát[32] (the complement to the *Wafiyát*); an extensive biographical work, intended as an addition to and a continuation of the *Wafiyátu-l-a'yán* (the deaths of the illustrious) by the celebrated Ibn Khallekán, composed by Saláhu-d-dín Khalíl Ibn Ibek As-safadí, who died in seven hundred and sixty-four (A. D. 1362-3). An ancient and beautifully written transcript of one part of this work, containing the lives of illustrious Moslems whose names began with any of the letters ع غ ف is in my possession.

'Oyúnu-l-anbá fí tabakáti-l-atibbá[33] (the sources of intelligence respecting the classes of physicians); being the lives of the eminent Arabian physicians, by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah. See Appendix A.

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[29] الخميس في أُصول نفْس نفيس

[30] كتاب الجمان في اخبار الزمان

[31] ريحان اللباب و ريعان الشباب في مراتب الادب

[32] الوَافي بالوفيات

[33] عيون الانبآء في طبقات الاطبآء

Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah [*jaghrafiyyá*] *fí masáhati-l-ardh wa 'ajáyibi-l-asaká' wa-l-boldán*[34] (the book of geography respecting the extent of the earth and the wonders of districts and towns), by an anonymous writer of the seventh century of the Hijra. It is a geographical description of the inhabited part of the world, divided into seven climates. The author occasionally quotes the words of Ibnu-l-jezzár, an African geographer, who wrote a work entitled *'Ajáyibu-l-ardh* (the wonders of the world), Mes'údí, Al-bekrí, Idrísí, Ibnu Hayyán, &c. The copy I have used is in my collection. It is a volume in quarto, of about 200 pages, written in Egypt towards the close of the sixteenth century of our era. There is in the Royal Library at Paris another copy of the same work, with which I have carefully collated all the readings of that part which relates to Spanish topography.

Al-mesálek wa-l-memálek[35] (the routes and kingdoms), by Abú 'Obeyd-illah 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Al-bekrí, a geographer of the fifth century of the Hijra. An ancient and correctly written copy of the second part of this valuable work, containing the description of Africa, is in the library of the British Museum, No. 9577. I possess, likewise, a copy of a portion of it.

Al-ikhtissár min kitábi-l-boldán[36] (an abridgment of the [Kitábu-l-boldán] book of countries). Bibl. Rich in Brit. Mus., No. 7496. A volume in quarto, of the greatest antiquity, written upon coarse brown paper of Eastern manufacture. The names of the author and epitomiser are nowhere stated, but I believe it to be an abridgment of the *Kitábu-l-boldán*, a voluminous geographical work by Abú-l-hasan Ahmed Ibn Yahya Al-beládhorí, a writer of the third century of the Hijra. My reasons for thinking so are: 1. I find in Hájí Khalfah that Al-beládhorí wrote a work on geography entitled as above.—2. The contents of the volume in question seem to agree with those of the *Kitáb fotúhi-l-boldán* by the same author, as described by Hamacker, *Spec. Cod. MSS. Or. Bib. Lugd. Bat.* p. 7.—3. I read, at fo. 15, that the author wrote it during the Khalifate of Al-mu'atadhed, and he often relates events of the year 279, a date reconcilable with that of Al-beládhorí's death, which, according to Abú-l-mahásen, happened in A. H. 289.—4. I have collated some passages with the works of Ibn Khordádbah, Mes'údí, and Ibn Haukal, who wrote after Al-beládhorí and copied him in their writings, and find them the same.

'Ajáyibu-l-maklúkát[37] (the wonders of creation). Such is the title of a work (Bibl.

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[34] كتاب الجعرافية [الجغرافيا] في مساحة الارض و عجايب الاسقاع و البلدان

[35] المسالك و الممالك

[36] الاختصار من كتاب البلدان

[37] عجايب المخلوقات

Rich in British Museum, No. 7504) on physics, natural history, and geography, compiled from those of Yúsuf Al-warrák, Al-'azízí, Ibnu-l-beyttar, and Al-harawí, by Abú Hámid Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-andalusí, who, as stated in the preface (fo. 2), wrote it during his stay at Baghdád in A. H. 555. It is a small quarto volume, with 106 leaves. A note at the end states the transcript to have been made at Baghdád, A. H. one thousand one hundred and seventy-one (A. D. 1757-8), by Ahmed, son of 'Abdu-r-rahím, a native of that city. There is in the Bodl. Lib. (Uri Cat., No. CMLXIX.) another copy of this, which I believe to be only an abridgment of a larger work.

Nashaku-l-azhár fí 'ajáyibi-l-akttár[38] (the sweet odour of flowers from the wonders of the earth), by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Iyás (Bibl. Rich in British Museum, No. 7503).

Nozhatu-l-lebáb fí-l-alkáb[39] (the pleasures of the wise set forth in surnames); or a treatise on the surnames of the Arabs, arranged alphabetically, by Shehábu-d-dín Abú-l-fadhl Ahmed Ibn Hajr Al-'askalaní (from Ascalon).

Tohfatu-dhawi-l-irab fí mushkáli-l-asmái-n-nasab[40] (a gift offered to those desiring to be instructed in the difficulties of patronymics); a treatise on patronymics by Núru-d-dín Abú-th-thaná Ibn Khattíb. (Brit. Mus., Bib. Rich, No. 7351.)

Neháyatu-l-aráb fí márefati kabáyil-l-'aráb[41] (the fulfilment of wishes for those who desire to gain a knowledge of the Arabian tribes), by Shehábu-d-dín Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Suleymán Ibn Isma'íl Al-kalkashandí (Bib. Rich in the British Museum, Nos. 7353-4).

Kashafu-n-nikáb ani-l-asmá wa-l-alkáb[42] (the tearing of the veil from before names and patronymics), by Jemálu-d-dín Abú-l-faraj 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Alí Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-júzí, who died A.H. five hundred and ninety-seven (A.D. 1201).

Dhátu-n-nikáb fí-l-alkáb[43] (the imparter of immediate knowledge on the surnames of persons); being a *risáleh* or short treatise on proper names, by Shemsu-d-dín Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Othmán Adh-dhahebí, who died in seven hundred and forty-eight (A. D. 1273-4). These two tracts, bound together in one volume, and transcribed A. H. one thousand and seventy-six (A. D. 1666), are in Dr. John Lee's collection.

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[38] نشق الازهار في عجايب الاقطار

[39] نزهة اللباب في اللقاب

[40] تهفة ذوي الإرب في مشكل اسماء النسب

[41] نهاية الاراب في معرفة قبايل العرب

[42] كشف النقاب عن الاسما و الالقاب

[43] ذات النقاب في الالقاب

Hayátu-l-haywán[44] (the lives of living creatures); a zoological dictionary by Kemálu-d-dín Mohammed Ad-demírí Ash-sháfe'í, who died in A. H. 808. Of this work I possess a handsome copy, in two thick volumes in folio. There is also one in the library of the British Museum (Rich MSS. No. 7512), but although a very correct one, and of great antiquity, it is deficient, like most copies of the same work which have passed through my hands, in the history of the Khalifs, which the author introduces under the word اوز *Iwaz* (goose).[45] Ad-demírí's work was abridged by Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-kádir Ibn Mohammed Ad-demírí Al-hanefí, who entitled his work *Háwiyu-l-hossán min Hayátu-l-haywán*[46] (the excellent collector from the *Hayátu-l-haywán*). A splendid copy of this epitome, beautifully written in a large Eastern hand, in the month of Rabi' II., A.H. one thousand and sixty-three (March, A.D. 1653), is likewise in my possession.[47]

Kitábu-l-jámi' likuwi-l-muf'ridáti-l-adwiyah wa-l-aghdiyah[48] (the collection treating of the virtues and properties of simples used as medicaments or as aliments); a dictionary of simples, by the celebrated botanist Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibnu-l-beyttar [the son of the farrier], known also by the honorific surnames of Dhiyáu-d-dín (bright light of religion), Jemálu-d-dín (glory of religion), a native of Malaga. The copy of this work which I have used and cited occasionally in the notes is in my collection. It consists of three thick volumes in small folio, written in Egypt in the year nine hundred and fifty-three of the Hijra (A. D. 1546-7), by Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Ahmed Al-anbabí Al-azharí.

Al-mugh'rib fí tartíbi-l-mu'arrib fí-l-loghah[49] (the eloquent speaker on the classification of language); or a dictionary of the Arabic language, by Borhánu-d-dín Nássir Ibnu-l-mukárim 'Abdu-s-seyid Ibnu-l-mutarrezí Al-hanefí, a celebrated philologist and rhetorician,

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44 حيوة [حياة] الحيوان

45 This may easily be accounted for by the fact that Ad-demírí published two different editions of his work, one with a short history of the Khalifs, the other without it. See Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Hayátu-l-haywán*.

46 حاوي الحسان من حياة الحيوان

47 Hájí Khalfah knew of six different abridgments of Ad-demírí's work; but the present, which, to judge from the author's name and patronymic, is likely to have been the work of a grandson or some other descendant of that author, was unknown to him.

48 كتاب الجامع لقوي [المفردات] الادوية و الاغدية

49 المغرب في ترتيب المعرب في اللغة

born A. H. 536, at Jorjániyyah, a town in Khawárazem, and who died in 620. There is a copy of this work in the library of the British Museum (Bib. Rich, No. 7438). I also possess one, the transcript of which was made in the author's lifetime by Abú-l-hasan 'Ali Ibn Ahmed Ibnu-l-huseyn, and finished on Tuesday the 18th of Safar, six hundred and eight (A. D. 1209). At the end of my copy is an appendix, written by the same author, and transcribed by the same hand, entitled رسالة في النحو 'an epistle on grammar,' which is not in the copy in the British Museum.

Ráyidu-l-faláh bi-'awálí-l-asánídi-s-saháh[50] (the searcher for early food on the elevated grounds of true allegation), by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Alí Ibni-l-'áfiyyah Al-meknásí (from Mequinez), better known by the surname of Ibnu-l-kádhí. This work, of which my copy is an autograph, written in A. D. 1599, by the preceptor of Muley Zídán, Emperor of Morocco, before the latter ascended the throne, is one of those permissions (اجازة) not unfrequently granted to pupils by their masters, authorizing them to quote them in writings or conversation. The author divides the moral, religious, and other sciences into various sections, giving the titles of all the works he read on those topics, and also the line of doctors through whom the contents of the several works were transmitted to him. The number of works thus quoted exceeds five hundred; and as the name as well as the country and age of their respective authors are in most cases stated, it forms a sort of bibliographical repertory, if not so considerable as that of Hájí Khalfah, yet much more full of correct information respecting the literary history of the Spanish Moslems.

Fahrasat kutub wa tawálif[51] (an index to books and works), by Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Kheyr Ibn Khalífah Al-andalusí, a writer of the twelfth century of our era. This also is a kind of bibliographical compilation, giving the names of the authors and the titles of the books, many hundred in number, which the author read in the course of his literary career. The work, which is exceedingly valuable in its kind, is in the Escurial Library (Cat., No. MDCLXVII.), where I once made considerable extracts from it.

I shall now terminate my prefatory remarks by saying a few words on the system of orthography which I have followed throughout my translation.

It is customary for the translator of an Oriental work to state in the Preface his system of writing proper names, or rather of expressing in European characters the multifarious sounds of the Arabic alphabet. Hence have originated almost as many systems as there

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50 رايد الفلاح بعوالي الاسانيد الصحاح

51 فهرست كُتب و تواليف

have been translators, each scholar considering himself entirely at liberty to alter or modify those of his predecessors. The evil, as regards the experienced reader, is not so great as it appears at first sight, it being an easy matter for the scholar to distinguish an Arabic proper name in whatever disguise it may be found, whether written by a German, a Frenchman, or a Spaniard: not so for the reader who is unacquainted with the languages of the East, for he will find himself stopped by difficulties to all appearances insurmountable; and unless a proper system be at once established, uniting under its banners the scholars of every nation of Europe, it is to be feared that the confusion will shortly wax so great as to make the ordinary reader lay aside his book in disgust. Had this work been written in Spanish, as was at first intended, I might perhaps have considered myself fully competent to decide upon a system that should express the Arabic sounds in the letters of the Spanish alphabet; since, besides the innumerable words left by the Arabs in that language, it is a known fact that for upwards of three centuries the Moriscos were in the habit of writing Spanish with their own letters: but as such was not the case, and I had to fix upon one of the many systems used in this country, I chose that adopted by the Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund, although it is, in my opinion, one of the most defective. According to that system the vowels are always sounded as in Italian; the letters ذ ض ظ are all represented by *dh;* ق ك by *k;* and ح ه by *h.* The ط and ت are made alike, as well as the ص and س—In this, however, I have deemed it necessary occasionally to deviate from the rule, rendering ط by *tt*, and ص by *ss*, whenever a word written with either of those letters could be mistaken for one written with a ت or a س—The letter ع I have always expressed by a ʿ to show that the vowel before or after which it is placed is to be pronounced with a sort of guttural aspiration. There is another very material point in which I have by necessity been compelled to differ from the system alluded to, viz., the pronunciation, in certain cases, of the letters و and ا when they are used as 'letters of prolongation.' These are invariably rendered, by English writers, by an accented *á* or *ú*. But I do not hesitate to say that such is not the sound which those letters are intended to convey, and that they ought to be rendered by *ó* and *é*. There can be no doubt that the conquerors of Spain pronounced as the inhabitants of the coast of Africa still do, who say *Karmónah, Tarrakónah, Barshelónah, Al-manssór, Bónah, Lishbónah,* (قرمونة تركونة برشلونة المنصور بونة لشبونة) not as English scholars are in the habit of pronouncing, *Karmúnah, Tarrakúnah, Barshelúnah, Al-mansúr,* &c. The same observation may be applied to the words كرطجانة مرشانة بجانة باجة فاس تلمسان which are to be pronounced *Kartajénah, Marshénah, Bejénnah, Béjah, Fés, Te-*

lemsén, and not *Kartajánah, Marshánah, Bejánnah, Bájah,* &c. I need scarcely remark, that whenever I have had to mention a city or town in Spain preserving its ancient Arabic name, and thus affording traces of the correct pronunciation, I have taken upon myself to depart from the rule which I have most scrupulously followed in all other instances.

There is still another case in which I have deviated from the general rule. I have frequently observed in conversation, and whilst hearing the Western Arabs read poetry, that the word *Ibn* is by them pronounced in certain cases with additional emphasis. For instance, a *talbe* in the West will say *Ibn Sa'íd,* when alluding to an individual whose father's name was '*Sa'íd,*' but he will pronounce *Ibnu Sa'íd* with a strong emphasis upon the *u* of *Ibnu,* if Sa'íd happen to be the family name of the individual. In the former case the word *Ibn* means the *son,* in the latter 'the descendant,' 'he of the posterity.' According to this rule I have written Ibnu Khaldún, Ibnu Sa'íd, Ibnu Hayyán, Ibnu Bashkúwál, because the authors to whom these names apply were the members of ancient and illustrious families, known in Spain as the Beni Khaldún, Beni Sa'íd, Beni Hayyán, Beni Baskúwál, &c.; and in order to render this translation the more intelligible to the generality of readers, I have adopted the common spelling of words already admitted into the English language, and written 'Khalif,' 'Wizír,' 'Kádí,' instead of the more correct orthography, 'Khalífah,' 'Wazír,' 'Kádhí,' &c.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

THE AUTHOR AND HIS WRITINGS.[1]

Ahmed Al-makkarí At-telemsání descended from an ancient and illustrious family established at Makkarah, a village not far from Telemsán, since the invasion of Africa by the Arabs. He was the son of Ahmed, son of Yahya, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Abú-l-'aysh, son of Mohammed Abú-l-'abbás, son of Mohammed, son of Ahmed, son of Abú Bekr, son of Yahya, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Abú Bekr, son of 'Alí, of the tribe of Koraysh. He was known in the East by the honorific surnames of *Al-háfedh Al-maghrebí* (the western traditionist), and *Shehábu-d-dín* (bright star of religion). He followed the sect of Málik Ibn Ans, and partook of the religious opinions of the Ash'arís, or disciples of Ash'ar. Ahmed was born at Telemsán, where he passed the first years of his life; learning the Korán and the traditions under his uncle, Abú 'Othmán Sa'íd Ibn Ahmed, who then held the office of Muftí in that city. Under the tuition of this learned man, who was himself the author of many important works on various topics, Ahmed early imbibed that love of science, and acquired that taste for literature, by which he was so much distinguished in after-life. Having com-

[1] Al-makkarí having lived in times comparatively modern, it was long before I could meet with any Arabic work giving an account of his life and writings. Hájí Khalfah, who mentions him occasionally, (voc. *Táríkhu-l-andalus, Azhár, Fat'h, Nafhu-t-tíb, Mukaddamát Ibn Khaldún,* &c.) gives only the year of his death, and the titles of some of his works. Having perused in vain many biographical dictionaries, I was on the eve of giving up my task in despair, when my excellent and learned friend, the Rev. J. Renouard, of Swanscombe, was kind enough to point out to me a very full notice of Al-makkarí, occurring in a Biographical Dictionary of learned men who flourished at Damascus during the eleventh century of the Hijra, entitled خلاصة الأثر في اعيان القرن الحادي عشر 'the best part of fresh butter on the illustrious men of the eleventh century,' by Amín Jelebí. From this work, of which that gentleman possesses a handsome transcript, executed A. H. one thousand one hundred and seventy-one (A. D. 1757-8), by Isma'íl Ibn 'Abdi-l-kerím Al-jerá'í, the above notice of Al-makkarí is abridged.

pleted his education, he quitted his native place in A.H. one thousand and nine (A.D. 1600-1), and repaired to Fez, where he sought and frequented the society of the learned men of the day, with many of whom he contracted an intimate friendship. He then returned to Telemsán, which place he again left for Fez in 1013. After a stay of fourteen years, wholly spent in literary pursuits and in the society of the learned, Ahmed quitted Fez towards the end of Ramadhán, one thousand and twenty-seven (A.D. 1618), and soon after sailed for Alexandria, intent upon a pilgrimage to Mekka and Medína. He arrived at the former place early in 1028, and, having made a short stay at Cairo, started for Arabia in the month of Rejeb of the same year. After duly fulfilling all and every one of the sacred duties incumbent upon a good Mohammedan on such occasions, he returned in Moharram, 1029, to Cairo, where he took a wife and settled. In the month of Rabi' I. of the ensuing year he visited Jerusalem and returned to Cairo, whence he generally started every year on a pilgrimage to Mekka; so that in 1037 he had already visited that place five times, and Medína seven. He returned to Cairo in Safar, A.H. one thousand and thirty-seven (Sept. A.D. 1627), and left immediately for Jerusalem, where he arrived in Rejeb of the same year (Feb. A.D. 1628). After a stay of twenty-five days, he proceeded to Damascus, which city he entered at the beginning of Sha'bán (March, A.D. 1628). Immediately after his arrival, Ahmed Ibn Sháhín Ash-shahíní, a rich and influential person, and a liberal patron of literature, which he himself cultivated with success, gave Ahmed suitable rooms in the college of Jakmak, of which he was the director, and conferred upon him several other distinctions. At the persuasion of this individual, Ahmed afterwards wrote the historical work of which the present is a translation.

While at Damascus, where he stayed only forty days, Ahmed occupied his time in various literary pursuits. He used every day after sunrise to sit under the dome of the eagle in the great mosque, and there deliver eloquent lectures on the *Sahíh* of Bokhárí; but the auditory increasing, and being no longer contained within that narrow space, Ahmed removed to the spacious court of the mosque. These lectures, which generally lasted several hours, from sunrise to near noon, were attended by the principal citizens, as well as by all the scholars and theologians of Damascus; the number of people thus assembled amounting to several thousands. Ahmed left Damascus on the 5th day of Shawwál, A.H. 1037, and returned to Cairo. He again visited that city towards the end of Sha'bán, A.H. 1040, being received by Ahmed Ibn Sháhín and his other friends as kindly as on a former occasion. He then returned to Cairo, and, after a short stay, divorced his wife. He was preparing for another journey to Damascus, where he had determined to settle for the remainder of his days, when he was attacked by a violent fever, which caused his death in the month of Jumáda II., A.H. 1041.

Ahmed Al-makkarí wrote the following works:—I. Blooming buds and flowers of the gardens on the history of the Kádí 'Iyádh.[2]—II. The dissipation of obscurity on the religious duties of an orthodox Moslem.[3]—III. Sweet odour of the flowers on the history of Damascus.[4]—IV. The lean and the fat, the threadbare and the costly.[5]—V. The garden of the sweet-smelling myrtles, or an account of those learned men whom I met during my stay at Morocco and Fez.[6]—VI. Valuable pearls on the names of Allah, our guide and our trust, and marginal notes for a commentary on the Korán.[7]—VII. Bunch of grapes symmetrically arranged on abridged history.[8]—VIII. The gifts of Al-makkarí towards the completion of the lesser commentary (upon the Korán).[9]—IX. The beginning and the growth, a work written entirely in elegant prose or verse.[10]—X. An epistle on the final point with five dots to it, but without having any in the middle.[11]—XI. The eminent victory, or a description of the slippers of the Prophet.[12]

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2 ازهار الكمامة و ازهار الرياض في اخبار قاضي عياض A copy of this work is in the Royal Library at Paris (No. 1377, ancien fond). Abú-l-fadhl 'Iyádh Ibn Músa Al-yahsebí, better known as the Kádí 'Iyádh, was a celebrated theologian, native of Ceuta, but who resided most of his life at Granada. He was born in A.H. 476, and died at Morocco in 544. His life is in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 522). See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 112, *et passim*. He wrote a history of his native city, and a life of the Prophet Mohammed, entitled كتاب الشفاء في تعريف حقوق المصطفي 'efficient means to ensure the knowledge of the true history of the elected,' which is in the library of the British Museum, No. 9513.

3 وفاة الدجنة في عقايد اهل السنة

4 عرف النشق في اخبار دمشق

5 الغث و السمين و الرث و الثمين It is not easy to say, from the title of this work, what its contents may be. Hájí Khalfah makes no mention of it, nor indeed of most of those named here. I should have thought that this title and the following ought to have been joined together, as belonging to the same work, had not the rhythm required their separation.

6 روض الاس العاطر الانفاس في ذكر من لقيته من اعلام مراكش و فاس

7 الدرّ الثمين في اسمآء الهادي الامين وحاشية شرح ام البراهين

8 قطف المهتصر في اخبار المختصر

9 اتحاف المغري [المقري؟] في تكميل شرح الصغري

10 كتاب البداءة و النشاءة

11 رسالة في الوفق [الوقف] المخمس الخالي الوسط The stop which the Arabs use in their writings is generally this ۞

12 فتح المتعال الذي صنفه في اوصاف تعلي [نعلي] النبي صلي الله عليه Hájí Khalfah,

Besides the above works, Al-makkarí appears to have written, according to Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Tárîkh Ibn Khaldún, Mukaddamát*, &c.), a commentary upon the historical prolegomena of Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khaldún. I find also (fo. 647) that he entertained an idea of writing a life of the Prophet Mohammed;[13] and that he began, but did not complete, a Biographical Dictionary of illustrious men born at his own native place, Telemsán, under this title, "The time of *Nisán*[14] on the eminent men of Telemsán."

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who mentions this work (voc. *Fatah*), gives the title differently—فتح المتعال في وصف النعال—and says that it was a poem ending with the letter *ra*.

13 و قد كُنت نويتُ ان اولف في ذلك بالخصوص كتاباً اسميه روضة التعليم في ذكر الصلاة و التسليم علي ما خصه الله تعالي بالاشراف المعانية و التكليم "And I once had in mind to write on this special subject a work, which I was to have entitled 'The garden of instruction on the act of invoking God's favours (*salat*) and his salutation (*teslím*) upon the Prophet,' treating of the sublime conceptions of his mind, and the eloquence of speech with which the Almighty endowed him."

14 انو النيسان في انبآء تلمسان *Nisán* is the name for one of the Syrian months, answering to our month of April.

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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful!

Praise be to God, the Lord of Kingdoms; and his benediction be upon his messenger Mohammed, our refuge from perdition; the favour of God be likewise on the family of the Prophet and on his Companions, whose radiant lights illumine the shadows of the deep, as well as on the learned theologians who plunged into the unfathomable sea of science, and who reached in their writings the superior regions of eloquence.

Thus saith the humblest and most despicable of God's servants, the sinner; he who stands most in need of the abundant mercies of his Lord; the weakest and most abject of his creatures; he who is retained by the bonds of his power and strength, and who is bound by the chains of observance to the *Sunnah*, and respect to the prophetic mission, (all this being effected through the favour of the Almighty, in whom he trusts, and who is his safeguard;) the contemptible, the perishable, the sinner, the criminal, he who is entirely destitute of the garments of piety, Ahmed Ibn Mohammed, known by the patronymic surnames of Al-makkarí, Al-málekí, Al-maghrebí, Al-isha'rí;[1] born, educated, and having passed the first years of his life at Telemsán, and resided afterwards in Fez the magnificent, and in Misr the victorious (Cairo);—may God Almighty make him good both in thought and in action, endow him with pure qualities, and blameless habits; show him the right path in whatever he may think, plan, or undertake; render him fit for the working of good and meritorious deeds, acts of obedience, and other works, actions, and intentions agreeable and acceptable to Him; save him from contamination and pollution, protect him against the deceptions and lies of the Deceiver, defend him from the venomous shafts of calumny and envy, and change his pravity of thought and action, his insignificance, and unworthiness, into such a form as may be acceptable to him.—Amen.

When the Lord, whose decrees are infallibly executed on his servants, and from whose will there is no escape, ordered that we should travel away from our country, and migrate from the place of our birth and infancy, our steps were first directed towards *Al-maghrebu-l-aksá* (the extreme west), a country whose excellences and advantages would be complete, were it not that the demons of discord have been let loose in its peaceful districts, and the foaming waves of civil wars have inundated its fields. This we accomplished at the end of the holy month of Ramadhán of the year one thousand and twenty-seven of the Mohammedan flight (Sept. A. D. 1618), after having humbly implored the Almighty to facilitate our return to our native land, and to restore us to the country where good things are most abundant.

O Lord! said we, before starting for our expedition, with the utmost humility and devotion, listen to our prayer!—permit, through thy infinite bounty, that we may meet, whether in the East or the West, with whatever is good, and that we may find through our course in life such means for our maintenance as thou in thy wisdom hast destined for us,—that we may participate, wherever we reside, in thy ample favours, and live in entire obedience to thy holy precepts, as communicated by thy blessed Messenger, whom thou didst send with the prophetic mission to all nations of mankind, whether red or black, whether Arabs or Barbarians,—(may thy favour and benediction the most complete visit him, and those of his family, and his illustrious Companions and their Followers, who followed them in the path of good and meritorious deeds!) Show us the way through the cultivated plains, and the sandy deserts, that we may not miss through forgetfulness or sloth any of the places mentioned in the holy traditions; and that we may be fully awake to the sense of their sanctity and merits; direct our course through plain and mountain, through field and waste; and when we embark on the sea, when we find ourself placed between its enchantments and its horrors, when we witness the continual dashing of the restless billows, strengthen and comfort our soul, prepare us to meet its numberless perils, and defend us against its treacherous attacks; for—

"The sea is a cruel and implacable enemy; and we expect no mercy at his "hands.
"Knowing the sea to be water, and ourselves to be made of clay; who will "wonder if we suffer from its attacks?" [2]

After this prayer we set out on our travel, and, having reached the sea shore, we threw ourself into the hands of the perfidious element. But when we encountered its terrific waves, when the bone-breaking eagles, disturbed from their nests by the

hands of the wind, came flying in our faces, when we heard the mountains in the distance whistle, while the winds groaned and sighed over our heads, we placed all our confidence in the Almighty God, and trusted to surmount all obstacles by his help and protection; for whoever finds himself in danger on the sea, and trusts in any but in God, is sure of perdition. We were in this state of anxiety when, behold! the tempest increases, and the sea joins its terrific voice to the dismal tunes of the hurricane; the waves, agitated by an irresistible power, go and come, approach and disappear, and, frantic and infuriated as if they had tasted of the cup of madness, they knock and dash against each other, then disperse, then rally again as if they had lost nothing of their vigour, now rising in the air as if the hands of the sky were taking them by the top and dragging them out of their deep cavities, or as if they threatened to snatch the reins of the clouds out of the hands of their conductor; and now throwing open their frightful and dark abysses, until the bowels of the earth became visible. In this critical situation every new gust of the howling hurricane, every fresh attack of the roaring elements, were so many signs of our certain perdition; and the perpetual flapping of the shattered sails, the sight of the waves advancing in close ranks to accomplish our destruction, the awful crashings of the groaning deck upon which we stood, like so many worms on a log of wood, all were harbingers of our approaching death;—our tongue, through fear, clove to our mouth, our heart sank under the weight of our increasing terror, and we deemed ourself the victim offered in sacrifice to our implacable enemy; for wherever we cast our eyes on the rough surface of the impetuous billows, nothing was discovered to appease the fury of the element, and to share our fate; and we thought ourself the only object in the world, besides the unfathomable deep and those who might be buried in its dark abysses.

But our situation was rendered still more miserable and precarious through the watch we were obliged to keep, owing to our proximity to the territories of the infidels, (may God Almighty exterminate them all, and place their country in the possession of the Moslems!) especially Malta, that accursed island, from the neighbourhood of which whoever escapes in safety may well say that he has deserved the favour and protection of the Lord,—that dreaded spot, which throws its deadly shade on the pleasant waters of the Mediterranean,—that den of iniquity and treason,—that place of ambush, which is like a net to circumvent the Moslems who navigate its seas. So what with the danger of the treacherous Christians and the horrors of the sea, we were kept in a continual state of agitation and terror, expecting every moment to meet with our death; for we well knew the cruel disposition of the element with which we were struggling, we knew its unforgiving temper, we

knew that no courage would be sufficient to tame our adversary and break his power, no virtue enough to overcome him and humble his pride; and that no force could be mustered to prostrate him and make him obedient; we knew him to be an enemy who ought on no occasion to be trusted, and who makes no distinction between friend and foe, between poor and rich, between weak and strong, between armed and unarmed, between him who sheds tears, and him who affects sorrow.

"There are three things without remedy in this world, and from which nobody is "safe; the sea, time, and a Sultán." [3]

However, God Almighty was pleased that we should escape both from the perils of the sea, and from the ambushes of our treacherous and impious enemies, the Christians; and that we should discover land, after having lost sight of it for many days; that our eyes should be invigorated and refreshed with the view of the port, after having gazed so long on the horrors of the sea; that our nostrils should be delighted with the smell of the scented gales of security, after having been affected by the nauseous and putrid exhalations of the irritated waves; lastly, that joy and contentment should succeed to sorrow and affliction. We then reached Alexandria, and after a short stay proceeded up the river to Cairo, where we began to think seriously of carrying into execution our project; so, after passing a few days in that city, full of that sublime conception and blessed object which makes the happiness and joy of all the true believers, namely, a visit to the two holy and illustrious spots of Mecca and Medina, we started for our expedition, and, leaving the sea behind us, took the route of Hejáz, trusting in God, and relying on his protection and assistance.

We arrived at Mecca, and visited its illustrious temple, and other holy spots, in the contemplation of which life almost left us, and our soul sank under the excess of its joy. Having fulfilled all the duties incumbent on a pilgrim, we besought God to make us of the number of those who pass their lives in his service; and we remained in Mecca, under the shade of its sanctity, and reaping the fruits of its blessedness, until the time for a pilgrimage to Medina arrived. This was in the first days of the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah[4] of the year one thousand and twenty-eight of the Hijra (in the month of September, A. D. 1619); and when the season for visiting that and other blessed spots came, we prepared for departure without delay, and set out on our intended expedition.

And when, after visiting all the sacred spots which lie between Mecca and

Medina, we set our feet in that latter city, a place which far surpasses in excellency any other country in the world, we exclaimed, in the words of a poet,—

" Blessed be the purpose which brought us to the mother of cities (Mecca), " restrained by the bonds of our faith.

" When we quenched our thirst in the waters of Zemzém, and threw away as " useless what remained of our travelling supply."[5]

From Medina we returned to Cairo, where we arrived in Moharram of the year one thousand and twenty-nine. Soon afterwards we started on a visit to Al-Kods (Jerusalem), and arrived within its blessed walls in the month of Rabi' of the same year. When we had penetrated inside its famous temple, and gazed on its wonderful structure, of which no words can give an idea ; when our eyes had been almost dazzled, and our mind had nearly gone astray in the contemplation of the radiant beauties with which it is illumined, and through which God appears in more shining brightness to man, we anxiously inquired for the sacred ladder ; and having directed our steps to the spot pointed out to us, we saw the place where the best and last of Prophets had stood.

After visiting all and every one of the sacred spots contained within the precincts of the holy temple, and making a seasonable stay in Jerusalem, we once more returned to Cairo, where we fixed our residence, and whence we continued making repeated journeys to the pure valleys ; inasmuch as, up to the present year (being the one thousand and thirty-ninth of the Hijra (A. D. 1629-30), we have visited Mecca five times, and as many times has our heart leapt with joy at the approach of it,—as many times have we trod under our feet the roads of the desert leading to it. (May the Almighty God give us sufficient strength and life to persevere in this good practice !) Moreover, after the performance of our last pilgrimage, we returned to Cairo in the month of Safar of the year one thousand and thirty-seven of the Hijra (November, A. D. 1637), and stayed some time in that splendid capital, until, towards the month of Rejeb of the same year, we were suddenly seized with a great desire of visiting again the holy house of Jerusalem ; we therefore took our departure, and arrived therein at the end of Rejeb, and stayed five-and-twenty days, or thereabouts, God being pleased during that time to furnish us with whatever was necessary for our wants, and to give us the company of virtuous and learned people, from whom we derived both admonition and information. We also visited with the greatest devotion the tomb of our father Abraham, and such among the prophets as are buried with him.

At last, after having accomplished all the duties of a devout pilgrim, having visited most of the sacred spots, such as that of Moses, he who spoke with God, it came into our mind, towards the middle of Sha'bán, to travel to a city, whose excellences and beauties are apparent and manifest,—we mean Damascus, that splendid and magnificent capital, which shines with all sorts of perfections; which has large trees rocking before the wind, sweet-smelling gales which perfume its territory, places of worship and meeting frequented by the believers, houses which are the abode of the great and the honoured; a rich and luxuriant meadow, with enclosed orchards and vineyards, which are continually inviting the inhabitants to partake of their produce,—a perpetual shadow, to keep off the rays of the burning sun; flowers which look as if they were smiling, and whose sweet exhalations embalm the air; young trees whose tender shoots spread in the atmosphere a fragrance similar to that of the everlasting Paradise; and lastly, (to embrace all these perfections under one head,) a garden blooming with every variety of natural and artificial beauty, and glittering with the thousand hues of its innumerable flowers; a city which not only stands the first among those of its class, but which is abundantly provided with every thing that is useful or desirable in life, and of which a poet has said,—

"The beauties of Damascus increase with time, as the qualities of wine improve "in the bottle.

"Damascus has an advantage over other Eastern countries; which is, the "distance of her moons from the West."[6]

We entered Damascus towards the latter end of the said month of Sha'bán, and had to congratulate ourselves upon our having come to it, and to thank God for having inspired us with the idea of visiting it; for no sooner did we begin to wander through its streets, and to gaze on the numerous objects that invited our attention, than our eyes were dazzled with their magnificence, and we forgot all the wonderful things that we had seen in other countries. In this way we visited some of its splendid buildings, and saw some of its great curiosities; and we were so much pleased, that, although our intention had been to stay only three days, a month passed without our thinking of our departure; and during that period of time we had ample opportunity to witness such proofs of its magnificence and beauty, as could not be contained within the limits of a volume, and which it would not be in our power to describe, were we endowed with all the talents of eloquence: for, indeed, the excellences of Damascus are so numerous, that it would be an act of madness in us to attempt their description, especially being, as we are, restrained by the principal object of this work, and pressed by the reader to expose the motives

of our undertaking. We cannot, however, abandon the subject, without stating that Damascus is the abode of happiness, comfort, and contentment; its mosque[7] a building uniting in itself more beauties than the most fanciful imagination can conceive, and its meadow a spot of blessedness and joy, abounding in beauties of all kinds;—

"a place of pleasure and delight, an earthly Paradise."

We had, before our arrival at this city, heard and read so much about it and its inhabitants—(may God prosper and defend them!)—that we had the greatest desire of meeting them; and long before we could put our project into execution we were anticipating the pleasure and utility which their company and society would afford us. We were not a little confirmed in our desire through our acquaintance in Mecca with one of its noblest and most illustrious citizens, one of those virtuous Shaikhs who are like unique pearls strung in the string of time, the right hand of the nobles, and the centre of theologians and preachers; he who is renowned for his writings and his wisdom in judicial matters, whose sentences were always like a discriminating line between truth and falsehood, between innocence and crime; the author of works whose number and merits it would be a hopeless task to describe; the inheritor of science without its troubles, and the endowed with learning and talents of the first order,—the Mufti of the Sultán of those districts, in the sect of An-no'mán,[8] our Lord A'bdu-r-rahmán, son of the *Shaikhu-l-islám* O'mmádu-d-dín, who never through life left the path followed by the directed. This holy man, with whose company and society God was pleased to favour us morning and evening, often told us of the city of Damascus, and of its worthy inhabitants, and strengthened us in our wish to visit it, and live amongst its people, praising in the highest terms their hospitality, their amiable disposition, their love of science, their generosity, and a thousand other brilliant qualities; so that, when we arrived at Damascus, and began to mix in company with the noble and the learned amongst its citizens; when we had witnessed enough of their excellences and virtues to dazzle our eyes, and make us lose our senses, we discovered not only that the information bestowed upon us by the learned judge was correct, but that his most vivid and eloquent descriptions, his most lavish praises, still fell short of their real merits; and that, in the words of a poet,—

"We were surrounded by their qualities shining in every direction:
"And although we had heard much in their praise, the report proved to be true
"when the meeting took place."[9]

We were received by them with the greatest regard and distinction; they hastened to show us all the wonders of their land; the noble and the great honoured us with their consideration and their friendship; the learned imparted to us their science, and furnished us with precious information; every one made us the centre of his affections and the mark of his generosity. (May God remunerate them as amply as they deserve!) We experienced, wherever we went, the most cordial and amicable reception; we were extolled and praised in spite of our ignorance, honoured and esteemed in spite of our wickedness; thanked in spite of our inutility; and, lastly, such was their kindness and good behaviour towards us, that we fancied ourselves one of their family.

Among the most polite and obliging was our Lord Ahmed Ibn Sháhín Effendi;[10] he whose praises ornament the pages of the books, and whose panegyrics fall with more abundance than the autumnal rains; he who is the revolving axle of the noble and the honoured, and the prince of writers and poets; he who, taking us by the hand, led us to the discovery of unfrequented paths of literature, and who poured upon us the torrents of his generosity.

Encouraged by the favourable reception we had met with, we then came to the determination of settling for some time at Damascus—(may God preserve the city and its inhabitants!)—and began to give all our attention to the scrupulous and careful contemplation of all and every one of the beauties contained in its mosque, public buildings, palaces, houses, and streets, as well as to a minute perusal of the natural charms scattered over its fertile meadow: we thus saw and observed many things which might as so many incomparable pearls be threaded in the string of description, while we passed the evenings in eloquent and learned conversations, under the roof of excellent and generous friends, especially under that of the above-mentioned illustrious individual (Ahmed Ibn Sháhín), in whose company we spent the greatest part of the night in pleasant confabulations, exercising and inuring ourselves to the practice of literature and eloquence, drinking of the limpid waters of conviviality and friendship, presenting to each other the marrow of our hearts, spreading the carpet of mirth and good humour, unloosing the strings of formality and respect, discussing literary points, investigating the sources of tradition, diving into the unfathomable sea of theology and jurisprudence, wading through the tortuous maze of history, and travelling over distant lands and unknown regions, calling to our assistance, whenever we were assailed by doubt, the authority and testimony of the various masters in the respective sciences. It was then that such among the company as were eager for science, and covetous of information, began

to inquire about Andalus, and to entreat us to speak of its fertility and productions, to praise its excellences and advantages, to record passages of its history, which eloquence itself could not describe, and to repeat to them the precious sentences, the inestimable maxims, and the invaluable beauties that lie scattered in the writings of its historians and poets. It was then that, holding the reins of justice, and following the road of impartiality, we were imprudent and inconsiderate enough to undertake such a difficult and laborious task, and began to recite such passages of its eloquent writers and poets as we knew by heart and God was pleased to put upon our tongue, especially from the illustrious Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb As-salmání,[11] (may God pour upon him the torrents of his mercy, and make him a participant in his ineffable graces!) whom we frequently represented and described as the knight of prose and verse composition, and the champion who always won the prize in the literary races of his time. And when we had, on many occasions, exhausted our powers in praise of the noble Wizír, when we had represented in the most brilliant colours his merits and virtues, our words happened to make an impression on the ears of our auditors; they would hear of no one but him, and talk of nothing else but his works, until he became the object of their search, and the end of their wishes and hopes; the topic of their conversation, and the idol of their hearts; and, when they had gathered with the hands of desire the abundant crops from his writings, their minds became impressed with his superiority in all the sciences, and their nostrils inhaled the scent of the flowers scattered over his writings. Then our Lord Ahmed Ash-sháhiní, the same illustrious individual in whose praise we have expatiated, the endowed with laudable intentions, asked us to quench his thirst of knowledge respecting the Wizír Lisánu-d-dín, in a work that should relate his origin, education, adventures in life, character, productions, intercourse with kings, poets, doctors, and other learned and eminent men among his contemporaries,—his glorious deeds, which he strung like so many unique pearls on the necklace of time, and his literary remains, on some of which the fatal north wind has exercised his deadly blast: he also requested us to reproduce some of the inestimable jewels, whether in prose or verse, which lie scattered in the Wizír's voluminous works,—those that dazzle with their vivid flashes the eyes of the readers, that surpass in merit all the literary productions of other countries put together, and which have travelled the roads of the sun and the moon.

But our answer was, that the undertaking was by no means an easy one, God having granted science only to a few among his most favourite creatures; we therefore declined the task upon the three following considerations: first, our

insufficiency to conquer the manifold difficulties of a subject which required almost universal knowledge, and a perfect acquaintance with all the branches of literature; secondly, our want of the necessary books to assist us in our task, since we had left our library in Maghreb, and most of the works we wanted were in the East more scarce than the griffin;[12] and thirdly, the nature of the enterprise abounding with cases of a most extraordinary kind, occurring with double force to a mind bent upon melancholy, as ours is, and the division of our attention between the difficulties of the subject and the unhappy events we had to relate.

However, our reasons having been completely disregarded, and our excuses not accepted, we, after some time, seeing the demand reiterated, thought of complying with it by way of acknowledgment for the great favours and attentions we owed to that illustrious individual, and promised him to undertake the task as soon as we should have returned to Cairo. We therefore set off for that city, and quitted Damascus with the greatest sorrow and regret, leaving our heart with the kind and benevolent people by whom we had been so hospitably received, and so generously treated.

Agreeably to our promise, some time after our arrival at Cairo we began the task we had taken on our shoulders, and before many weeks had elapsed we wrote a good portion of it, which would have charmed the eyes and hearts of the lovers of composition; we followed in its arrangement the most frequented paths, we ornamented it with the most precious jewels from the East and West, and we spared no labour to make it acceptable for the learned. But after this we were suddenly seized with a desire to leave our work unfinished; and our idleness representing to us this resolution of ours as an equitable one, we were first led to postpone it, as the debtor postpones the payment of his debt to his generous creditor, and little by little to lay it aside, and then at last to think of not completing what we had begun; thus striking the long space of time we had spent in its composition from the sum of our deserts, deviating from the mark of the arrow of our intention, and leaving in the deep shadows of night descriptions of things and ideas which had never occurred to the mind of any other author. We were persevering in this determination when a letter of that noble Lord came, announcing to us that no excuse whatsoever would be received for the non-fulfilment of our promise, and that he waited in the greatest anxiety the completion of our task; so we were obliged to return to our work, and, spurred by his eloquent and affectionate letter, in which he urged us on to the pursuit, we once more took the pen in our hand, decided not to lay it aside until we had brought our undertaking to an end.[13]

We were fast advancing in our work, when it occurred to us that were we to add to our former plan the history of Andalus, and what Islám performed in it, as well as a description of the manifold advantages which that country possesses, and the heroic deeds of its inhabitants; were we to transcribe such select pieces in prose and verse as would give the scholar an idea of the literary accomplishments of the Andalusians, and to say enough of its history and antiquities to fill the cup of the lover of those sciences, we might, without deviating from our path, (since all this falls within the scope of our subject,) make an important addition to our intended work. We had, it is true, while residing in the *Maghreb* (West), when the shades of youth were declining towards their evening, and when the high regions of thought were getting out of the reach of the attacks of fate, laboured hard on the history of Andalus; we had collected for the description of that country and its inhabitants (two subjects to fill with delight the hearts and souls of the lovers of science) the most interesting and valuable documents, and the most curious and complete written as well as oral information; we had described minutely the aptitude and superiority of the Andalusians in the sciences, their forwardness and courage in attacking the cruel enemy of God; the enchanting beauties of the spots which they formerly inhabited, the sites of their contests and battles; of all which we had amassed treasures enough to satisfy the wishes and ambition of the most excellent and scrupulous historian, and collected a sufficient number of unique pearls to bewitch the minds of the readers, and gathered in the delightful paths of their literature flowers enough to gratify the senses of the studious, and strung together many useful and hitherto unknown things, in a manner to make the eyes of the learned and ingenious start out of their orbits with pleasure and astonishment: all this, moreover, was written by us in such an elevated and pleasing style, that had it been publicly delivered by the common crier, it would have made even the stones deaf.

But, alas! the whole of this we had left in Maghreb with the rest of our library; so that we had nothing to assist us in our gigantic undertaking but what little still remained impressed on our mind and memory, and a few detached leaves of our work, which, when inquired for, answered our summons, and happened by chance to be among our papers: for had we at present with us all we had collected for the purpose, and what we had ornamented with the inestimable jewels of narration, all eyes would have been dazzled, and all hearts rejoiced; for certainly it would have been the most extensive and complete work ever written on the subject. But, such as it is, we offer it to our readers; for man is the son of times and circum-

stances, and every one spends according to his means: so if the arrow of our action falls short of the mark of our intention; if we remain behind in the path that we propose to follow; if our style, instead of being elevated and sublime, becomes humble and low; if, while extracting the account of an historian, we swallow too quickly the milk of the breasts of abridgment; if, instead of joining and connecting the accounts of the various writers, we leave them separated and disjointed; let our excuse be the liability of all God's creatures to error, and the facility with which authors, by over-rating their strength, fall into mistake and delusion. However, we have done our best to make it as useful and complete as possible; for he whose stock of learning is but scanty can only avoid falling into error by extreme and scrupulous attention and care, as the weak cannot avoid temptation otherwise than by continually repeating prayers.

Know ye, then, O readers of this book! that when we had determined upon the completion of our work, we began to think seriously about the most suitable division of its parts, and the proper arrangement of the information contained in it. We therefore, after much consideration, divided it into two separate parts, to each of which we gave a different title, although both make, as it were, the soul and body of the work, and are equally deserving of the unreserved attention of the studious. The first part, in order to attain better the object of our work, and for the sake of brevity, as also in order to curtail some accounts which it would have been impossible to abridge, and which would have appeared too long, we thought of dividing into eight chapters.

Chap. I. will contain a description of the island of Andalus, and of its beautiful climate and mild temperature, which is the same every where; as likewise an account of the manifold advantages and gifts with which God was pleased to endow it; its limits and geographical dimensions; the fecundity of the ground fertilized by copious rains; the fruits and productions of its soil; the imposing ruins and magnificent remains scattered over its surface; as also a detailed account of some of its principal provinces, with the most remarkable cities contained in them.

Chap. II. will show how the Moslems conquered Andalus; and how and at what time the whole of that extensive country was subdued by their victorious arms, under the command of Múza Ibnu Nosseyr, and Tárik Ibnu Zeyád, his freedman; how its rich plains became the hippodromes wherein the Arabs exercised their generous steeds, and its fields were converted into pasture-grounds and halting-

places for their camels: it will also contain the narrative of the conquest, borrowed from the most authentic sources, and such information about the early times of Islám in Andalus as we have been able to collect.

Chap. III. will be a chronological history of such illustrious Moslems as were, by their sanctity and virtues, the firm supporters of religion, or who, engaged in perpetual battle with the enemy of God, defeated him morning and evening, never resting from the fatigues of the holy war, but prosecuting it with incredible ardour through pain and toil, over hill and dale: it will likewise contain an account of the disposition and forwardness of the Andalusians to face the enemy on every occasion, relate some of their heroic deeds and praiseworthy actions, and inform the readers of their constancy and ardour in observing the holy precepts of their *Sunnah*, and defending them with drawn swords against the attacks of the infidels.

Chap. IV. will give the history of Cordova, that illustrious capital and seat of the Khalifs, from which the conquerors sallied out who trod on the necks of the impious Christians, and brought down their pride;—of its great mosque, built by the Sultáns of the family of Merwán, and decorated with glittering magnificence, and works of art dazzling to the eye;—of the manifold beauties contained in the two royal seats in its neighbourhood, namely, Medínatu-z-zahrá, built by An-nássir, and Medínatu-z-záhirah, which Al-mansúr erected;—of the numerous pleasure-gardens and other spots of recreation in which its environs abound; the extensive and fertile territory, with its productions of every kind;—and lastly, several anecdotes and historical accounts which are intimately connected with this subject, and will fill with delight the hearts of the acute and the studious.

Chap. V. will be entirely consecrated to the history of those Andalusians who quitted their native country to travel into the distant regions of the East, and to enter the territories pure from contamination, and free from heresy; as also to commemorate the praises which the said eminent doctors, the endowed with superior minds and virtuous propensities, lavished on Damascus, that mole on earth's cheek, that terrestrial Paradise; together with such information respecting its principal orators and best writers among its present inhabitants as we deemed necessary to illustrate our narrative. It will also contain the conversations which these illustrious individuals, whose well-directed arrows always hit the mark of their intention, notwithstanding that their modesty and self-denial are excessive, held with the despicable and unworthy writer of the present work, when, dismounting from the camel of peregrination, he alighted amongst them, in the year one

thousand and thirty-seven of the Hijra, and had therefore an opportunity of witnessing their rare excellences, and being almost offuscated by the brightness of their virtues.

Chap. VI. A biography of several Eastern worthies, who, guided by the torch of direction, which was rapidly being extinguished in their own country, bent their steps towards Andalus, where they implanted, by their stay, the seeds of virtue and learning; and who, on their return to their native land, delighted the ears of their audience with tales respecting the countries they had visited.

Chap. VII. A sketch of the manifold gifts that God Almighty has lavished upon the people of Andalus, such as quickness of intellect, power of reason, strength of imagination, and retentiveness of memory;—their prodigal expenditure in the acquisition of knowledge, and their wonderful efforts to arrive at fame;—their superiority in all the branches of literature, as likewise some of their witty sayings and clever answers, their jokes, epigrams, satirical traits, and some selections from their writings; all tending to show their aptitude for science and literature, and their undeniable pre-eminence and superiority in all the branches of learning.

Chap. VIII. How the impious enemy of God subdued the island of Andalus, after putting in practice all his treasons and deceits against it, surrounding it with his circumventing nets, and exciting dissensions and civil wars among the kings and chiefs of the Moslems;—how the shrewd Christian acted, and how he conducted himself, until (may God confound him, and extirpate his progeny to the last!) he conquered all the territories which acknowledged the sway of Islám, and obliterated from them the worship of the only God, substituting that of the Trinity and its abominable rites, inscribing its name with the hands of sacrilege and impiety on the threshold of the temples and other places of worship consecrated to the only and indivisible God.—How the Andalusian Moslems (of Granada), surrounded on every side by the enemies of their faith, solicited in eloquent epistles, either in prose or verse, the assistance and help of their Moslem brethren of the East and West; and how, their entreaties being disregarded, under the plea that the enemy guarded all the avenues to that city, and that their forces were not sufficiently numerous to contend with the various nations of Christians who besieged it, they fell helpless and unarmed into the hands of their cruel enemy. May God restore to it the words of Islám, and re-establish in it the laws of his blessed messenger, the Lord of the Creation, (upon whom be blessing and salutation!) and expel from it and the surrounding countries all the infidel nations!

Such will be the division[14] and arrangement of the first part of this work, in which we have not introduced any chapter respecting the Wizír Lisánu-d-dín; for, as the reader will see, the second, which forms the bulk of this work, is exclusively consecrated to him, the first part being only, as it were, an episode in the life of that eminent and illustrious individual.

As to the title which we have chosen for our work, we must state that our first thought was to name it "Sweet Odour emanating from the History of the Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb;"[15] but, when we determined upon adding to our plan the history of Andalus, we changed our mind, and entitled it, "*Fragrant Smell from tender shoots of Andalus, and the History of the Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb.*"[16] We must add that we were not a little stimulated to the composition of the work, and to divide it in the manner we have just described, by several reasons: the first and principal, because the individual who was the cause of the composition of this work was himself a native of Syria, and born in the illustrious city of Damascus; the second, that the conquerors of Andalus were for the most part Syrians, all men of courage and determination; the third, that the greatest part of the Arab families who settled in Andalus in the first centuries after the conquest, fixing therein their permanent residence, and carrying with them wherever they went prosperity and power, were originally from Syria; and lastly, that the city of Granada was chiefly inhabited by people from Damascus, who, struck by the resemblance which that former city bore to the capital of Syria, in its palaces, rivers, abundance of trees, and profusion of flowers, named it after their native city.

We shall now beseech the readers to look at this our book with the eyes of indulgence; not to inquire further into the motives of its being written, nor to think about him who was the principal cause of its composition; but, putting aside all these and other considerations, to place all their reliance and trust in its contents, to forgive such errors as they may detect, and to pardon the mistakes and want of judgment of the author. We further request them not to examine our narrative with the eyes of close criticism, whenever they see us struggling either with the obscurities of the language, or with the insurmountable difficulties of history; but to treat us with indulgence, and to consider, that although our work may not satisfy their wishes, yet it is not altogether devoid of utility and interest; and it may lead them to the discovery of more precious information. For our part, we are satisfied with our most intimate conviction of not having spared either time, expense, or labour, to render this book as useful and agreeable as possible, and feel confident that very few works will be found to surpass the present, or even to compete with

it, in point of abundance and diversity of matter. We therefore consider it as a valuable gift, and as such we hope that it will be received with open arms by all lovers of learning and information.

In the course of our narrative we have occasionally introduced quotations, in prose and verse, from various writers, especially whenever we deemed it expedient or necessary for the illustration of our subject ; and we have likewise brought in such anecdotes of Kings, Wizírs, Kádis, Poets, and other learned men, as we thought would be an example for future generations, and a salutary admonition for all our readers.

HISTORY

OF

THE MOHAMMEDAN DYNASTIES IN SPAIN.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Etymology of the name of Andalus—Climate—Geographical Divisions—Dimensions of the Country—Shape—Ancient divisions—First settlers—Vandals—Africans—Romans—Ishbán, son of Titus—Bishtilikát—Goths—Iskhander.

In the name of God, whose assistance we humbly beseech and implore, we shall begin by describing the Island of Andalus,—a country whose excellences are so numerous, and of such a kind, that they cannot easily be contained within the limits of a book, and that no words can be found sufficiently strong to give an idea of them. For our part, we consider Andalus as the prize of the race won by the horsemen who, at the utmost speed of their chargers, subdued the regions of the East and West.

Etymology of the word "Andalus."

Respecting the etymology of its name different opinions prevail; some authors, like Ibnu Sa'íd,[1] derive it from Andalus, son of Túbál, son of Yáfeth, son of Núh, who settled in it, and gave it his name, in like manner as his brother Sebt, son of Yáfeth, peopled the opposite land, and gave his name to the city of Sebtah (Ceuta). Ibnu Ghálib[2] follows the same opinion, but makes Andalus to be the son of Yáfeth. Ibnu Hayyán,[3] Ibnu Khaldún,[4] and others, derive it from *Andalosh*,[5] a nation of barbarians who settled there. This latter opinion seems the most probable; but God is all-knowing.

Climate.

The country of Andalus (may God restore it entire to the Moslems!) has been described both by native and foreign writers in the most pompous terms. The Wizír Lisánu-d-dín[6] Ibnu-l-khattíb, (may God show him mercy!) in one of his historical works, says as follows: "God Almighty has distinguished this our "country by endowing it with gentle hills and fertile plains, sweet and wholesome

" food, a great number of useful animals, plenty of fruits, abundance of waters, " comfortable dwellings, good clothing, beautiful vases, and utensils of every " description; fine weapons, a pure and wholesome air, a slow succession of the " seasons of the year. He has also endowed its inhabitants with great aptitude for " the sciences and the arts of domestic life; acuteness of mind, quickness of intel- " lect; courage, ardent love of every thing which is noble, and many other brilliant " qualities, which are not to be found united in people of any other country."

Abú 'Obeyd-illah Al-bekrí Al-andalusí[7] compares his native country to Shám (Syria) for purity of air and sweetness of waters, to Yemen for mildness of temperature, which is every where the same, to Hind (India) for drugs and aromatic plants, to Al-ahwáz[8] for the magnitude of its snakes, to China for mines and precious stones, to 'Aden for the number and security of its coasts and harbours.

Geographical position.

Abú 'A'mir As-salámí,[9] in his work entitled " *Durru-l-kiláyid wa ghurruru-l-fawáyid,* (pearls of the necklaces, and stars of useful things,) says that Andalus belongs to the climate of Shám (Syria); that which, of all those into which the earth is divided, is reckoned the best and most temperate, which has the finest land and waters, and which abounds most in animals, fruits, and productions of all kinds: " that climate," he adds, " occupies a middle place among the other climates, and " is therefore considered the best, it being well known that the most preferable " portion of any thing is that which is in the middle."

The Sheikh Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Músa Ar-rází[10] says that Andalus is situated at the extremity of the fourth climate towards the West, and that all learned authors agree in describing it as a country with delightful valleys, and fertile lands, rich in all sorts of agricultural productions, watered by many large rivers, and abounding in springs of the sweetest waters. It contains but few wild beasts, or venomous reptiles; the air in winter is mild, and the coolest breezes temper the heat of summer. The climate is so temperate all the year round as to make the transition from one season to another almost imperceptible; in fact, it may be said that a perpetual spring reigns all over Andalus, this being the reason why most of the fruits of earth grow in all seasons, and the crops succeed one another without interruption; owing, too, to the different qualities of the soil, the same produce may be obtained all the year round in various provinces of Andalus; as, for instance, on the coast and the lands adjoining to it all fruits of the earth are very forward, while in the Thagher[11] and its districts, and especially on the mountains, where the air is colder, they are, on the contrary, very backward. Most of its fruits, also, partake of a flavour and beauty which are not common to those of other countries.[12]

That Andalus is situate in the fourth climate appears sufficiently demonstrated

by the words of the geographer Idrísí, as quoted by Ibnu Sa'íd: "Andalus," says that author, "has no portion of its territory within the third climate, but "the fourth passes by its southern coast, and includes Cordova, Seville, Murcia, "and Valencia; thence it goes towards Sicily, encloses this and other islands in "the neighbourhood, leaving the sun at the back. The fifth passes by *Toleytoleh* "(Toledo), *Sarakostah* (Saragossa) and the environs; then by *Arghon*[13] (Aragon), "at the southern extremity of which is the city of *Barshelónah* (Barcelona), thence "it proceeds to Rome and the country subject to that city, divides the *Bahru-l-* "*Banádikeh* (Gulf of Venice) into two parts, and comprises *Costantíniyeh* the "great (Constantinople) and its territory, leaving behind the planet called "*Az-zahrah* (Venus). The sixth passes by the northern coast of Andalus, "that which is washed by the waters of the circumambient sea, includes part of "Castile[14] and Portugal,[15] a great portion of the country of the Franks, Georgia, "and the country of the Sclavonians and Russians, leaving behind the planet "called *'Ottárid* (Mercury). The seventh comprises the circumambient sea to "the north of Andalus, the island called *Alinkilterrah*[16] (England) and others "in the neighbourhood, as well as the remainder of the countries of the Franks "and Sclavonians, Georgia, and Berján.[17]—According to Al-beyhakí[18] the island "of Túlí,[19] and the two islands of Al-ajbál[20] (Norway) and An-nisá[21] (Amazones) "and several other districts of Russia, fall within the limits of this seventh and "last climate, which has the moon at its back."

Respecting the name of *Al-jezírah* (the island) by which all authors agree in designating Andalus, it must not be understood by it that that country is, properly speaking, an island; since it is well known to be joined to the great land (continent) by the chain of mountains called *Al-bort*[22] (Pyrenees), but the Arabs in general call by this name all those countries which are surrounded by water on every side but one, and this being the case with Andalus, it was called *Al-jezírah*. Two principal seas wash the shores of Andalus; on the northern and western side the circumambient sea (Ocean), on the southern and eastern the sea of *Shám* (Mediterranean). By the sea of Shám we understand that sea which begins at the lower extremity of Andalus, at a place on its south-western coast called *Jezíratu-l-khadhrá*[23] (Algesiras), between Tangiers in Africa and the coast of Andalus, taking from thence its course towards Syria. The width of this sea at the said spot is generally stated at eighteen miles; which is also the distance between Jezirah Taríf[24] (Tarifa) and Kasr Masmúdah[25] (Alcasar), near Ceuta. Between these two last mentioned places there was once a bridge, which, according to common opinion, Iskhander (Alexander) ordered to be built,

that he might pass from Andalus into the opposite land of Africa. But of this more will be said in the course of this narrative.

The narrow sea thus emerging from between the two coasts was called *Bahru-z-zokák*[26] (the narrow sea). Although the distance between the two shores is so small, as we have already observed, this strait is nevertheless very difficult to be passed, owing to the continual agitation of its waves, and the frightful whirlpools occasioned by the meeting of the two seas. We have said that the width of the straits at the narrowest part was eighteen miles; it is double that width at Ceuta, and from thence the sea begins to grow wider and wider, until at some places it reaches 800 miles in breadth, or perhaps more; as happens at Súr (Tyre), on the coast of Syria. This sea contains many islands, which some geographers estimate to be twenty-eight in number, and of which the principal are Sicily, Malta, Sardinia, Corsica, Crete, Corfu, and so forth.

Dimensions of the country.

The dimensions of the country are differently stated: Al-mes'údí,[27] in his "Golden Meadows," says, "Andalus is very thickly peopled; nearly two months "of continual marching are required to traverse it from one end to the other. "It contains nearly forty cities of the first rank." Ibn Alisa'[28] agrees with Al-mes'údí in this particular; his opinion is that the length of Andalus from Ariónah[29] (Narbonne) to Ishbónah (Lisbon) is equal to the distance that a horseman well mounted may travel in sixty days; but this is decidedly an error, first of all because Narbonne is, by that author, placed within the limits of Andalus, while it is evident that it belongs to another country; and secondly, because the distance between those two cities is much overrated, as most of the authors who have written on the subject estimate it at only one month and a half's march.

Ibnu Sa'íd, however, endeavours to adjust the difference by supposing that Ibn Alisa' meant a horseman *not* well mounted, and travelling by short stages, and that his text was vitiated by the copyist. He himself adopts the computation of the Sherif Idrísí as that which deserves more credit, namely, that the length of Andalus is of one month's march. The same opinion is followed by Al-hijárí,[30] who, having, as he informs us, consulted with well informed and trustworthy travellers on the subject, learnt from them that a little more than a month's good travelling was sufficient to traverse Andalus in its whole length.

The last mentioned author (Al-hijárí) estimates the distance from Lisbon to *Al-hájiz*[31] (the Pyrenees) at more than one thousand miles, but whoever wishes to obtain more information on the subject may consult Ibnu Sa'íd, who has treated the matter at full length.

The width of Andalus measured at the top, towards the north-east, is forty miles, this being the length of those mountain barriers which separate it from the country of the Franks, and which stretch along from the Mediterranean to the Ocean; if measured at the centre, as for instance drawing a line to pass by Toledo, it is sixteen days' march.

Its shape, according to all accounts, is that of a triangle; much difference, however, exists among geographers respecting its north-eastern[32] angle, namely, that which falls in the neighbourhood of Narbonne: some authors, like Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ar-rází and Ibnu Hayyán, placing it in Narbonne, a city immediately facing Bordhil (Bourdeaux)[33] on the north-east; while others only place it in the neighbouring districts. But this, as well as other points concerning the topography of Andalus, has been decided by the Sheríf Idrísí, an author in whose accounts implicit reliance may be placed, not only because he traversed that country in all directions, navigated its seas, and surveyed its coasts, but also on account of the great knowledge he acquired in the science of geography. Shape.

The words of Ar-rází on the subject are as follows: "The shape of Andalus "is that of a triangle, the angles of which are placed, one at Kádis (Cadiz), where "stands the famous tower with an idol at the top, or rather at that spot on the "extreme south where the Mediterranean begins, directing its course to the east. "The other to the east of Andalus, between the cities of Narbonne and Bordhil, "which are now in the hands of the Franks, falling diametrically opposite to the "two islands of Mayórcah (Mallorca) and Menórcah (Menorca), and at an equal "distance from the Ocean and Mediterranean, which in those parts are separated "only by an intervening tract of land called *Al-abwáb* (the Gates), being gorges "or passes which serve as a communication between the island of Andalus and "the great land (continent) of which Afranjah (France) forms part. At this "place the distance between the two seas is of two days' march, Narbonne being "on the coast of the Mediterranean, and Bordhil facing the Ocean. The third "angle is placed in the north-west, in that spot of the country of *Jalikiyah* "(Galicia), where there is a mountain near the sea, and on it a very high tower, "with an idol on the top, similar to that of Kádis, and looking towards Birtániah "(Britain)."

Ibnu Sa'íd says, "having once asked the opinion of several men learned in "these matters, I was told that Idrísí's statement seemed the most worthy of "being received, namely, that neither Narbonne nor Bordhil were within the "limits of Andalus, and therefore that the angle in the east must be placed "between the cities of Barshelónah (Barcelona) and Tarkónah (Tarragona), at "a spot called *Wádi-Zanlakalto*,[34] close to the mountain barrier which there

"divides Andalus from the continent, where many different languages are spoken. "These mountains have several passes or gates, which a Grecian king[35] ordered "to be opened in the rock with fire, vinegar, and iron, for before his time there "was no communication whatsoever by land between Andalus and the continent. "The said gates or passes face that part of the *Bahru-z-zokák* (Mediterranean) "which divides the two islands of Mallorca and Menorca, this being a fact which "is corroborated by the assertions of all travellers in those districts. The second "and third angles are placed by Idrísí in the same situation that the authors "before mentioned agree in giving them, viz., in the promontory called *'Ajma'u-"l-bahráni*,[36] near the city of Shant Yakóh (Santiago) in Galicia, where the "famous beacon stands; and in the mountain of *Al-aghar*,[37] near Cadiz, the "site of the well-known tower which has an idol on the top of it. Near this "mountain, in a south-west direction, is the spot where the *Bahru-z-zokák* (narrow "sea) emerges from the Ocean, and from whence, after washing the southern and "eastern coasts of Andalus, it reaches one side of the Pyrenees."

Ancient divisions.

Andalus was divided, following the words of Ar-rází, into two parts:—Andalus *Al-gharbí* (Western), and Andalus *Ash-sharkí* (Eastern), the division having been made according to the prevailing winds, the fall of the rains, and the course of the rivers. The *Gharbí* (western) was that part of Andalus whose rivers empty their waters into the Western Ocean, and where it rains when the winds blow from the western quarter; the *Sharkí* (eastern), which was also called *Al-aksá*, or the remote, being, on the contrary, that whose rivers flow to the east, and where it rains when the easterly winds blow. The dividing line between these two districts was placed by Ar-rází in the mountains of the Basques (Al-bashkans) towards the east, from thence drawing a line to the city of Santa Maria,[38] then inclining a little towards the district of Agreda, in the neighbourhood of Toledo, and at last approaching that part of the Mediterranean which washes the shores of the modern Cartagena, which belongs to the district of Lórcah (Lorca). All the countries falling eastward of this line were therefore comprised within the limits of Eastern Andalus, and those to the west within those of Western Andalus. The boundaries of the latter were: to the north-west, and west, the Ocean; to the south the Western Sea, whence the Mediterranean, which the ancients called also *Bahr Tirren*,[39] issues to take its course towards Syria. *Bahr Tirren* means the sea that divides the globe: it was called also the Great Sea.[40]

Abú Bekr 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakam, known by the surname of Ibn An-nadhdhám,[41] treating of the said division, adds a few particulars which we repeat here for the sake of information. "Andalus," he says, "was divided into two "parts by ancient geographers, who observed that whenever winds from the west

" prevailed, it rained much in Western Andalus, and there was drought in the " Eastern; and, on the contrary, when the wind blew from the east, rain fell " in abundance in the Eastern, and the Western was dry and parched. The " same difference was observed respecting the course of rivers, for all the rivers " in Western Andalus flow from the east to the west, forcing their way through " those mountains[42] that traverse it in the middle, and are only a branch detached " from the mountains in the north-western districts. In the Eastern all rivers " flow from west to east, for although some of them take a more southern " direction, yet they all spring from the said mountains in the centre of Andalus, " and discharge their waters into the Mediterranean, which goes on to Syria, " and is known also by the name of Bahru-r-rúmí (the sea of Greece). As to " the rivers of the north-western districts[43] (Al-Júf), including those of the " country of the Galicians, and its dependencies, all empty themselves into the " great ocean (Atlantic), which washes the shores of those countries."

First settlers Vandals.

The same author (Ibn An-nadhdhám) says that the first people who, after the deluge, settled in Andalus, according to the accounts of foreign writers, were a nation called Andalush, who gave their name to the country. This word *Andalush* being in the course of time corrupted by the Arabs, who changed the letter *shin* into *sin*, it was written and pronounced Andalus, which is the present name of this country.[44] Those barbarians came to Andalus and settled in it; and their numbers having increased considerably, in the course of time they filled the whole country and established different kingdoms in it. But being idolaters (*Majús*), and otherwise inclined to depravity and corruption, they lived in entire disobedience to the divine precepts, until God Almighty, perceiving their obstinacy, withdrew the rain from them, and the whole country was thereby exposed to the most dreadful sterility; fountains sank into the bowels of the earth, rivers altered their course, trees dried up, plants withered, and both men and beasts experienced the most raging thirst, owing to which most of the inhabitants perished, with the exception of a few who escaped from death by flying into distant lands. Thus freed from these people, Andalus became a desert, and continued so for one hundred years,[45] for that great calamity was not confined to any part of its territory, but ravaged the whole country from the Pyrenees to the furthest extremity in the Western or Green Sea. The reign of the Andalush had lasted one hundred and odd years.

Africans.

At last, after Andalus had remained in that state for the said period of years, God Almighty was pleased to send other settlers; these were certain people whom the king of Africa had banished his dominions, because of their having excited sedition in his state, and instigated his subjects to revolt against him.

After making war against them until they were nearly exterminated, he caused the few who remained to be embarked on board some vessels, and giving them for commander an officer of the name of Batrikus, he allowed them to go whither they pleased. Batrikus and his men first cast anchor at a place on the western shore of Andalus, and settled at Cadiz. Having afterwards advanced into the interior of the country, they found that, owing to the fall of rain, the land had recovered its former aspect, the fields were adorned with verdure, the rivers flowed, the fountains ran, and the trees were covered with leaves. Encouraged by what they saw, they proceeded still farther, spread themselves about the country, extended their settlements, built cities and towns, and increased their numbers by marriage. However, they settled in preference in that part of the country between the place of their landing in the west, and the country of the Franks in the east, and appointed kings to rule over them and administer their affairs. Their religion was the same as that of their predecessors in the country, that is, they worshipped idols. They fixed their capital at Talikah (Italica), a city now in ruins, and which once belonged to the district of Ishbíliah (Seville). But, after a period of one hundred and fifty-seven years, during which eleven kings of that race reigned over Andalus, God Almighty permitted that they should all be annihilated by the barbarians of Rome, who invaded and conquered the country.

Romans. " After the defeat and destruction of the Africans, the empire of Andalus " devolved to the people of Rome and their king Ishbán, son of Titus,[46] after " whom Andalus was called *Ishbániah*. Some authors assert that the real name " of this king was Isbahán, and that he was called so on account of his being " born in the city of Isfahán; only that the barbarians corrupted it and called " him Ishbán; but, be this as it may, certain it is that this king Ishbán founded " Seville, and called it after his name Ishbániah, which in after time became also " the appellation of the whole country, owing to the numerous ruins of works " and edifices erected by him, which are still visible in many parts of Andalus. " This king Ishbán is generally held as one of the conquerors of the earth. He " invaded Andalus, and by the favour of God, who gave victory to his arms, he " made war against the inhabitants, dispersed their armies, slaughtered and cap- " tured their men, and besieged them at last in their capital, the city of Italica. " The Africans made a most desperate resistance, and, the place being very strong, " held out a considerable time, until Ishbán, impatient of the delay, caused the " city of Seville to be built opposite to Italica, and, pressing on the siege, took it " by storm. By the taking of Italica, which he ordered to be demolished, and " its marbles and effects carried to his new city, the whole of Andalus submitted " to Ishbán, who, having completed the building of Seville, chose it for his court

"and residence, established his authority permanently, increased his armies, and "pursued his career of conquest. Scarcely two years had elapsed when he "sailed from Seville with a fleet, attacked Ilía,[47] which is the same as Al-Kods "(Jerusalem) the illustrious, plundered and demolished it, killed one hundred "thousand Jews, spared one hundred thousand, and caused its marbles and "effects to be transported to Andalus. This Ishbán further subdued all his "enemies, and his reign was very prosperous." The preceding account is taken, word for word, from Ibn An-nadhdhám. We may add to it what a certain historian says to prove the taking of Jerusalem, although he attributes the conquest to another king, namely, that most of the wonderful things which the Moslems found among the spoils of Andalus at the time of the conquest, such as the table of Suleymán, son of Dáúd, (upon whom be peace!) which Tárik Ibn Zeyád found in a temple at Toledo, and the pearl necklace taken by Músa Ibn Nosseyr from the church at Merida, as well as a great many other precious objects and jewels, of which a more ample description will be given hereafter, were part of the share in the spoil which, at the taking of Jerusalem by Bokht Nasser, fell to the lot of a king of Spain, whose name was Berián,[48] and who was present at the conquest of that city. The whole of these precious objects had been in former times the property of the Prophet Suleymán, son of Dáúd, for whose use the Jinn had constructed them. How the contradictory accounts of these two historians are to be adjusted we cannot decide, unless Ishbán and Berián be the same person: God only is all-knowing.

To return to Ishbán. Ibnu Hayyán, in his historical work entitled "the book "of the seeker of information respecting the History of the Barbarians,"[49] says that this Ishbán was once a very poor man from the lower ranks of society, and as he was one day engaged in ploughing a field with his oxen, Al-khadher[50] (on whom be peace!) appeared before him, and addressed him thus: "O Ishbán, thou "art destined to perform great deeds; thou shalt reign, and thy fame shall spread "far and wide. When thou takest Ilía, be kind to the descendants of the "Prophet." And Ishbán answered, "Thou art jesting, no doubt, or I am not "the person thou meanest, for I am a poor and weak man, and am obliged to "hire out my services to gain a living, and certainly it is not for people of my "class that the empire is reserved." "No matter," replied Al-khadher, "what "I tell thee is the plain truth; it is predestined, and it shall happen: He has "decreed it who has the power to change that dry rod thou bearest in thy "hand into a green bough." Ishbán looked, when lo! it suddenly turned green, flourished, and was covered with leaves. Ishbán was astounded when he saw the miracle; he tried to speak, but his tongue clove to his mouth; he looked Ishbán.

for Al-khadher, but Al-khadher was gone, he had vanished from his sight. However, the words of the Prophet remaining deeply impressed on his mind, he began to turn over what had been said to him, and the result was that he soon afterwards left his master's service, and associated with men of courage and determination, amongst whom he became conspicuous for his prowess, until he arrived at power and performed what has been related. His reign lasted twenty years, and he transmitted the empire to his posterity, of whom fifty-five kings ruled over Andalus.

Bishtilikát or Visigoths.

After this the country was invaded by other barbarians coming from Rome, and called Bishtilikát,[51] who, with their king Talubush,[52] son of Beytah, at their head, arrived in Andalus, after conquering on their way the country of the Franks, which they governed by their prefects. This took place about the time of the resurrection of the Massih (anointed), son of Mariám, (on whom be peace!) They conquered the whole of Andalus, and fixed their court at Merida, remaining in undisturbed possession of the country during the reign of twenty-seven monarchs, until they themselves were subdued by the Goths, who with their king at their head invaded Andalus, and separated it for ever from the empire of Rome.

Goths.

The Goths fixed their capital at Toleyalah (Toledo). However, Ishbíliah still continued to be the abode of the sciences, and the dwelling-place of the most noble among the Ishbánians. About this time the Apostles sent by 'Isa Al-massih (the anointed) began to wander about the world, calling the people to his religion. In some countries their words were heard, and thousands of people embraced the religion which they preached; in others they were unheard, and put to death. Among those who adopted their creed, and honoured the Apostles, was Khoshandinus[53] (Constantine), king of the Goths, who not only embraced Christianity, but called upon his subjects to do the same. This Khoshandinus is held by the Christians as the greatest king they ever had, and as the most accomplished, upright, virtuous, and wise monarch that can be imagined. It was he who introduced Christianity into his dominions, where it has flourished ever since, and used to decide in all law cases with the assistance of the Gospels, those books upon which various opinions prevail, as also upon their writers or compilers. Several kings of the posterity of Khoshandinus reigned after him in Andalus, until that country was finally subdued by the Arabs, by whose means God Almighty was pleased to make manifest the superiority of Islám over every other religion.

The number of kings of Gothic descent who reigned over Andalus is stated in the old Christian chronicles to have been thirty-six, from Atánáuinus,[54] who

reigned in the fifth year of the Emperor *Filibus*,[55] in 407 of the era of *Safar*,[56] from which the barbarians compute their years, to Ludherik, their last king, who reigned in 749[57] of the said era; and in whose time the Arabs conquered Andalus and overthrew the Gothic empire: their domination, moreover, is said to have lasted 342 years.

However, there are not wanting authors who make of the Goths and the Bishtilikát only one nation, but the generality think, as we have said, that they were distinct people, that the latter were the barbarians of Rome, that they fixed their court at Merida, and that the kings of their race were twenty-seven in number; that the Goths came afterwards, subdued the country, and made the city of Toledo the seat of their empire. All agree, however, in stating the number of their kings to be thirty-six. The Goths, according to Ar-rází, are the sons of Yájúj, son of Yáfeth, son of Núh; others give them a different origin.

Before leaving the subject of the ancient history of Andalus, we deem it proper to transcribe here the words of the Kádí-l-kodá Ibnu Khaldún Al-hadhramí,[58] in his great historical work. "The opposite land," he says, "which the barbarians "call *Andalush*, is inhabited by various nations of western Franks, among which "the most powerful and numerous are the *Jalalcah* (Galicians). Hundreds of "years before the manifestation of Islám, the Goths, after fighting many battles "with the Latins, laid siege to their capital, the city of Rome; after this, peace "was made between them, one of the conditions being that the Goths should "go to Andalus; and they accordingly went to that country and took possession "of it. When the Greeks and Latins embraced Christianity, they induced the "nations of Franks and Goths who dwelt beyond them in the west to do the "same, and they accordingly became Christians. The Goths, who had possession "of Andalus, established their capital in Toledo; but it was not always so, for in "the course of time their kings resided by turns in Seville, Cordova, or Merida,[59] "besides the above-mentioned city. Their dominion lasted for nearly 400 years, "until God Almighty was pleased to spread Islám and conquest over their "country. Their king at that time was named Ludherik, an appellation generally "given by the Goths to their kings, as the Romans call their emperor Kaysar "(Cæsar), and the Sicilians name their king Jerjíz."[60]

Iskhander comes to Andalus.

If we are to believe the ancient traditions, Iskhander (Alexander) must also have resided in Andalus; the remains, too, of a bridge erected by him, between Tangiers and Algesiras, are reported by Idrísí as still existing in his time. The building of the bridge originated thus: It is generally asserted that, in times of old, the Mediterranean was a lake surrounded by land on every side, like the sea of

Tabaristán (the Caspian sea), whose waters have no communication whatsoever with those of other seas, and that Andalus and the opposite land of Africa were joined together so as to form only one continent, owing to which the people of the remote West (*Maghrebu-l-aksa*) were continually making incursions into Andalus, and visiting its inhabitants with destruction and war. On the arrival of Iskhander in Andalus, the people appeared before him, and humbly besought him that he would put a stop to the hostile incursions of their neighbours, upon which Iskhander, having taken the subject into consideration, called together his architects and geometricians, and bid them appear in his presence on the spot now occupied by Bahru-z-zokák (Straits of Gibraltar). He then commanded them to measure the level of the two seas (the Ocean and Mediterranean), which being done, the first (the Ocean) was found to be a little the higher. This being reported to Iskhander, he issued immediate orders for the demolition of all the cities which stood on the coast of the Mediterranean, enjoining at the same time that they should be rebuilt farther into the country on more elevated situations. He next caused a deep trench or canal to be dug between Tangiers and Andalus, and the digging was carried so deep into the earth that the crests of the mountains of the lower world became visible.[61] When the excavation was completed, a wharf,[62] of great dimensions, and built with stone and mortar, an admirable work of art, was erected all along the coast of Andalus, measuring in length twelve miles, the distance which then separated the two seas. Another wharf of similar dimensions was constructed along the coast of Tangiers, and the space left between the two was six miles, which is exactly the width of the straits at that spot. This being done, he caused another great excavation to be made on the side of the Ocean, and, when every thing was ready, the waters of the great sea (Ocean) were let into the excavated space between the two wharfs, but with such a fury did they rush into the Mediterranean that its bed was filled, the neighbouring countries were inundated, many cities were submerged, and thousands of people perished in the waves. The waters covered both the wharfs, and rose to a height of eleven ells. The wharf nearest to Andalus is sometimes visible at low water, when it looks like a great parallel line; the inhabitants of the two islands[63] call it *Al-kantarah* (the bridge). As to the African one, it is no where visible, having been completely swallowed up by the waves, which inundated on both sides a piece of ground measuring twelve miles, and were only checked in their progress by the mountains on either side. The ports in this strait are, on the side of Africa, Kasru-l-majáz (Alcasar), Tangiers, and Ceuta; on the side of Andalus, Jebel Tárik (Gibraltar), Jezírah Taríf (Tarifa), Jezíratu-l-khadhrá (Algesiras), and others.

Between the last-mentioned port and Ceuta is the widest part of the strait. The preceding has been abridged from Idrísí, who treats the subject at full length.[64]

We shall now pass to the description of some of the principal cities of Andalus; but before engaging in this we deem it necessary to state, that, owing to the plan we have adopted in writing this work, it may happen that in transcribing or extracting the accounts of different historians some facts are repeated, and others entirely contradicted; but let our excuse be that we have been obliged to connect, one with another, the narratives of writers of all countries and ages.

CHAPTER II.

Division of Andalus into three great districts—The central—Cordova—Granada—Toledo—Malaga—Almeria—Jaen.

LET the reader know that the Island of Andalus, (may God Almighty restore it entire to the Moslems!) was divided into three great districts, the central, the eastern, and the western.[1] The *central* comprised many cities of the first order, and which might be called kingdoms, as their jurisdiction extended over populous districts and large governments, as, for instance, Cordova, Granada, Malaga, Toledo, Jaen, Almeria.

Cordova. Among the great cities of Andalus, Cordova has no doubt the preference. Its mosque, of which we shall treat elsewhere, and the famous bridge called *Al-jezr*,[2] built, according to Ibnu Hayyán, in the Khalifate of 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, and under the direction of the governor who then administered the affairs of Andalus[3] in his name, are objects which have occupied the imagination and wit of the poets. Amongst others, an Andalusian doctor has said—

"Cordova surpasses all other cities on earth in four principal things: its "bridge over the Guadalquivir, its great mosque, the city of Az-zahrá, and "the sciences therein cultivated."

The following description occurs in the *Al-mishab* of Ibnu-l-hijárí:—"Cordova "was, during the reign of the Bení Merwán, the cupola of Islám, the meeting place "of the learned, the court of the Sultáns of the family of Umeyyah, and the re-"sidence of the most illustrious tribes of Yemen and Ma'd. Students from all "parts of the world flocked thither at all times to learn the sciences of which "Cordova was the most noble repository, and to derive knowledge from the mouth "of the doctors and ulemas who swarmed in it. Cordova is said to have been "to Andalus what the head is to the body. Its river is one of the finest in the "world, now gliding slowly through level lawns, or winding softly across emerald "fields sprinkled with flowers, and serving it instead of robes; now flowing

" through thickly planted groves, where the song of birds resounds perpetually in " the air; and now widening into a majestic stream to impart its waters to the " numerous wheels constructed on its banks, or communicating to the plants and " flowers of the vicinity freshness and vigour."

It is related of the Sultán Ya'kúb Al-mansúr,[4] son of the Sultán Yúsef, and grandson of the Sultán 'Abdu-l-múmen Ibn 'Alí, that he once asked one of his generals what the people said about Cordova. His answer was the following saying, so common amongst the people; the North of Cordova is *Shammám*, the West *Komám*, the South *Modám*, she herself and Baghdád are paradise; meaning by *Shammám* the beauty of the mountain of Roses, by *Kommám* the sweetness of all the fruits growing in her meadows, and by *Modám* her river.[5]

Another anecdote is told of his father the Sultán Yúsef: they say that he once asked Abú 'Omrán Músa Ibn Sa'íd Al-'ansí[6] to give his opinion about Cordova, and to describe its advantages, and that Abú 'Omrán having declined to do so unless he heard before what the Sultán himself thought on the subject, the Prince of the faithful then said, "What I know about Cordova is this, that during the " dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah, and when it was the capital of their empire, its " limits were considerably enlarged, and its population increased most rapidly; " that its streets, houses, public buildings, and palaces were almost innumerable; " the revenues arising from taxes very considerable, and the productions of agri- " culture exceedingly plentiful; that a very fine river washes its walls, that the " temperature is mild, and lastly, that it is placed in the heart of Andalus. This " is all I know about Cordova." "What then remains for me to say, O Prince of " the faithful!" said Abú 'Omrán.

The Imám Ibnu Bashkúwál,[7] quoting the words of Abú Bekr Ibn Sa'ádeh,[8] gives another anecdote respecting Cordova. "Abú Bekr," he says, "and his " brother travelled upon a certain occasion to Toledo, where, soon after their arrival, " they went to visit the Ustedh Abú Bekr Al-makhzúmí, who having asked them " whence they came, Abú Bekr answered 'from Cordova;' 'and when?' said " Al-makhzúmí; 'just now,' replied Abú Bekr. 'Then,' said the Sheikh, 'come " nearer to me, that I may smell the air of Cordova on thy garments.' 'I " approached him,' says Abú Bekr, 'and he began to smell my head and to kiss " it, and then, bidding me to take a pen and paper, he dictated to me the following " verses extempore:

'O my beloved Cordova! when shall I see thee again! when shall the ' time come

' When I may see the clouds pouring torrents of rain upon thy western ' quarters, and the thunder shaking with violence the roofs of thy houses.

'Thou art like an enchanted spot; thy fields are luxuriant gardens, thy 'earth of various colours resembles a block of rose-coloured amber.'"

But the most elegant description of Cordova that we have read any where is undoubtedly that contained in the *risáleh* (epistle) of Ash-shakandí.[9] As we shall often have occasion to refer to it in the course of this work, we deem it necessary to acquaint the reader with the motives which led to the writing of that composition. Ibnu Sa'íd tells us, on the authority of his father, who was an eye-witness, that a dispute once arose in presence of Abú Yahya Ibn Abí Zakariyyá, Lord of Ceuta, between Abú Yahya Ibnu-l-mo'allem, a native of Tangiers, and the Sheikh Ash-shakandí of Cordova, on the advantages of their respective countries, Africa and Andalus, each claiming the superiority for the land of his birth: the conversation growing warmer, Ash-shakandí said to his opponent, "Were it not for "Andalus, Africa, thy country, would never have been known, nor would its "advantages, whatever they may be, have been justly appreciated, had not our "historians and poets pointed to them in their writings: were I not afraid of "annoying the illustrious individuals in whose company we are, I would soon "prove to thee the truth of what I advance." "By the Lord," exclaimed the Amír, who was lending an attentive ear to the arguments of the contending parties, "go on, that is just what we want," and his countenance was all of a sudden illumined by the rays of vehement curiosity. Ibnu-l-mo'allem then replied— "Dost thou really mean to say that excellency and power reside any where else "but amongst us? Prove it." Ash-shakandí was on the point of undertaking the defence of his country, when the Amír interposed and said "the subject is "too important to be treated thus extempore; let each of you retire, and com- "pose a *risáleh* (epistle) in praise of his own country; you may then treat the "subject at large, and I shall be enabled to decide between you." Ash-shakandí then produced the master-piece of eloquence and learning to which frequent allusion will be made in the course of this narrative, and from which we borrow the following:

"Praise be ascribed to God who permitted that there should be in Andalus "people to take into their hands the praises of those who distinguished them- "selves; Him who makes lasting whatever he pleases, and who has no one to "oppose him, and no one to find fault with him; since who will call the day "darkness? who will say ugly to a handsome face? I have found a subject "abundant with matter, since I have been endowed with a tongue to express and "utter. I praise Him because he made me one of his creatures, because he chose "me to be one of those who acknowledge and adore him, because he caused me "to be sprung from a noble and illustrious race, because he gave me a mind to

"admire and a tongue to praise the meritorious deeds, and the worthy qualities "of my countrymen; and I ask his blessing and favour for our Lord Mohammed, "his illustrious messenger, and may God's everlasting peace and salvation be on "his family and companions—those of the good deeds and pure intentions!

"But to proceed,—I have been stirred out of my tranquil state, and disturbed "out of my peace; I have been driven out of my pacific disposition to defence and "contradiction by a disputer on the excellences of Andalus, who wishes to separate "what is joined, and that we should bring to him things which neither spectators "ever saw nor hearers ever heard of before, or if any did, they never transmitted "their knowledge to us, since neither those who saw, nor those who heard, were "authorized to do so.[10] He pretends to make Africa superior to Andalus, which "is as much as to say that the left hand is better than the right, and that night "is brighter than day; and, O wonder! he wishes to oppose glass beads to "inestimable pearls, and to put pebbles by the side of rubies, and low lands on a "level with inaccessible mountains; he might as well blow on a hearth where "there is no fire, or go a hunting provided with stones instead of hawks, as "presume to make great what God Almighty created small, and to lead astray "what He decreed should be a guide.

"Where are thy wits gone? what is become of thy wisdom and penetration, "when the love of thy country has induced thee to extinguish both thy lights, that "of thy eyes, and that of thy reason? As to thy expression 'our sovereigns,' I "must say that they are ours too, as can be proved by those words of a poet—

'One day against us, and another for us; sometimes women, and some- 'times eagles.'[11]

"For although it be true that the court of the West is now held in one of your "cities, owing to the Khalifate being in the hands of the Sultáns of the family of "'Abdu-l-múmen, (may God Almighty perpetuate it in their hands!) we also "have had Sultáns of the Korayshite family, of whom an Eastern poet has said—

'I belong to a family of noble and generous people; a race whose march 'is proclaimed by innumerable minarets.

'Khalifs among the Moslems; powerful conquerors among the infidels: 'the source of every generous action, the fountain of honour and glory.'[12]

"And of whom a Western poet has said also—

'Are we not one of the Bení Merwán; whatever may be our fate, what- 'ever may be the turn of fortune's inconstant wheel?

'Whenever a birth takes place among us does not the earth assume at 'his aspect the appearance of a full moon? do not the minarets quake at 'the sound of his proclamation?'[13]

"During their reign this country produced authors and poets enough to "ornament all the rest of the world, and whose names alone were to the pages "of the book of time what the collar is to the neck of the ring-dove;

'Whose fame found its way to all regions which the sun illumines with 'its rays, and travelled over all the seas and lands where the wind reaches 'with its blast.'[14]

"Kings, who never ceased one moment ruling over mankind, and of whom a "poet has said—

'The Khalifate in your family seems to be eternal, and the Sultáns have 'succeeded each other as the pearls in a necklace united by the thread.'[15]

"Until God Almighty decreed that their thread should be cut; and their "empire should vanish. They disappeared, and their history with them; they went "away, and their very traces have been obliterated.

'The ornament of earth they were while they lived; after their death, alas! 'their names will only embellish books and give value to history.'[16]

"For how many noble actions did they not furnish the historian with? How "many of their memorable sayings became the property of the poet, to drive "both him and the historian to despair with the difficulty of the subject?

'Since man always leaves behind him some memorial; and thine will be 'a real treasure for the collectors.'[17]

"One of their greatest kings was Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, of whom I shall "merely mention to thee a few circumstances, for I know of no other Moslem "who, in his conquests of the Christian territory, reached, sword in hand, to "the very shores washed by the green sea, who did not leave in the infidel "country a single Moslem captive, who surpassed Herkal (Heraclius)[18] in the "number of his armies, Iskhander (Alexander) in prudence and military talents, "and upon whose tomb, when his doom was decreed, the following verses were "engraved:

'The traces he left behind will tell thee who he was, as if thou sawest 'him with thy own eyes.

'By Allah, the succeeding generations will never produce his equal, nor 'one who knows better how to defend our frontiers.'[19]

"More praises have been sung of this Al-mansúr, and more books have been "dedicated to him, than is easy for me to enumerate and inform thee of, so "much so that the fame of his name reached as far as Baghdád, and the most "remote corners of the globe were filled with the report of his good and bad "qualities.

"However, when, after the breaking of the necklace and the scattering of its

" pearls, the kings of small states[20] divided among themselves the patrimony " of the Bení Umeyyah, the cause of science and literature, instead of losing, " gained considerably by the division, since every one of the usurpers disputed " with each other the prize of prose and poetical composition, and overstocked " their markets with all departments of science; encouraged literature, and treated " the learned with distinction, rewarding them munificently for their labours: " their principal boast was to have people say, the learned man such a one is " held in great esteem by the king so and so—or the poet such a one is much " beloved by the king so and so; so that not one is to be found among them " who has not been distinguished by the most brilliant qualities, or who has " not left behind him traces that the hand of time will never obliterate, and " which will be transmitted to future generations in the writings of orators and " poets. Such, I am told, was the case with the Sclavonian Eunuchs of Al- " mansúr, who rose in their governments after his death, such as Mujáhid, " Mundher, and Khayrán, not to mention the Arab sovereigns of the dynasties " of Bení Abbád, Bení Somádeh, Bení Al-afttas, Bení Dhí-l-nún,[21] Bení Húd, " all of whom were so much praised and extolled by poets, that had the same " praises been bestowed on night she would have become lighter even than " day; and the poets never ceased presenting each other with the offerings of " the sweet-scented gales playing among the flowers, and making upon their " treasures the attacks of Al-barádh,[22] until their ambition grew such that one " of their poets swore that he would not praise a king in a *Kassídeh* under " one hundred dinárs, and Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád, having heard of it, sent " for him and ordered him to write one, and used all sorts of persuasion to " induce him to do it, but he obstinately refused to comply with his wishes " unless he agreed to give him the sum he asked, it being worthy of remark " that Al-mu'atamed was not only the most powerful sovereign of his time, " but one who could bear the least opposition on the part of a subject.

" One of the greatest acts of generosity that ever a monarch performed towards " a subject appears in the following anecdote, which is a further illustration of " what I have advanced. It is related that Abú Ghálib,[23] the philologist, having " once written a very fine work, Mujáhid Al-'ámirí, who was then king of " Denia, sent him as a present one thousand dinárs, a horse, and a rich suit " of dress, requesting him at the same time to say that the work had been " written by his orders.[24] This, however, Abú Ghálib refused to do, and, sending " back the present, he gave the following answer—' This book I wrote merely " for the use of the public, and in order that my name might be handed down " to posterity; were I to put at the head of it any other name but mine, all

"the honour would be his. No, I will not consent to it.' When this answer "was brought to Mujáhid, instead of being offended, he was much gratified and "astonished to see the high temper of his soul, and his courage and determination; "he returned him the presents, and said—'he might at any rate have mentioned "me in his book; this is a thing happening every day; however, I shall not insist "any longer.'

"But it being a notorious fact that all the kings of Andalus known by the name "of 'Kings of small states' vied with each other in filling their capitals with "learned men and poets, and encouraging by their unusual profuseness all the "branches of literature, I shall not stop to detail their actions. I shall merely "remind thee of the princes of the illustrious dynasty of the Bení 'Abbád, with "whom, as God Almighty has said in his Korán, reside fruit, palm, and pome-"granate, under whose reign every day was a solemn festivity, and who showed "a greater passion for literature than was ever shown by the Bení Hamdán in "Aleppo,[25] and who became, together with their sons, relatives and Wizírs, the centre "of eloquence both in prose and in verse, labouring assiduously and unanimously "in the various departments of science; who left behind them brilliant traces, and "everlasting fame, and whose history abounds in generous actions and noble deeds "that will last through succeeding ages, and live for ever in the memory of man. "And if what I advance be not true, by Allah, do tell me the names of countrymen "of yours who have distinguished themselves in any path whatever before the "establishment of the present Muhadite dynasty. Dost thou mean Sakmút the "Hájib,[26] or Sáleh Al-baraghwáttí?[27] or perhaps Yúsef Ibn Tashfín, who, if he "acquired any fame, owed it merely to his connexion with Ibn 'Abbád, who, being "the centre of the poets of his time, and the target to which they directed their "praises and their verses, whenever they treated about him the name of Yúsef was "necessarily introduced; otherwise, I ask you, would he have been known, an "ignorant and rude Beydawí as he was? and if not, I will relate to thee the words "which they attribute to him. They say that Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád asked "Yúsef once, 'O Prince of the Moslems! dost thou know what these poets say?' "'No, by my soul,' said Yúsef, 'unless it be that they ask for bread.' But what "I am going to state proves still more his ignorance: when Yúsef, some time after "this, parted from Al-mu'atamed, and retired to his capital in Africa, the latter "wrote him an epistle, in which was the following distich:

'Thou art gone, and my sides shake for want of thee, and the water of our 'desert has dried up.

'Thy departure has changed our days into nights, the obscurity of which 'only thy presence can dissipate.'[28]

"When these verses were read to Yúsef, he exclaimed, 'What does he ask for? "Does he not say he wants us to send him black and white slave girls?'

"'No, O master!' replied the reader; 'he only means to say that his night "becomes a day at the approach of the Prince of the Moslems; since the nights "spent in pleasure are called *white*, and those passed in affliction and sorrow *black*. "Thus he expects that with thy return day will again dawn for him.' 'Very well,' "replied Yúsef, 'answer him that our tears are dropping for his sake, and that *our* "*heads* are aching for love of him.' Such was Yúsef's answer; and would to God "that Al-'abbás Ibnu-l-ahkáf[29] were living, in order that he might have learnt "from him to show tenderness of love.

"But to proceed,—since thou hast dared to dispute with us the superiority in "the sciences, tell me, has thy country ever produced a theologian like 'Abdu-"l-málik Ibn Habíb, whose decisions are in force to this day? or like Abú-l-"walíd Al-bájí? or like Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-'arabí? or like Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd, "the elder? or like Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd, the younger, his son,[30]—all of whom "were the shining luminaries of faith, and the bright torches of the religious "observances instituted by our holy prophet? Canst thou bring forward in the "science of traditions men like Abú Mohammed Ibn Hazm,[31] who adhered strictly "to his principles of austerity and devotion in the midst of honours and riches, "and while filling the high situation of Wizír, and who showed himself more "ambitious of literary fame than of any other, and who said, when he heard that "his books had been consumed by fire—

'Do not speak to me of burnt vellum and paper; do not lament the 'information contained in them, and destined for mankind.

'For if the books are burnt, their contents are not so; since they are 'still alive in my head.'[32]

"Canst thou point out men of the merit of Abú 'Amru Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr, the "author of the *Al-istidhkár* (recollections) and *At-tamhíd*, (the book of levelling)? "or like Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-haddád, who is justly called the Háfedh of Andalus under "the present dynasty? Has thy country ever given birth to men equal to Ibnu "Sídah,[33] the author of the book entitled 'foundations of language,' and the "book of nouns, of whom if it be true that he was deprived of the organ of sight, "it is no less true that his intelligence and acuteness were unbounded? Has "Africa produced grammarians like Abú Mohammed Ibnu-s-seyd, or works that "can be compared to his? or like Ibnu-t-taráwah, or like Abú 'Alí Ash-shalúbín, "who is one of the most eminent men of the present day, and whose reputation "has spread far and wide over the East and West? Where are those that can be "compared to Ibnu-l-bajeh for their acquirements in the science of music and "philosophy? What king of Africa canst thou oppose to Al-muktadir Ibn Húd,

"Sultán of Saragossa,[34] who was a real prodigy of nature in astrology, geometry, "and natural philosophy? Canst thou produce in medicine men of the merit of "Ibnu Tofayl, the author of the epistle of Hiyyi Ibn Yokttan,[35] and well known "also by his labours in geometry and natural philosophy? or like the Bení Zohr, "first Abú-l-'olá, then his son 'Abdu-l-málik, then his son Abú Bekr, all three in "succession?[36] Name to me historians like Ibnu-Hayyán, the author of the "*Al-matín*[37] and *Al-moktabis*, or philologists and literati like Abú 'Amer Ibn "'Abdu-r-rabbihi,[38] the author of the *Al-'ikd;* or men that have exerted themselves "more in preserving and transmitting to posterity the traditions, events, and "advantages of their respective countries than Ibnu Besám, the author of the "*Ad-dakhírah:* certainly thou art not able to do so; but even supposing it "granted, that thou couldst produce one like them, would he not look like a "treasure in an empty house? Canst thou boast of eloquent poets like Al-fat'h "Ibn 'Obeyd-illah, of whom people used to say, that if he praised, the object of "his praises rose in estimation; and on the contrary, if he reviled, he abased him "against whom his attacks were directed, the proofs of which abound in his "*Al-kaláyid*,[39] a work to which I refer thee? What shall I say of Ibn Abí-l-Khassál "and his *Tarsílah*?[40] What of Abú-l-hasan Sahl Ibn Málik,[41] who is one of our "most eminent preachers of the present day?

"Have you a poet like the Sultán Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád, when he said "respecting his father—

'The general on the morning of battle awakes thousands; after which he 'himself goes to sleep; certainly he is not to be blamed.

'He has a hand which the proudest men kiss; were it not for the dew of 'generosity which flows from it, we should think it to be the stone at 'Mekkah.'[42]

"Have you a king who wrote on the various departments of science, and all and "every one of the branches of literature, a work composed of one hundred volumes? "I can then point out to thee Al-modhdhafer Ibn Al-afttas, king of Badajoz, whom "neither the wars that raged in his time, nor the grave duties of the state, deterred "from cultivating the sciences with the greatest ardour.

"Canst thou name to me Wizírs like Ibnu 'Ammár,[43] who wrote that famous "ode without a rival in its kind, and the melody of which is sweeter to the ear "than news of the arrival of a beloved object, and which begins thus:

'Thou madest thy spear flourish from amidst the heads of their greatest 'kings, when thou sawest the branches of the trees pining for the blossom;

'Thou didst stain thy breast-plate in the blood of their bravest warriors, 'when thou sawest the fair decked with crimson robes.'[44]

"Or like Ibn Zeydún,[45] the author of another celebrated ode, the like of which "has never been written in point of tenderness and melody, and of which the "following verses form a part:

'We passed the night alone, with no other companion but friendship and 'union; and while happiness and slumber fled from the eyelids of our 'detractors,

'The shadows of night retained us in the secret bonds of pleasure, until 'the tongue of morning began to herald our names.'[46]

"Where are your poets like Ibn Wahbún, who uttered extempore, and in the "presence of Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád, that well-known composition which "begins thus—

'Am I not taught that death is the end of man's peregrination, and the 'tomb is the habitation and comfort of the weak?

'And that the perils of death and perdition are the best token for the 'brave that the reward after them is abundant?'[47]

"Where is there a poet like the poet of Andalus, Ibnu Darráj,[48] whom Ath-"th'álebí[49] pronounced to be the Motennabí of Andalus, and who used to praise "kings in so eloquent a strain that I take my oath if a prince of the Bení "Hamdán had heard him, he would undoubtedly have dismissed all the poets of "his court?

"Name to me one of your poets who has described the colour which a "draught of pure wine imparts to the cheeks of the drinker, in verses similar to "these, which are the composition of the Sheríf At-talík.

'The wine has coloured his cheeks, like a rising sun shining upon his 'face; the west is his mouth, the east is the lively cup-bearer's hand.

'When the sun had set behind his mouth, it left upon his cheeks a rosy 'twilight.'[50]

"Canst thou point out to us a poet, who, in the act of reciting some verses in "public, seeing the audience show signs of astonishment and disapprobation at "hearing him compare a smiling mouth to the camomile flower, the cheeks to "anemones, and the flowers of a garden to stars, uttered extempore the following "verses in excuse, as an exculpation for having used such comparisons?

"The first, comparing the lips to a camomile flower, are as follows:

'Morning has gone round like a cup-bearer with the vase of light in her 'hand, and from her copious pouring day has been produced.

'The gardens offer us their anemones, whose fragrance pervades the air, 'like the perfume of the sweetest amber.

'Tell us, we asked, where is the camomile flower? We were answered,

'I left it behind, I destine it for the lips of him who shall taste the 'cup.

'The drinker then tried to deny her words; and from their mutual 'smiles dawn was produced.' [51]

"The following is his apology for comparing the flowers to stars:—

'Dew is making the round of these gardens, and morning has exercised 'her power on the flying shadows of night.

'The jars of scented wine are only waiting for the arrival of a cup, to put 'us in possession of their inviting contents.

'When the stars in our globe vanish before our eyes, it is not in the West 'that they hide their luminous orbs; indeed they come to deposit them in 'the midst of these parterres.' [52]

"This is his excuse for using anemones in comparison with cheeks—

'The gardens shine with anemones, and the light fresh gales are perfumed 'with their scent.

'When I visited them the clouds had just been beating the flowers, and 'making them as deeply tinged as the best wine.

'What is their crime? said I, and I was told in answer they stole from 'the cheeks of the fair their beauty.' [53]

"But it is high time that I should lay down the reins of poetry which I have held "so long in my hand, and that I should proceed to the description of the mag-"nificent cities, well populated districts, fertile fields, impregnable castles, copious "rivers, luxuriant valleys, well cultivated plains, and inaccessible mountains, in all "of which this country is as superior to thine as day is to night, as the lion is to "the ant, as the hawk to the sparrow, as the spirited horse to the broken-down "ass. I shall begin with Cordova, the court of the Khalifs of the West.

"Cordova was in former times the seat of the Andalusian empire, the repository "of science, the minaret of piety and devotion; the abode of magnificence, su-"periority, and elegance. It was the dwelling-place of the first conquerors, and of "their followers, and became afterwards the court of the Sultáns of the house of "Merwán. Among its numerous advantages, that of having been the domicile of "the famous traditionists, Yahya Ibn Yahya [54] and 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Habíb, [55] "both of whom held traditions from the mouth of Málik Ibn Ans, is not the least "important.

"They say that when Ibnu Sáreh, [56] the poet, entered Cordova, he extemporized "the following verse:

'God be praised, I am in Cordova, the abode of science, the throne of the 'Sultáns!'

" Cordova may be properly called the military camp of Andalus, since it was " at one time the common meeting-place of those splendid armies which, with " the help of God, defeated at every encounter the worshippers of the crucified. " It is said of Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, that when his authority had been " firmly established both in Andalus and in Africa, and his armies and treasures " had been considerably increased, he held a general review of his troops previous " to an incursion which he meditated into the enemy's territory (which was carried " into effect, and the country subdued). The number of troops which, from the " various provinces of the empire, assembled on the outskirts of Cordova on this " memorable occasion is generally stated at 600,000 foot, and 200,000 horse.[57] " It is true that since that time the glory and power of Cordova has been " considerably reduced, but its precincts still swarm with valiant soldiers who " are continually coming to blows with the infidel, and whose hands are never " at rest, and many a captain might be named into whose heart fear never " entered, and whose name is well known in the distant Christian kingdoms, " where the memory of his deeds will live for ever.

" I have heard also of its famous mosque, which was lighted with bronze lamps " made out of Christian bells; and of the great addition made to it by Al-mansúr, " which was entirely built with the materials of demolished churches brought " to Cordova on the heads of Christian captives.

" I have heard it said that the cities of Cordova, Az-zahrá and Az-záhirah, " together covered at one time a piece of ground measuring ten miles in length, " which distance might be traversed at night by the light of lamps, placed close " one to another.[58] I have heard also of its magnificent bridge, and of the " innumerable mills which the river puts in motion, and which are estimated at " no less than five thousand. I have heard of its *canbániyah*[59] (meadow), and " of the great fertility with which God Almighty has endowed the earth of its " districts, and the abundance and good quality of grain and other agricultural " productions which it yields every year.

" Every one who has been in Cordova must have heard of the mountains called " *Jebalu-l-warad* (the mountains of the rose), owing to the innumerable rose trees " that grow on them. Indeed their numbers are so surprising, that although a " *roba* (five-and-twenty pounds weight)[60] of rose leaves will at times fetch at " Cordova four dirhems, or perhaps more, which makes it a great source of " revenue to proprietors, yet no one prevents the people from plucking them on " his grounds.

" The Guadalquivir at Cordova is by no means so fine a stream as it is at " Seville, yet its waters are sweeter, and there is not so much danger of being

"drowned; its banks are besides more pleasant, being covered with orchards, "plantations, and pastures, which enliven the eyes of the spectators, and have the "most brilliant effect." The preceding has been copied literally from Ash-shakandí.

The character of the Cordovans is thus described by Ibnu Sa'íd. "They are "very fond of power, and haughty, but at the same time modest; riches and "science among them are hereditary, and they exhibit as much zeal in the "gaining of the former as in the acquirement of the latter. They are generous, "brave, and kind to their equals or inferiors; but they are the worst people on "earth to obey, and the most difficult to be governed: indeed their disobedience "to their kings and rulers has become almost proverbial. In proof thereof I "shall quote here the words attributed to Sídí Abú Yahya,[61] brother of the Sultán "Ya'kúb Al-mansúr. He had been governor of Cordova for some time, and when "on his return to Africa he was asked to give his opinion on the people of "Cordova, he is said to have answered,—'They are like the camel, which fails "not to complain whether thou diminishest or increasest its load, so that there "is no knowing what they like, to give it them, nor what they dislike, to avoid "it. It seems as if God Almighty had created them to be continually engaged "in war, or in the midst of civil dissensions: indeed in this respect they are worse "than the people of Irák. They say that I have been removed because I treated "them with too much severity, and yet they solicit me to return to them, but "my answer is,—the scalded cat dreads the fire.'"[62]

Cordova was the city, of all the earth, where the greatest number of books was to be found. Abú-l-fadhl At-tífáshí[63] relates the following anecdote:—"I was "once before Al-mansúr Ya'kúb when a dispute arose between the faquih Abú-l-"walíd Ibn Roshd and the Káid Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr, and the former said, in "praise of Cordova, 'I know not what thou sayest, but what I know is that when "a learned man dies at Seville, and his heirs wish to sell his library, they "generally send it to Cordova to be disposed of, and when on the contrary a "musician dies at Cordova, and his instruments are to be sold, the custom is "to send them to Seville.'"

But of the cultivation of science in Andalus, and especially in Cordova, as well as the description of its great mosque, the famous bridge, the royal seat of Medínatu-z-zahrá, and so forth, it is our intention to treat in a separate chapter of this work (if God Almighty permit us). The cities formerly belonging to the jurisdiction of Cordova were Ezija,[64] Bolcún,[65] Ronda, Cabra, Gh//áfek,[66] Al-modovar,[67] Estepa, Baena, Lucena, Alcozer.[68]

Granada. Another of the great cities of Andalus is Gharnáttah (Granada), which some authors are of opinion ought to be written with a *hamza*, A'gharnáttah,[69] a word

which means a pomegranate in the language of the Christians. If that city could reckon no other honour but that of having been the birth-place of the Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb, that alone would be sufficient.

The following verses of an Andalusian poet will show the great estimation in which this city was held by them.

" Granada has not its like in the world; neither Cairo, Baghdád, nor
" Damascus, can compete with it.

" We can only give an idea of its great value by comparing it to a beautiful
" bride, of whose dower those countries should form part."[70]

Lisánu-d-dín, in one of his poetical compositions, where he introduces some verses in praise of Granada, has the following:

" What has Cairo to boast of with her Nile, since Granada has one thousand
" Niles within its Shenil."

But in order to understand this it is necessary that the reader should know that the numerical value of the letter *shin* (which is the first in the word Shenil) is among the western Arabs one thousand, so that when we say *Shenil*[71] it is as if we said one thousand Niles.

Shenil is not the only river that passes by Granada; according to Ibnu Málik Ar-ro'ayní there is another considerable stream called Daroh (Darro), and numberless brooks;[72] several bridges for the use of the inhabitants are erected over them.

When the traveller Ibnu Battúttah[73] arrived in Andalus on his return from his long travels, he visited Granada, which he describes in the following terms. " Granada is the capital of Andalus and the husband of its cities, its environs " are a delightful garden, covering a space of forty miles, and have not their " equal in the world. It is intersected by the well-known river Shenil and " other considerable streams, and surrounded on every side by orchards, gardens, " groves, palaces, and vineyards. One of the most pleasant spots in its neigh- " bourhood is that known by the name of *'Aynu-l-adamar* (the fountain of tears),[74] " which is a spring of cold and limpid water placed in the midst of groves and " gardens."

All authors agree in designating Granada by the name of Shám (that is, Damascus), although they differ as to the way in which it acquired that name; some pretending that the district of Elvira, of which Granada was formerly a dependency, was called so from the Arabs of Damascus having settled in it at the time of the conquest; while others refer its origin to the striking similitude which that city bears to the capital of Syria, in the numberless brooks that wind through its meadows, and the infinite number of trees with which its territory is covered. The author of the *Minhâju-l-fakar*[75] (open way to reflection) concurs

in the latter opinion, but the former is the most common; besides, the opinions of these authors may be easily reconciled, for Ibnu Málik Ar-ro'ayní says that the people of Damascus were sent thither on account of the similitude the country around Elvira bore to the place of their birth, and thus both the above-mentioned circumstances might be pointed out as having led to the origin of its name.

Elvira was an ancient city close to the site now occupied by Granada; this is sufficiently demonstrated by the words of Ibnu-l-khattíb, Ibnu Jazzí-l-kelbí,[76] Ibnu Sa'íd, and almost every author who has written on the subject, and who all unanimously agree in saying that Elvira existed before Granada, and that when As-sanhájí[77] founded the latter city, built its *cassába*, and surrounded it with walls, the inhabitants of Elvira removed to Granada. Bádis,[78] son of As-sanhájí, went on building and increasing his new capital until it reached the degree of splendour and magnificence to which it was brought by the Sultáns of the Merinite dynasty, in whose time Granada became the meeting-place of the Moslems, the resort of their troops and armies, and the strong bulwark of Andalus; for when the Franks subdued the greater part of Andalus the inhabitants of the conquered cities and districts all flocked to it as a place of security and protection.

At some distance from Granada to the south-east are the mountains called *Sholayr*,[79] whose crests are covered with snow all the year round: the snow, adds Ar-ro'ayní, congeals so hard that it becomes as impenetrable as the rock itself. These mountains are nevertheless inhabited by a race of stout and hardy people, and the soil produces the most exquisite fruits, and many exotic plants of India, although none of its drugs. According to some authors the number of towns and villages over which Granada extended its jurisdiction was two hundred and seventy.

We shall terminate our account of Granada with the words of Ash-shakandí in his *risáleh* (epistle). " Granada," he says, " is the Damascus of Andalus, it is " the delight of the eyes and the place of contemplation of the soul. It has a " *cassába* with high walls and strong buildings, and a river which intersects its " markets, streets, and houses, supplies with water its baths and mills inside and " outside of the walls, and winds through the gardens and orchards of its meadow. " God has besides ornamented Granada by making it a sort of watch-tower[80] in " the midst of its extensive plain, where the melted gold of its rivers flows betwixt " the emeralds of its trees, where the sweet gales of its *Nejd*[81] (or mountainous " district) cool and perfume the air. Indeed, what with its luxuriant gardens " and its majestic cypress trees, the prospect is so fine that both the heart and the " eyes are suspended in a kind of silent admiration, and the soul is wrapped up " in the contemplation of its manifold beauties. The soil is so fertile that every " thing which is required for man's comfort or delight grows in it. It is not

" wanting in illustrious individuals of all kinds; great ulemas, distinguished poets, " accomplished soldiers, men fit in every respect to serve as models, are born in it; " and had it received no other favour from God than that of his having made it the " birth-place of so many poetesses as adorned its soil, such as Nazhún,[82] Al-ka-" la'iyeh,[83] Zeynab, daughter of Zeyád,[84] Hafsah Ar-rakúniyeh, daughter of " Al-hejjáj,[85] and many others, this indeed would be sufficient to honour it; for all " these women, and many more whose names have not reached us, may for their " wit and literary compositions be placed among the greatest poets of the time. Or " if not, can any thing more ingenious or witty be imagined than the answer Hafsah " gave to the Wizír and Poet Abu Ja'far,[86] son of the Káid Abú Merwán Ibn " Sa'íd, when, after separating at Maumal, where they had met and passed the night, " he asked her to describe in verse the garden, the brooks, the cypresses, the sweet-" smelling gale, and all the beauties of that enchanting spot.

'God has given us a placid and beautiful night; we have seen the 'cypresses of Maumal

'Inclining their heads before the mountain breeze, the sweet-perfumed 'gales that smell of gillyflower,

'The dove singing her love on the branches of the *dauh*, and the sweet 'basil inclining its boughs to the limpid brook.'

" A few days after their separation Abú Merwán addressed to her some verses on " the same subject, knowing that she would answer him; when she wrote to him " these three verses, which are really invaluable.

'By thy life (thou sayest) that the garden has been rejoiced with our 'arrival; I say, on the contrary, that it has only shown us hatred and ill-'will.

'The brook has not murmured with pleasure at our approach; the dove 'sung only to the object of her love.

'Heaven did not diminish the number of its stars, that we might observe it 'more freely.' "

Among the districts appertaining to Granada, the following deserve more particular mention. 1st. That of Loshah (Loxa), whence the Wizír Lisánu-d-dín draws his origin, and which extends a considerable distance through the country, comprising many towns, villages, and castles. The capital Loxa[87] stands on a charming spot on the banks of the river of Granada (the Shenil), and in the midst of groves, and brooks of limpid water. The distance from Loxa to Granada is one day's march. 2nd. Beghah, commonly called Beighah, and the patronymic formed from which is Beyghy. The capital of this district is the town of Beghah (Vega), whose environs abound in wheat and fruits, and are watered by many springs

which irrigate and fertilize the neighbouring fields. Its territory produces also excellent saffron. 3rd. That of Wádi-ash (Guadix), which others call *Wádiu-l-eshit*,[88] and the capital of which is the city of that name, (Guadix,) a very fine city surrounded by orchards and brooks. The inhabitants are endowed with the gift of poetry, and great love for the sciences; the poet Abú-l-hasán Ibn Nasr,[89] describing this city, gives the following verses in praise of its river.

"O Wádiu-l-eshit! my soul falls into ecstasies whenever I think of the "favours the Almighty has lavished upon thee.

"By God, thy shade at noon, when the rays of the sun are the hottest, is so "fresh that those who walk on thy banks cannot stop to converse together.

"The sun itself, seeking a remedy to its own ardour, directs its course "through thy shadowy bed.

"Thy current smiles through the prismatic bubbles of the waters like the "skin of a variegated snake.

"The trees that hang over thy soft inclined banks are so many steps to "descend to thy bed, while their boughs covered with blossom, and devoured "by burning thirst, are perpetually drinking of thy waters."[90]

But this enchanting river is not the only gift which God has lavished upon that privileged land. The district of Guadix is besides famous for its pure and wholesome air, its sweet waters, the delicacy of its fruits and vegetables, the richness of its mines, and the great profusion of medicinal plants that grow in its soil.[91] It extends its jurisdiction over many towns and castles; among the latter is Hisn-Jaliánah,[92] a fortress which is almost as large as a city, and whence the celebrated apples called *Al-jaliání* take their name. Hisn-Jaliánah is twelve miles distant from Guadix. Another of the peculiarities of this district is that it contains one of the two chesnut trees that are famous all over Andalus for their size, and are described by several authors, and among others by Ibnu Jazzí-l-kelbí, the editor of the Travels of Ibnu Battúttah,[93] whose words are as follow:—"Among the wonders of "Andalus, one is the two chesnut trees, in the trunk of which a weaver may sit "weaving; this is a known fact." One of these prodigious trees is to be seen on a mountain in the neighbourhood of Guadix, the other is in the *Al-busherah*[94] (Alpuxarra) of Granada.

Al-munékab[95] (Almuñecar) is a sea-port belonging also to the government of Granada. It was there that 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel first landed when he came from Africa to conquer Andalus.

Toledo. Another of the great cities belonging to the central division was Toleytalah, (Toledo),[96] which at the beginning of the 6th century of the Hijra became the capital of a kingdom founded by the Bení Dhí-l-nún,[97] one of the petty dynasties

which sprung out of the ruins of the Cordovan Khalifate. Kaysar (Cæsar), who is said to have founded Toledo, called it in his language *Zaleytah*,[98] which means in Arabic " thou art content; " but in the course of time the name was corrupted by the Arabs, who changed it into Toleytalah (Toledo).

During the reign of Beni Umeyyah all the territories subject to Toledo were designated under the generic name of *Al-thagheru-l-adáni*, or lower frontier, to distinguish it from Saragossa and its districts, which were called *Al-thagheru-l-a'alí*, or upper frontier. Toledo was further known under the name of *Medínatu-l-molúk*, the city of the kings, owing to its having been the court of seventy-two kings of various infidel dynasties. We have said elsewhere that the Goths made it their capital; it is also supposed to have been for some time the residence of Suleymán, son of Dáúd, (on whom be peace!) as well as of Jesus, son of Mariam, and Dhú-l-karneyn (Alexander). It was there that Tárik, son of Zeyád, found the table of Suleymán, which formed part of the treasures which Ishbán, king of the Romans, and founder of Ishbíliah, (as we have said elsewhere,) brought from the sack of Jerusalem. The table was made out of one solid emerald, and when presented by Músa to the Khalif Al-walíd was valued at one hundred thousand gold dinárs. It is generally believed now to be at Rome, but God only knows. This inestimable jewel was not the only treasure which Tárik found at Toledo; there were among other things one hundred and seventy royal diadems, set with pearls, rubies, and other precious stones; a spacious temple all filled with gold and silver vases, which temple is further said to have been of such dimensions as to have afforded, when its riches were removed, sufficient room for the Arab cavaliers to exercise in throwing the spear and other military sports. This latter circumstance indeed would seem almost incredible, had it not been related by trustworthy people and eye-witnesses. But God is all-knowing.

Toledo is built on the banks of the river Tajoh (Tagus), over which there once stood a magnificent bridge, consisting of only one arch, supported by large stone piers on both sides of the river. It measured three hundred *bá'as* in length, and eighty in width; but when the Amír Mohammed besieged and took Toledo he ordered the bridge to be destroyed.

The Amír 'Abbás Ibn Firnás has alluded to the taking of Toledo and the destruction of its bridge in the following verses:

" When morning came Toledo appeared deserted, and (like a bird) in the " claws of a falcon.

" Its houses uninhabited, its streets without people, the whole city as " empty and as silent as a tomb.

" The wrath of heaven has fallen heavily upon it; even the bridge through

"which the inhabitants held communication with the infidels has not been "spared."[99]

All authors who have described Toledo say that it has pleasant orchards, a beautiful river, gardens, groves, fine fruits of every kind and description; that its jurisdiction embraces extensive districts, good arable lands, rich meadows and pastures, fine cities, and strong castles: one of the peculiarities of the place being that wheat will keep under ground for a great number of years without decaying, and is transmitted in inheritance from father to son as any other article of property. The saffron, of which large quantities are yearly exported in caravans, is of itself a source of wealth to the inhabitants, as well as the tincture made with it, and which dyes of a beautiful butter colour.

The two following verses of an Andalusian poet on Toledo deserve to be transcribed here.

"Toledo surpasses in beauty the most extravagant descriptions. She is "indeed the city of pleasures and delight.

"God has lavished upon her all sorts of ornaments; he has given her her "walls for a turban, her river for a girdle, and the branches of trees for "stars."[100]

The cities depending upon Toledo are Wádi-l-hajárah (Guadalaxara), Kal'atu Rabáh[101] (Calatrava), and others; but we shall not say at present any more about Toledo, and will return to it in the course of our narrative when we relate some of the events that took place within its walls.

Malaga. The city of Malakah (Malaga) is another of the great capitals comprised in this division; we shall describe it in the words of Ash-shakandí, the author to whom frequent allusion has been already made in the course of this work. "Malaga," he says, "unites land and sea prospects, thus partaking of the advantages and "productions of both; its environs are so covered with vines and orchards as to "make it almost impossible for the traveller to discover a piece of ground which "is not cultivated. Its towers, which I have seen, are like the stars in the sky— "as numerous, and shining as bright. It is intersected by a river which comes "to visit it in two seasons of the year—in winter and in the spring, when, rolling "its precipitous waters through deep ravines and down lofty hills, it empties "them into the sea within the very precincts of the city. But what ranks Malaga "far above any other country in the world is its figs called *Ar-rayí*, from *Rayah*,[102] "which was the ancient name of the city; I was told that they may be procured "in Baghdád, where they are considered as the greatest delicacy, and as to the "quantity annually exported by sea both in Moslem and Christian vessels, it is "so enormous that I shall not venture upon a computation, for fear of falling short

" of the real number. During my residence in that city I once travelled along " the sea coast from Sohayl to Tish,[103] a distance of three days' march, and I " declare I saw nothing else on the road but fig trees, whose branches, loaded " with fruit, almost touched the ground, so that the little urchins of the villages " plucked them without the least trouble, besides the great numbers that were " scattered on the ground. Those of Tish are reckoned to be the best; it was " of one of these figs that a Berber said, when he was asked how he liked it, " 'thou askest me how I like it, and it has all melted down my throat,' and, by " Allah, the Berber was right, for I never tasted better figs in my life, and " besides they are a blessing which God has refused to his country (Africa).

" Another of the peculiarities of Malaga is the fabric of allowed and forbidden " liquors, that called 'Malaga wine' having become proverbial. An anecdote " is told of a Khalif, who, being on his death-bed, and on the point of breathing " his last, was induced (as is the general custom) to ask the favours of God " before departing from this life. They say that the Khalif, raising his hand, " exclaimed, 'O Lord! among the many delightful things which thy paradise " contains I ask thee for Malaga wine and Seville oil.'

" Malaga is also famous for its manufactures of silks of all colours and patterns, " some of which are so rich that a suit made out of them will cost many " thousands; such are the brocades with beautiful drawings, and the names of " Khalifs, Amírs, and other wealthy people, woven into them.[104]

" All the coast of Malaga may be compared to a port, so full is it at all times " of vessels belonging either to the Moslems or to the Christians."

Thus far Ash-shakandí; what follows is borrowed from other writers.

Malaga figs are famous all over the world for their sweetness and flavour; they are exported as far as India, China, and other remote countries, and are universally acknowledged to be superior to any growing in other lands. The poet Abú-l-hejáj Yúsef, son of the Sheikh Al-balawí,[105] quoted by Ibnu Sa'íd and other writers, says, speaking of them—

" Malaga indeed bestows life with its figs; but it also causes death by " them.

" During my illness my physician forbade me to eat them; how little does " he care for my life!"

Another poet, the Imám and preacher Abú 'Abdi-l-wahháb, from Malaga, has said,

" Hems has no figs equal to those of Malaga, but its oils deserve particular " mention." [106]

Hems is here intended for Seville, a city which was called so owing to a party of Syrians from Hems (Emesa) having settled in it soon after the conquest.

The compiler of the travels of Ibnu Battúttah, who quotes the preceding verses, attributes the first to the preacher Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wahháb, a native of Malaga; the second he gives as the composition of the Kádí Abú 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik, but God only knows.

The said Ibnu Battúttah, or rather the editor of his travels, describes this city in the following terms: "Malaga," he says, "is one of the principal cities of "Andalus; it has an excellent territory, and abounds in fruits of all sorts; I "saw once eight *ratl*[107] of grapes sold in its market for one small dirhem; the "celebrated pomegranate named *Al-mursí*, and another kind called *Al-yacótí* (the "ruby-coloured), grow on its soil; figs and almonds form a considerable staple "of trade, and are exported in great quantities to distant countries in the East "and West, as also its golden pottery, which is quite wonderful. It has a "large mosque, *jámi'*, very much renowned for its sanctity, with a very fine "open court, all planted with beautiful orange trees."

To the west of Malaga lies an extensive district which comprises many towns and villages, and is known by the name of Sohayl,[108] owing to a certain mountain there, which is said to be the only spot in Andalus from whence the star Sohayl (Canopus) is visible. To the east, on the sea shore, is the city of Belesh[109] (Velez), which very much resembles Malaga in the abundance and good quality of its fruits; farther on, on the coast, is Nerjah (Nerja),[110] which Ibnu Sa'íd describes as a very large town, almost resembling a city in size, surrounded by orchards and gardens, and with a river so pleasant that it tempts the traveller to halt on its banks. Another fine town depending upon Malaga is that of Al-hamah[111] (Alhama), where there are springs of hot water close to the banks of the river. But let us pass to the description of Almeria.

Almeria. Al-meriyah (Almeria) is situate at the bottom of a deep valley formed by two mountains, on one of which stands the famous castle of Kheyrán, so well known by its strength. This castle was built during the Khalifate of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir, but was afterwards considerably improved and enlarged by Kheyrán[112] the Sclavonian, a freedman of Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, who, having usurped the royal power, appointed his friends and adherents to the government of the principal cities, and gave to this Kheyrán that of Almeria, where, during the civil war which followed the death of Al-mansúr, he declared himself independent. The castle was named after him. On the other mountain is built one of the suburbs, which, together with the city, is enclosed within very strong walls. Almeria, on the whole, is a very strong place, for besides its fortifications, and the high towers that surround it on every side, the city is as it were enclosed within a natural barrier formed by immense primitive rocks, as sharp and naked as if they had been passed through a sieve.

All authors agree in saying that the inhabitants of Almeria were at one time the wealthiest people in all Andalus, and those who carried on the most extensive trade, owing to which the population is said to have been very considerable, and the number of public baths and inns to have amounted to no less than one thousand, without counting those of its western suburb, called *Rabadhu-l-haus* (the suburb of the cistern), which was also amply provided with inns, markets, public baths, and manufactures of all kinds.

The river, which is the same as at Berja,[113] also contributes no little to the ornament of the city and its environs, for out of the one hundred and twenty miles which make up the length of its course, the last forty, before reaching the sea, are through orchards, gardens, and groves, where the singing birds delight with their harmony the ears of the traveller.

We find in a certain author that one of the gates of Almeria was called *Bábu-l-'okáb* (the gate of the eagle), owing to a figure of this bird which stood on the top of it from times of old, and was beautiful to behold. This, however, was not the only ancient relic to be found in the city, for it abounded in old remains of buildings, and all along the coast might be seen wonderful palaces and other stupendous structures of the ancient kings of the country.

There was in Almeria a dock-yard[114] where very fine vessels were built; the coast was safe and well frequented. But what made Almeria superior to any other city in the world was its various manufactures of silks and other articles of dress, such as the *díbáj*,[115] which is a sort of silken cloth surpassing in quality and durability any thing else manufactured in other countries; the *tiráz*,[116] that costly stuff on which the names of Sultáns, Princes, and other wealthy individuals are inscribed, and of which no less than eight hundred looms existed at one time—of more inferior silks, such as the *holol*,[117] and brocades, there were one thousand looms; the same number were continually employed in weaving the stuffs called *iskalátón*.[118] There were also one thousand for weaving robes called *Al-jorjání* (Georgian), and another thousand for those called *Isbahání* (from Isfahán), and a similar number for the *'Atábí*.[119] The manufacture of damask for curtains and turbans for the women, of gay and dazzling colours, employed a number of hands equal to that of those engaged in the manufacture of the above-mentioned articles. Almeria was also famous for the fabrication of all sorts of vases and utensils, whether of iron, copper, or glass.

All fruits growing on its soil partake of a sweetness and flavour rarely to be met with in other countries; to describe them all would be a hopeless task; the reader who wishes to acquire more information on the subject may consult an excellent history of this city composed by Abú Ja'far Ibn Khatímah,[120] with this title,

"Advantages of Almeria over other cities in Andalus." It is a very thick volume, of which we possess a copy, but it is in Africa with the rest of our library; we trust in God, who has the power of collecting what is scattered and joining what is separated, that he will restore us to the possession of our books and chattels.

But we cannot leave the description of this city without copying the words of Ash-shakandí, for although by following this method we may now and then be guilty of repetition, yet it is evident that our information is considerably increased by comparing the accounts of different writers. "Almeria," says Ash-shakandí, "is an opulent and magnificent city, whose fame has spread far "and wide. God has endowed its inhabitants with various gifts, such as a "temperate climate, and abundance of fruits; they are handsome, well made, "good natured, very hospitable, very much attached to their friends, and are "above all things very refined in their manners, and very elegant in their dress. "Its coast is the finest in all the Mediterranean, as well as the safest and the "most frequented.

"In Almeria are found agates of different shades, which the nobles and other "wealthy people of Morocco put in their *barárid*,[121] as also the polished marbles "called *Al-malúkí* (Royal). Its river, called *Wádi Bejénah*,[122] is one of the "pleasantest streams in the world, both its banks being planted with orchards, "gardens, and trees, so that it looks like a half-smiling mouth in the midst "of two rosy cheeks covered with whiskers; and certainly the poet was right "who, describing the territory washed by this river, said,

'It is a land where if thou walk the stones are pearls, the dust is musk, 'and the gardens paradises.' [123]

"Almeria was at one time under the sway of the famous Káid Ibn Maymún,[124] "who made himself so conspicuous by the great naval victories he gained over the "Christians, and who, scouring the seas in all directions, stopped the navigation "of the infidels, ruined their trade, made an incursion into Romaniah (Italy), "attacked its ports, and filled the hearts of the inhabitants with terror and "consternation. Such was the terror of his name that, quoting the words of "a poet,

'If the enemy was awake, he dreaded him,—if asleep, his sharp-edged sword 'played upon his throat.' [125]

"Almeria was the greatest mart in Andalus; Christians of all nations came "to its port to buy and sell, and they had factories [126] established in it. From "thence the Christian merchants who came to its port travelled to other parts "and markets (in the interior of the country), where they loaded their vessels

"with such goods as they wanted, owing to which, and to its being a very "opulent and large city, filled with passengers and merchants, the produce of "the tithe imposed upon the goods and paid by the Christian merchants "amounted to very considerable sums, and exceeded that collected in any "other sea-port.

"Costly silken robes of the brightest colours are manufactured in Almeria." Thus far Ash-shakandí.

Some of the districts surrounding Almeria deserve mention. One of them is that of Berjah (Berja), where lead is to be found in great abundance. Its capital, Berja, is situate on a very pretty river called Wádi-'Adhra[127] (the river of Adra), whose banks are covered with trees and flowers. A poet has said very happily,

"When one comes to Berja on the road to Almeria there is no remedy "but to stop there and desist from the journey,

"For indeed its houses and gardens are so many paradises, while the roads "leading to them are so many hells." [128]

Hisn-Shinsh[129] is a fine town distant one day's march from Almeria. Its territory abounds in mulberry trees, by means of which a prodigious quantity of silk-worms are reared. The river of Tabernash (Tabernas) passes close to this town.

"Jayyén"[130] (Jaen), says Ash-shakandí in his *risáleh*, "is the citadel of Andalus; Jaen. "for no city can be compared with it for abundance of grain, number of valiant "soldiers, nor for the strength and solidity of its fortifications. Indeed during "the last civil war and its disastrous campaigns the infidels had more than one "opportunity of showing their inability to compete with the Moslems, since as "many times as they appeared before the walls of that city they were severely "repulsed, obliged to raise the siege, and to fly further than the Pleiades,[131] and "to make themselves as scarce in the surrounding districts as the eggs of the "pelican are among the rocks.[132]

"Jaen is not destitute of ulemas and poets. It is the birth-place of many "illustrious individuals in all professions, and the sciences are cultivated in it "with as great an ardour and enthusiasm as in any part of Andalus. It is generally "known by the name of *Jayyénu-l-harír*[133] (Jaen of the silk), owing to the extensive "cultivation of mulberry trees for the rearing of silk worms within Jaen and in "the environs.

"It may also be said in praise of Jaen that it extends its jurisdiction over "districts like that of Ubedha (Ubeda), where the vines are in such abundance "that their fruit cannot be sold on account of its excessive plenty, and like "that of Bayésah (Baeza), which is famous for its saffron which is exported in "great quantities by land and water.

"The first-mentioned district (Ubeda) offers another very striking peculiarity, "viz., that its inhabitants are all very fond of music and dancing; so that thou "wilt find among them dancing girls who are famous for their beauty and "admirable shape, and who dance with great elegance and taste. They are "also very expert in playing with swords, and cups, in drawing horoscopes, "untying knots, and finding out hidden things." [134]

CHAPTER III.

Western district—Seville—Xerez—Gibraltar—Tarifa—Beja—Badajos—Merida—Lisbon—Silves.

Ishbíliah (Seville) was one of the finest cities of Andalus. We have stated elsewhere (following the words of Ibn An-naththám) that it was founded by Ishbán, king of the Romans. However, the building of this city is by others attributed to another king of the Romans whose name was Julius, and who was the first to take the title or appellation of Kaysar (Cæsar). Which of the two was its real founder we are unable to determine. They say that when Cæsar came to Andalus, and saw the spot which is now occupied by Seville, he was very much struck with the beauty, extent, and apparent fertility of the country all around him; that he was also very much pleased with the luxuriance and fine vegetation of the mountainous district (now) called Asharaf (Axarafe), and therefore determined upon building a city in that spot. Having chosen a convenient situation on the banks of the *Wádi-l-'adhem* (Guadalquivir),[1] he began the building of his city, which he surrounded with strong stone walls, and in the centre of which he erected two citadels of wonderful structure, which he named *Al-akhdwin* (the two sisters).[2] Kaysar, moreover, fixed his residence in his new city, which became thus the capital of his kingdom, and was known ever after by the name of *Juliah-Romíyah*,[3] which its founder gave to it, being a compound of his own name (Julius) and that of his native country (Romah). Seville.

Seville, as we have already remarked, became also the capital of Andalus during the Gothic domination, for the kings of this race used to divide their court between four principal cities, viz. Seville, Cordova, Carmona, and Toledo; and to reside in one of these four cities, according to the different seasons of the year.

One of the authors who has described Seville expresses himself in the following terms:—"Seville is built on the banks of the Guadalquivir, also known by the "name of *Wádi Kortubah* (the river of Cordova). A very handsome bridge of "boats, fastened together by means of iron chains, serves as a communication for

"the people living on the two banks of the river.[4] The city itself is fine and well "built; the squares are large, and the market-places commodious and abundantly "provided with every necessary, as also with articles of trade of the most expensive "kind, which afford great gain to the merchants. The people of Seville are said "to be wealthy; their principal traffic consists in their oils, which they ship to "distant parts of the East and West. The olive tree grows very luxuriantly in all "the districts dependent on the city, but above all, in that called Axarafe,[5] which "is an extensive tract of land measuring about forty miles in length, and nearly "as much in width, formed of gentle hills of a reddish earth, and where there are "forests of olive and fig trees planted so thickly as to afford the passengers who "travel through them a complete shelter in the hottest summer day. The Axarafe "contains besides a very large population scattered in farm houses, or living in "towns and villages, which have also their market-places, their baths,—fine "buildings, and other conveniences and comforts only to be met with in cities "of the first order."

The author of the *Minháju-l-fakar* (open way to reflection) says that Seville was one of the handsomest cities in the world, and its inhabitants famous for their indolent habits, and their love of pleasure, which in them was almost proverbial. They led a most luxurious and dissipated life, which, the author observes, "was "chiefly owing to the delightful river that flows through their territory, and which "has not its equal in the world. It is navigable for large vessels, and is always "filled with pleasure-boats kept by the inhabitants, and by fishing or trading "vessels: in the opinion of some it surpasses in beauty the Euphrates, the Tigris, "and the Nile. Its banks are covered with fruit trees, forming a sort of canopy "over the river, so that one may sail in it sheltered from the rays of the sun, and "listening to the charming melody of the singing birds. The journey along its "banks is equally pleasant, and one may travel the distance of ten parasangs "(thirty miles) through clusters of buildings and farm houses, high towers and "strong castles, forming a continued city. The tide is perceptible in the river of "Seville at a distance of seventy-two miles from the sea. It also abounds in fish, "of which the daily consumption is almost incredible. The amount of taxes paid "by the city of Seville only, during the Khalifate of Al-hakem Ibn Hishám, is stated "at one hundred and thirty-five thousand dinárs."

Seville and its territory was also known by the name of Hems (Emesa), as we have said elsewhere; for when the lands of Andalus were divided among the Arab settlers it fell to the lot of the people of Emesa in Syria, whose banner immediately follows that of the people of Damascus in the processions at Medina.

Various are the works of art and splendid buildings described by the authors

who have written about Seville; but the most amazing of all is unquestionably the tower attached to the great mosque, which was built during the reign of Ya'kúb Al-mansúr. As a piece of architecture it is unparalleled in the world. Ibnu Sa'íd mentions also several spots in the vicinity of Seville to which the inhabitants used to resort for the sake of recreation and indulgence; one was *Tarayanah* (Triana),[6] one of the suburbs attached to the city, the other *Kabtál*,[7] an island on the Guadalquivir.

Another of the peculiarities of Seville is that figs and oil will keep for a considerable length of time without being spoilt; the sugar cane grows in its territory; and the worm called *kermes*,[8] which dyes of a colour superior to the lac of India, is also found in great abundance on the oak trees. But, indeed, were we to enumerate all the excellences of its soil, we should protract this work to an interminable length. However, as Seville is one of the cities described by Ash-shakandí in his *risáleh*, and this with his usual accuracy and eloquence, we shall here quote his words:—" Seville," says that learned and most accomplished writer, " is to be " praised for many things: mildness of temperature, purity of air, fine buildings, " good streets, picturesque environs, and abundance of provisions and commodities " of all sorts. This latter requisite indeed gave rise to that saying, so common " among the people of Andalus—' If thou seekest for birds' milk, by Allah thou " shalt find it in Seville.' Nor can I pass in silence its beautiful river, the " Guadalquivir, in which the ebb is felt at a distance of seventy-two miles, and " which the poet Ibnu Saffár describes in that very ingenious distich—

' The breeze falls playfully on the river, and, lifting up the skirts of its robe, ' agitates the surface of its waters; the stream, resisting the outrage, hastens ' down to revenge it.

' The ring-dove laughs on its banks from the excess of his love, and the ' whole scene is covered with the veil of tranquillity and peace.'[9]

" But this is neither the time nor the place to explain the phenomenon of " the tide. Both banks of the Guadalquivir are covered with pleasure-gardens, " orchards, vines, and yew trees,[10] in such profusion that I doubt whether there is " any river in the world to compete with it in this respect; and let this not be " taken as an exaggeration, for I once questioned a very intelligent man, who had " travelled through Egypt, about the Nile, and he told me that that famous river " had neither the verdure, nor the orchards, gardens and pleasure-grounds, which " the Guadalquivir has on its banks. I also asked a traveller who had resided in " Baghdád, and he gave me a similar answer about the Tigris: in fact, the " Guadalquivir can only be compared to a paradise, for not only are the districts " watered by it the most delightful regions that can be imagined, but the inhabitants

"on both its banks are the merriest people on earth, always singing, playing on "various instruments, and drinking wine, which among them is not considered "forbidden, as long as it is used with moderation, and does not cause intoxication, "which leads to perversity and vice. It is true that there have been at times in "Seville governors and Sultáns, who, being firmly attached to religion, and the "strict observance of its ordinances, have done every thing in their power to check "the evil; but all their attempts have been vain, and they have never succeeded "in eradicating it entirely. The Sevillians are generally believed to be the most "frivolous of men, and the most witty and jocose; they are very much inclined to "jesting, but sometimes their satirical propensity leads them to break out into the "grossest injuries and calumny; this is indeed so inveterate an evil among them "that it has become like a gnawing worm, and has contaminated all the classes of "society; and the corruption has gone so far that whoever follows not their "example, and indulges not in all these excesses,—whoever is not a calumniator "and a slanderer of his neighbours, is sure to be hated by them most cordially.

"Respecting the Asharaf (Axarafe) of Seville much has been said by various "authors; it is thus described by a poet, in a composition which he addressed to "the Sultán Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád,—

'Seville is a young bride; her husband is 'Abbád;
'Her diadem Asharaf; her necklace the river.' [11]

"This district has already been described by me: I shall only add here that it "surpasses in beauty and fertility every other spot on the face of the earth; that "the oil of its olives is exported as far as Alexandria; that its hamlets and villages "are much superior to those of other countries in the extent and commodi-"ousness, and the fine designs and ornament, of their houses, which, from the "continual white-washing, look like so many stars in a sky of olive trees. An "Andalusian, who had visited both Cairo and Baghdád, being once asked whether "he thought either of those cities superior to Seville, is said to have answered, "after expatiating long in praise of Seville and its Axarafe,—

'Axarafe is a forest without wild beasts; its river a Nile without 'crocodiles.' [12]

"I have heard also of the mountains called *Jebalu-r-rahmah,* (the mountain of "mercy),[13] which are in the neighbourhood of Seville, and where fig trees of the "species called *Al-kútti*[14] (the Gothic), and *Ash-sha'rí*[15] (the hairy), grow in great "abundance; and I have been told by people who have travelled into almost every "quarter of the globe that these two kinds of figs grew nowhere in such perfection "as at Seville.

"Musical instruments of all sorts may at any time be procured in Seville, where

" they are manufactured with the greatest skill. Thou wilt find there the *khiyál*,[16] " the *kerbehh*, the *'oúd*, the *rótteh*, the *rabáb*, the *kánún*, the *múnis*, the *kannérah*, " the *ghinár*, the *zalémí*, the *shakarah*, the *núrah*, (these two last instruments " being both flutes, with this difference, that the former has a very deep tone, and " the latter a very delicate and melodious one,) and the *bók* (clarionet). Many of " these instruments may, it is true, be found in other cities of Andalus, as also " players on them, but nowhere in such numbers as in Seville, where they are manu- " factured in great quantities, and then exported to Africa, no instruments being " fabricated there but those peculiar to the country, such as the *dúf*,[17] the *akwál*, " the *bará*, the *Abú Karún*, the *dabdabah* of the blacks, and the *hamékí* of the " Berbers.

" As to their means of conveyance by land and water,[18] their cookery, their " fresh and dried fruits, their vegetables and other productions of their soil, it " would take us too long to describe them.

" I have also heard of the magnificence and good design of its buildings; most " of which, not to say all, are abundantly provided with running waters, and " spacious courts planted with fruit trees, such as the orange, the lemon, the lime, " and the citron tree. The sciences and the arts are cultivated with more or less " ardour, with more or less success; the number of their authors is indeed too " considerable to be stated, and their writings too well known to need description; " the list of its poets[19] is so long, that were they to divide among themselves the " whole of the opposite land (Africa) they would hardly be contained in it; they " have been at all times amply remunerated by Sultáns and wealthy citizens."

Such are the words of Ash-shakandí in his *risáleh*. Let us now pass to the description of cities dependent upon Seville.

Al-hijárí says that Sherish (Xerez) is the daughter of Seville, and its river the son of the Guadalquivir; he adds that Xerez is a very fine city, with a large population, and extensive markets, and that it very much resembles the city of Sa'd in Upper Egypt. Its inhabitants he describes as people of great imagination and talent, very elegant in their dress, and in the interior of their houses; remarkable for their good manners and courtesy, and so sensitive and tender-hearted that it is not an uncommon thing among them to see people of either sex die from the excess of their love. Xerez.

Xerez is famous for the confection of the *mojabénah*,[20] which are a sort of cake kneaded together with cheese, and fried in good oil. Their celebrity may be ascribed to the superior quality of the cheese with which they are made. It is a common saying among the Andalusians, " Whoever has resided in Xerez, and " not tasted its *mojábénah*, ought to consider himself altogether unhappy."

Talikah (Italica), a city now in ruins, was formerly the capital of a flourishing district. There was once found a marble statue of a woman with a boy,[21] so admirably executed that both looked as if they were alive; such perfection human eyes never beheld, nor was it ever heard of in history; and if we are to believe the accounts of those who saw it in one of the public baths of the city, where it was afterwards placed, some Sevillians had been so much struck with its beauty as to become deeply enamoured of it. A poet, a native of this city, who has alluded to it in a beautiful distich, says that in his time it was in the baths called *Ash-shatarah*.[22]

Gibraltar. Another of the districts which acknowledge the jurisdiction of Seville is that of Jebal-Tárik (Gibraltar), which stands as a lasting testimonial of the conquest of Andalus by the Moslems. This mountain was called after Tárik, freedman of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, who was the first Moslem who landed on it; it is also called *Jebalu-l-fatah* (the mountain of the entrance or victory). The sea surrounds the mountain of Gibraltar on almost every side, so as to make it look like a watch-tower erected in the midst of the sea, and facing Algesiras. A certain Granadian poet alludes to Gibraltar in the following distich:

"The mountain of Tárik is like a beacon spreading its rays over the seas, "and rising far above the neighbouring mountains:

"One would say that its face almost reaches the sky, and that its eyes are "watching the stars in the celestial tracts."[23]

And this is by no means exaggerated, for when travellers approach it, coming from Ceuta, they see it at a distance shining as bright as a lamp. "I sailed once," says Abú-l-hasán Ibn Músa Ibn Sa'íd, "with my father from Ceuta to Gibraltar, "and had an opportunity of verifying the truth of this assertion. When we came "near the coast my father told me to look in the direction of Gibraltar; I did so, "and saw the whole mountain shining as if it were on fire."

Tarifa. Jezírah-Taríf (the island of Taríf) is another dependency of Seville. Taríf, after whom the island was named, was a Berber and a freedman of Músa. They say that by his master's command he invaded Andalus before Tárik, and landed at Tarifa with four hundred men. This happened in the year ninety-one of the Hijra (A. D. 709-10), but of this more will be said, if God be pleased, in the course of this work. Tarifa is not, properly speaking, an island, but was so called on account of one that stands before it in the sea; the same might be said of Jezíratu-l-khadhrá (Algesiras).

Beja. Beja[24] is the capital of an extensive district, which, during the dynasty of the Bení 'Abbád, formed part of the kingdom of Seville. It was famous for its tan-yards and manufactures of cotton goods. The territory abounds in silver mines, and it has besides the glory of being the birth-place of Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád.

Merida was once a large and populous city, and during the dynasty of the Benî Umeyyah it reached such a degree of splendour as to be only second to Cordova, the capital, in size, population, and magnificence of buildings. But owing to the seditious character of its inhabitants, who were continually revolting either against their governors or against the Sultáns of Cordova, the city was destroyed during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and never afterwards restored. Merida is built on the banks of a considerable river called Wádi-anah (Guadiana).[25] **Merida.**

On the same river, about thirty miles to the west, is the city of Bathaliós[26] (Badajoz), which is also a very considerable city, extending its jurisdiction over a rich and extensive country. Badajoz became the capital of a powerful kingdom, formed by Mohammed Ibn Moslemah;[27] one of the generals, who, at the death of Al-mansúr, declared themselves independent in their provinces. He transmitted his empire to his posterity, of which three princes reigned, until the last, 'Omar Al-mutawákel, was slain by Seyrín Ibn Abí Bekr, general of the Almoravides. **Badajoz.**

The following distich in praise of Badajoz is the composition of the Wizír and poet Abú 'Omar Al-fallás.[28]

"O Badajoz! I shall never forget thee as long as I live; by Allah, the "hills that surround thee look as delightful and green as the higher regions of "Arabia.

"The fruits of thy deeply-laden trees shine every where with the deep hue "of maturity; and thy river is like a string of solid ice."

The Bení Al-fallás were a principal family of Badajoz, and this 'Omar one of its most illustrious individuals; the author of the *Ad-dakhíreh*[29] devotes an article to him.

Lishbóna (Lisbon) is a large city on the coast of the Western Ocean, and at the mouth of the river Tajoh. Its district, and that of Shantareyn (Santaren), which are contiguous, abound in gold mines. They produce also a kind of honey, very much resembling sugar in appearance, and which is never found in a liquid state; the inhabitants keep it in cotton bags. Another of the peculiarities of this coast is the amber which is thrown up by the sea in great quantity, and which in its kind is superior to that of the Indian seas, and is only equalled by the *shajarí*.[30] **Lisbon.**

Between Lisbon and Talavera, a city placed on the banks of the river that comes from Toledo (the Tajoh), stands the famous bridge known by the name of *Al-kantaratu-s-seyf* (the bridge of the sword), the construction of which is attributed to the first Cæsar, and is one of the wonders of the world. It is very high, and has only one arch of about seventy cubits in height, and thirty-seven in width, under which the whole stream passes. On the top of this arch is a tower rising to a **Bridge of the sword.**

height of forty cubits above the bridge, which, as well as the tower, is built of large blocks of granite, each measuring eight or ten cubits in length. At the summit of the tower, and in one of the stones of which it is built, is a brazen sword fixed into it, with this wonderful peculiarity, that whoever seizes the handle and draws it may extract about three spans of it, but no human efforts have yet succeeded in drawing it out further; when the handle is let go the sword goes with great violence into the stone, as if it went into a scabbard.[31]

Close to the district of Lisbon is that of *Oksonóbah* (Ossonoba), the capital of which bears the same name, and is a very fine city, to which many towns, villages, and castles are subject. Further down towards the coast is the city of *Shilb*

Silves. (Silves), which was once the capital of an independent state formed by the Wizír Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn 'Omar, known by the surname of Dhú-l-wizárateyn. But when the Bení Lamtumnah subdued the greatest part of Andalus, this and other western districts were joined by them to the government of Seville. Silves is seven days' march from Cordova; it has the honour of being the birth-place of Dhú-l-wizárateyn Ibn 'Omar,[32] (may God show him mercy!) and of the Káid Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Bedrán, by others called Ibn Badrún, a literary man of great repute, and who is known as the author, among other works, of a commentary on that famous ode of Ibn 'Abdún[33] which begins thus:

> "Succeeding generations shall be afflicted at the recollection of his "virtues."[34]

This commentary is too well known to need a fuller description; we have found it in most of the great cities in the East, where it is held in great estimation. The author, Ibn Badrún, was himself a very good poet.

Silves is likewise the birth-place of the famous grammarian Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah, son of As-síd Al-Bathliósí.[35]

The whole of western Andalus was at one time under the dominion of the Bení 'Abbád, kings of Seville, the most powerful Sultáns of the time. The great revenues they derived from their states enabled them to keep considerable armies, and to surround their court with learned men and poets, who, encouraged by their liberality, cultivated the sciences with the greatest ardour, and sung their praises in eloquent and elaborate compositions. Liblah (Niebla), Jebórah (Ebora), Shant-Mariah (Santa Maria), Mertilah (Mertola), *Jezírah Shaltish* (the island of Saltes), Shintarah (Cintra), are among the cities of the West which once acknowledged the supremacy of the Bení 'Abbád. The last named city (Cintra) presents, according to Ibn Alisa', a very curious phenomenon, which is, that wheat and barley are generally ripe forty days after having been sown; the country produces also a very large kind of melons,[36] measuring three spans

in circumference. Speaking of this fruit, Abú 'Abdillah Al-yakúrí,[37] an author on whose writings great reliance is placed, states that he was once sitting with Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád, king of Seville, when a peasant from Cintra entered the room, and presented the Sultán with four of those melons, which not only measured five spans in circumference each, but weighed so much that the man could hardly carry them in a basket on his head. The Sultán was very much surprised to see so fine a fruit, and began to question the peasant, who answered that those melons did not always grow to so great a size, but that they could easily be obtained of those dimensions by cutting off all the branches of the plants but ten, and then supporting the stem by means of props of wood.

CHAPTER IV.

Eastern district—Saragossa—Valencia—Murcia—Cartagena—Albarracin.

THE eastern district of Andalus contains also many cities of the first order, such as Saragossa, Valencia, Murcia, Cartagena, Santa Maria, and others.

Saragossa. Sarakostah (Saragossa) was, according to some authors, built by the first Cæsar, the emperor of Rome, in whose reign begins the era called *safar*,[1] which preceded the nativity of Christ, and by which the Christians compute their years. Sarakostah means, in the language of the Christians, "the palace of the Lord,"[2] and was so called on account of the said Cæsar having fixed his residence in it while he stayed in Andalus; others attribute its foundation to Alexander, but God only knows.

It is generally acknowledged that there was no city in Andalus to which more cities, towns, hamlets, and castles, were subject, than Saragossa, nor which abounded more in fruits of all kinds, nor which was more plentifully supplied with provisions of all sorts, nor which counted at one time a larger number of inhabitants. It was surrounded by orchards and gardens for a space of eight miles; and the Andalusian authors often compared it to the cities of Chaldæa for the number of its trees, and the abundance of its waters. It is by them described as a city of great importance, extending its jurisdiction over several large provinces and wealthy districts, some of which, teeming with an industrious and active population, covered a space of forty miles.

Among the productions of its territory is counted salt, which, according to some historians, is to be found near the capital, white, pure, and transparent, and such as cannot be procured any where else in Andalus. We find also recorded by more than one historian and collector of traditional stories that a very curious phenomenon has been observed in the neighbourhood of Saragossa. No scorpion, they say, will enter the territory of Saragossa of its own accord, and if taken there by any one, the moment it touches the ground it will lose all its power of action, and remain motionless: the same phenomenon has been remarked in the East with

respect to other reptiles, and has been explained by philosophers and naturalists as the effect of the talismanic influence which some countries are known to exercise over certain animals; at least such is the solution given to this curious circumstance by all the Eastern authors who have treated the subject. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that all Western writers agree in saying that no scorpion or snake[3] ever entered the territory of Saragossa without dying immediately, and that the experiment was repeatedly tried of bringing them from distant lands, but no sooner were they within the precincts of the city than they died suddenly on the spot. To this wonderful quality of the soil about Saragossa we may add another very striking peculiarity, which is recorded by almost every author who has undertaken the description of that city. They say that no provision or article of food, however long it may be kept, will ever mildew or be spoiled; wheat will keep for a hundred years, and grapes suspended to the ceiling for six; figs, peaches, cherries, apples, and plums, are preserved in a dry state for several years, while it is not uncommon to see beans and *garbanzos* which have been gathered thirty years; wood never rots, and no article of dress, whether of wool, silk, or cotton, is ever moth-eaten.

We have likewise read somewhere that when Músa Ibn Nosseyr came to Saragossa, and tasted the waters of the *Jelk*,[4] he found them so sweet and good that he swore he had never drunk any thing better since he came into Andalus; and that having inquired about the name of the well, when he heard it called *Jelk* he threw a glance all around him and compared the country to the *ghautah* (meadow) of Damascus.

The city of Saragossa became, towards the middle of the fifth century, the seat of a powerful and extensive empire, founded by Suleymán Ibn Húd,[5] one of the generals who, during the calamitous times of the civil war, proclaimed the sovereignty of the extinct house of Umeyyah, and declared themselves independent in their governments. Several authors who have written the history of the Bení Húd dynasty describe most minutely a famous palace called *Dáru-s-sorrúr* (the abode of pleasures), built by Al-muktadir Ibn Húd, one of the Sultáns of that family, and in which was a golden hall of exquisite design and admirable workmanship, decorated in the most magnificent manner. This palace is alluded to in some verses by the Wizír Dhú-l-wizárateyn Ibn 'Abdi-shelb.

Saragossa has been called *Ummu-l-kór* (the mother of the provinces), and its territory *Thagheru-l-a'alí*, the meaning of which has already been explained. Lerida,[6] Kal'at-Rabáh (Calatrava), which is also called *Al-baydhá*, Tuteylah (Tudela) with its city Tarasónah (Tarazona), Weskah (Huesca) and its capital Tamarit, Medínah Sélim (Medina Celi), Kal'at Ayúb (Calatayud) and its city

Molina, Birtanieh, Barweskah (Bribiesca), and others, are among the districts over which Saragossa extends its jurisdiction.

ia. Among the great kingdoms of the east of Andalus is that of Valencia, which, after the overthrow of the Bení Umeyyah dynasty, made one of the independent states into which the inheritance of the Khalifs was broken up. Valencia, the capital, is one of the finest cities in Andalus; it is described by Ibnu Sa'íd as a place of great recreation and entertainment, owing to the purity of the air, the fertility of the land, which makes its environs look as green and luxuriant as a garden, and the amiable and cordial disposition of its inhabitants, who are always disposed to pleasure and mirth. The same author (Ibnu Sa'íd) says that Valencia was known under the name of *Medínatu-t-tarab* (the city of mirth), and that he once heard his father say that Merwán Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz,[7] who had been king of that city and had retired to Morocco after the loss of his kingdom, used to say, in praise of Valencia,

"I may compare Valencia to a beautiful maiden dressed in a green robe "of delicate texture; if I approach her she conceals under her green garments "her white and transparent bosom."

The said author (Ibnu Sa'íd) says that the territory of Valencia produces very fine saffron, as also certain pears called *Al-arrozah*,[8] not larger than a grape, but very delicate in taste, and which have so delightful a smell that one may tell directly by going into a house if there be any of that fruit in it. He asserts also, on the authority of various writers, that the atmosphere at Valencia is clearer and more transparent than in any other part of Andalus, and adds that adjoining to the city are several pleasant gardens and public walks for the use of the inhabitants, such as the *Rissáfah*,[9] and the *Munyatu-bn Abí 'Ámir*.[10] The *Rissáfah*, especially, is described by him as a most delightful and charming spot, full of trees, orchards, and brooks, and from which a commanding view of the country may be obtained; no other spot in Andalus had that name but the gardens of Cordova and those of Valencia.

Abú-l-hasan Ibn Harík has said, in his reply to Ibn 'Iyásh,

"Valencia is a spot of great beauty, and its fame has filled both East "and West.

"If they tell thee that when water is wanting it is afflicted by famine and "plague, and the whole city becomes the abode of misery and desolation,—

"Tell them that, notwithstanding all that, Valencia is a paradise whose "lovely spots are at all times free from war and famine."

Valencia is also in the number of the cities described by Ash-shakandí in his *risáleh*; we shall therefore transcribe his words. "Valencia," he says, "is known

" amongst us by the name of *Al-mityábu-l-andalus* (the scent-bottle of Andalus), " owing to its numerous orchards and flower-gardens, with the sweet exhalations " of which the air is always embalmed. The garden called Ar-rissáfeh is one of " the pleasantest spots in the world. Near it is a large lake of limpid and " transparent water,[11] which, they say, reflects the rays of the sun in such a " manner that the light in Valencia is increased by it: this, indeed, is a fact to " which all authors who have written upon Valencia bear ample testimony. " Among the manufactures of this city that of the *nesíj*, which is exported to " all parts of the West, deserves particular mention.

" Valencia is not wanting in sons who have distinguished themselves in arms, " and in the sciences. It has given birth to distinguished theologians, eloquent " poets, and, above all, to many valiant warriors, who have withstood with courage " the attacks of the infidels, and won the crown of martyrdom in bloody fields of " battle.

" The Valencians are very honest,—they are people of very good morals, and " strongly attached to religion, which they observe most scrupulously in all its " practices; they are also constant in their affections, social, and very hospitable " to strangers."

The illustrious poet Abú Ja'far Ibn Mos'adeh Al-gharnátti has said, in allusion to Valencia,

> " Valencia is a terrestrial paradise; such it is considered to be by its " inhabitants; there is only one thing to make it disagreeable, and that is " the musquitoes."

Another poet has said, alluding to these insects,

> " There is one thing in Valencia which annoys me most, and puts me out " of humour—
>
> " Which is, that the fleas are continually dancing to the music of the " musquitoes."

We shall close our account of Valencia with the following verses of an excellent poet, Ibnu-z-zakkák,[12] a native of that city:

> " When I think of Valencia every other city vanishes from before my eyes.
>
> " The more I think of it, the more I am struck with its incomparable " beauties.
>
> " God has given it for a dress its green meadow sprinkled with flowers, of " which the sea and the river form the skirts."

Among the districts surrounding Valencia is that of *Shátibeh*[13] (Xatiba), a city whose beauty and fertility have become proverbial, and where writing-paper of excellent quality is manufactured. This city is the birth-place of Abu-l-kásim Ibn

Feyroh Ibn Khalf Ibn Ahmed Ar-ro'ayní, the author of the *Hirzu-l-amání* (refuge of the wishes), of the *'Akíleh* (handsome pearl), and other works. Another is that of *Jezírah Shukar*[14] (Alcira), which is also very extensive and well populated; then comes *Deniah*[15] (Denia), on the sea shore, an ancient city; *Almansaf* (Almansa), the birth-place of the austere and devout faquih Abú 'Abdillah Al-mansáfí, who is buried at Ceuta, where his tomb is visited, and held in great veneration; *Bartánah* (Partana), a town famous for the battle fought in its neighbourhood between the Christians and Moslems, in which the former were completely defeated. To this battle the poet Abú Isȟák Ibn Ma'áli At-tarsúsí[16] alludes, in those verses which say—

"The Christians were clad in bright armour, but ye were arrayed in silken "robes of various colours.

"Partana is the spot where your valour and their cowardice became "once more manifest."

Mateytah (Matet) is another town dependent on Valencia; a great many theologians and learned authors derive their patronymic from it. *Ondah* (Cala-onda), which has a mountain in the neighbourhood with iron mines. It is important not to confound this city (Ondah) with another whose name is spelt with a *ra*, Ronda, and which belongs to the central division, and has also a castle called Ondah.[17]

Murcia. The other great province of this eastern division is that of *Tudmir*, which was also called *Misr* (Egypt), on account of the similitude it bears to that country, for, like Egypt, the territory round Tudmir is at certain fixed periods of the year inundated and fertilized by a river called *Wádiu-l-abiadh*[18] (Guadalaviar). As soon as the waters withdraw the land is sown, and the crops are gathered, as in Egypt, before the next inundation. The capital of this province was formerly the city of Tudmir, but in progress of time it was joined to Murcia, and both cities then formed one under the latter name. We find that Murcia was also called *Al-bostán* (the garden), owing to the great fertility and fine vegetation of the valley in which it stands. A considerable river (the Segura), after watering the greatest part of its territory, empties itself into the sea south of Murcia.

"Murcia," says Ash-shakandí, "is the court of eastern Andalus; its inhabitants "are famous for strength of body, as also for their obstinacy and disobedience to "their rulers. Its river is the brother of the Guadalquivir, since they both spring "from the same source in the mountains of *Shekúrah* (Segura).[19] Its banks to a "great extent are covered with orchards and gardens, and planted with fine trees; "and the pendant boughs, the music of the water-wheels on its banks, the "charming melody of the singing birds, the sweet perfumes exhaled by the "flowers, are indeed beauties which baffle all description. Murcia is perhaps the

"city of Andalus where fruits of all sorts, and odoriferous plants and shrubs, "abound most, owing to which, as well as to its mild temperature, to the beautiful "landscape around the city, and to the great fertility of the earth, the inhabitants "are perhaps of all the world the people who enjoy most comforts and luxuries, "and who show most disposition to gaiety. We can only do justice to Murcia "by comparing it to a house from which a young and handsome bride should set "out (to her husband's dwelling), arrayed in all her ornaments and finery.

"As in Malaga and Almeria, there are in Murcia several manufactures of silken "cloth called *al-washiu-thalathát*.[20] It is likewise famous for the fabric of the "carpets called *tantilí*, which are exported to all countries of the East and West; "as also a sort of mats, of the brightest colours, with which the Murcians cover "the walls of their houses. Besides the above-mentioned objects, there are in "Murcia fabrics of several articles of trade which it would take us too long to "enumerate.

"Murcia has given birth to many learned theologians, eminent poets, and "valiant captains."

The preceding are the words of Ash-shakandí in his *risáleh* (epistle). We shall now borrow from other writers the account of the districts, cities, and towns, comprised within the limits of the province of Tudmir.

The first in importance after Murcia is *Kartajénah* (Cartagena), which all authors agree in representing as a very ancient city, surrounded by a fertile territory, where whatever is sown grows with such rapidity that it is not uncommon to see in some of its districts the corn springing up after one day's rain. It is also said that Cartagena was in ancient times one of the wonders of the world, owing to its magnificent buildings, and other stupendous structures, showing the wealth and power of its former inhabitants. Ruins of these great buildings are to be seen to this day, with columns, arches, inscriptions, idols, and figures of men and beasts, in such profusion that they dazzle the eyes of the beholders: the most important of these gigantic constructions is, following the words of a geographer, the *Ad-dawámís*,[21] which consists of twenty-four piles of free-stone, all equal in size, and over which are twenty-four arches, measuring one hundred and thirty paces from pier to pier, and sixty in width, the elevation being upwards of two hundred cubits: over these arches, and at a giddy height, the water flows through perforated stones from one pillar to another, the whole of the structure being raised by dint of mathematical science, and finished with the greatest skill.[22] Cartagena.

Such is the description which a famous geographer has given of Cartagena, but in our opinion he is mistaken, for the Cartagena here alluded to is in Africa, and not in Andalus. The author of the *Minháju-l-fakar* (open way to reflection) has

not fallen into so gross an error; on the contrary, whenever he happens to mention in his work either of these two cities he always makes a proper distinction, and calls the African one *al-'atíkah* (the ancient), and that which belongs to the district of Murcia, and which we are at present describing, *al-khalfá* (the modern).

The city of *Lórcah* (Lorca) is another dependency of Murcia; its territory abounds in mines of lapis-lazuli. *Hisn Múlah* (Mula), *Auríwélah* (Orihuela), *Lecant* (Alicante), are among the districts which acknowledged Murcia as their capital during the fifth and sixth centuries of the Hijra, when it formed a powerful state, sometimes attached to the kingdom of Valencia, and sometimes to that of Almeria, until it was finally subdued by the Almoravides.[23]

Albarracin.

We have still to mention an extensive territory lying half-way between Valencia and Saragossa, and which, after the overthrow of the Bení Umeyyah, was erected by its governor into an independent state, and continued to be such during all the time of the civil war. It is the district of *As-sahlah*,[24] which others call *Al-kartám*, and the capital of which is Shant-Mariah (Santa Maria). Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Razín, known by the appellative of Jesámu-d-daulat (the body of the state), and *Al-hájib* (prime minister), was the founder of it.

CHAPTER V.

Islands surrounding or dependent on Andalus—Cadiz—Canary Islands—Fortunate Islands—Algesiras—Tarifa—Mallorca—Menorca—Iviza.

ANDALUS is surrounded by islands, or countries called islands by the Arabs. Among the latter is *Jezíratu-Kádis* (Cadiz), which belongs to the jurisdiction of Seville, although Ibnu Sa'íd places it in the territory of *Sherish* (Xerez); but, well considered, it comes to the same thing, for Xerez and its district belong also to Seville.

Cadiz is filled with the remains of buildings, temples, aqueducts, and other wonderful constructions of the ancient kings of Andalus. "The most remarkable of "these monuments," says Ibnu Ghálib, in his work entitled '*Contentment of the 'soul in the contemplation of ancient remains found in Andalus*,' "is undoubtedly the "tower and idol at Cadiz, which has not its equal in the world, if we except "another of the same shape and description which stands on a high promontory in "Galicia. It is notorious that so long as the idol on the tower at Cadiz stood, "it prevented the winds from blowing across the straits into the Ocean, so that no "large vessels could sail from the Mediterranean into the Ocean, or *vice versa*; "but, on the contrary, when it was pulled down in the first years of the reign of "the Bení 'Abd-al-múmen, the spell was broken, and vessels of all descriptions "began to furrow the sea with impunity." Cadiz.

This idol, in the opinion of some writers, held some keys in his right hand, but the contrary has been proved by the author of the *Ja'rafíyah*, as we shall have further occasion to show. It is also stated, that according to an ancient tradition the belief prevailed all over Andalus that underneath the idol an immense treasure lay concealed from times of old: that the tradition existed no doubt can be entertained, since various writers, who saw this idol, agree in saying that when 'Alí Ibn Músa,[1] nephew of the Káid Abú 'Abdillah, who held the charge of Admiral of the Sea, revolted, and declared himself independent at Cadiz, he caused the

idol to be pulled down, and a search to be made for the supposed treasures, but that nothing was found.

Canary Islands.

In the same sea where the island of Cadiz stands there are others called the eternal (*Al-khálidát*),[2] which are seven in number, and which lie to the west of Salé. These islands may be seen a great distance off at sea, and in clear summer days, when the atmosphere is quite pure and free from vapours or mist, they are discovered rising far above the horizon. According to the geographer Ibnu-l-wardí, there is in each of these islands a tower, one hundred cubits high, on the top of which is an idol of brass, pointing with his hand towards the sea, as if he meant "there is no passage beyond those islands." Ibnu-l-wardí[3] adds that he could not remember the name of the king who erected those towers; but we find that Idrísí attributes them to Iskhander dhú-l-karneyn.

Fortunate Islands.

In this sea (Ocean), and further towards the north, are the islands called *As-sa'ádát*[4] (the fortunate), in which there are many cities and towns, and from whence the Majús, a nation of Christians, came. The nearest of these islands is that of *Birtanniyah* (Britain), which is placed in the midst of the Ocean, and has no mountains or rivers. The inhabitants drink rain-water, and cultivate the land.

The island of Shaltis,[5] which is at the lower end of Andalus, is populated, and has a city which bears its name. The seas in the neighbourhood abound in fish, which is salted and sent to Seville, where the consumption is very great.

Shaltis belongs to the district of Liblah (Niebla), which is contiguous to that of Onóba.

These are the islands of the Ocean; those of the Mediterranean are Algesiras, Tarifa, Mallorca, Menorca, and Iviza, which we shall presently describe.

Algesiras and Tarifa we have already described elsewhere: they are not, properly speaking, islands, but are so called owing to their topographical situation. The same may be said of Shaltis. Further into the sea towards the east are three islands, called *Mayórkah* (Mallorca), *Menórkah* (Menorca), and *Yébisah* (Iviza); the two former are at a distance of fifty miles one from the other. That of Mallorca, which is the largest in size, may be traversed in one day from one end to another. The capital is a fine and populous city, and has a canal in which water flows all the year round; but we shall describe this island in the words of Ash-shakandí.

Mallorca.

"The island of Mallorca," says that elegant writer, "is one of the most fertile "and best cultivated countries that God ever made; it is also the most abundant "in provisions of all kinds; for were it by some accident to be deprived of an "intercourse with other lands, it would still produce every article necessary for "the maintenance or the comfort of its inhabitants. It possesses, besides, many

" other advantages, which we pass in silence for the sake of brevity; suffice it " to say that it has a magnificent capital, well populated towns, extensive districts, " good lands, and more water than it requires for the irrigation of its fields; and, " lastly, that it has given birth to many eminent *ulemas*, and illustrious warriors " who have valiantly defended their country from the attacks of the Christians " who surround it on every side—

" Like a pack of hungry wolves, intent upon their prey."

We think it proper to add here some verses which the poet Ibnu-l-labbénah [6] wrote in honour of the capital of this island.

" It is the city to which the ring-dove has lent the prismatic colours of his " collar, and the peacock his beautiful variegated plumage."

The preceding verses are part of a *kassídah* which the said Ibnu-l-labbénah addressed to the king who reigned at that time over the island, and who, it appears, did much good to the country, and built more than *Iskhander* himself ever did.

Next to Mallorca, towards the east, is the island of Menorca, which the author Menorca. of the *Ja'rafiyah* describes as very small but very fertile, and abounding in grain and fruits of all sorts, especially grapes. He also says that meat in this island is particularly good and well-flavoured, and better than any where else; so much so, that beef, when roasted, will melt as if it were grease, and turn into oil. Sheep abound in the island, but they are of a very small breed.

West of Menorca and Mallorca is another island smaller than either, called Iviza. *Yébisah* [7] (Iviza). It may be about thirty parasangs in length, and nearly as much in breadth; it supplies great part of Africa proper [8] with wood and salt. The island is well peopled, and the inhabitants are very industrious; the land produces all sorts of grain and fruits, but sheep do not thrive; they have goats, and feed upon their flesh. Raisins, almonds, and figs are among the articles which the inhabitants grow and export to the neighbouring island of Mallorca. Olive trees do not grow in the island; indeed the inhabitants do not know them, and they receive their oil from Andalus.

Besides the above-mentioned islands, there are in this sea (the Mediterranean) many more, such as Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Malta, but, as they never belonged to Andalus, although in the possession of Moslems, we shall abstain from the description of them for brevity's sake; for, indeed, were we to relate all the remarkable things contained in these islands, the wonders of the two seas that surround Andalus, we should neglect the principal object of this our work; in fact, we might as well consecrate a whole volume to the description of them.

We shall now say a few words about those cities in Andalus which fell early into the hands of the Christians, and where Islámism was rooted up by the obdurate infidels who attribute partners to God. Alas! at the moment we write this the whole of that delightful and highly-gifted country, where the unfurled banners of Islámism waved triumphantly for so many ages, where the sweeping tide of Islám incessantly rolled its mighty waves over the shores of polytheism, and where the unity of the Almighty God and the mission of his holy Prophet were unanimously and daily proclaimed from the tops of countless minarets, is now in the possession of the cruel enemies of God; the heroes who so long withstood the attacks of both Franks and Goths are no more; the virtuous *ulemas* who instructed the people in the duties of religion, and who opposed their breasts to the impetuous torrents of idolatry, are either scattered over the world, or enjoying in paradise the recompense due to their virtues; the temples once consecrated to Divinity are now places of scandal and impiety, and not one Moslem remains in the vast precincts of Andalus to praise the true God, and to bless by his presence the spots that were once the abode of piety and science. God is great! God is great! There is no strength or power but in God!

The country of the Infidels.

Barshelónah[9] (Barcelona), on the eastern coast of Andalus, is situate in a sort of valley formed by the *Jebalu-l-bort* (the Pyrenees), which separate Andalus from the country of the Franks. Barcelona is close to the sea, and has a harbour, but it is a bad one, and vessels cannot go into it except with a pilot. Barcelona is a middle-sized city, being neither large nor small; it was several times taken by the Christians, and retaken from them, during the first centuries after the conquest, till at last it was ultimately subdued by the infidels[10] in the year 383 of the Hijra (A. D. 993-4), and has since remained in their hands, constituting one of their greatest kingdoms.

On the opposite side of Andalus, that is to the west, inclining a little towards the north, is the country of *Jalikiyah* (Galicia), the capital of which is the city of Shant-Yakoh (Santiago). The author of the geographical work entitled *Kitábu-l-'ajáyib*[11] (the book of wonders) says that there was in this city a very large church, held in great veneration by the Christians, who considered and worshipped it as the Moslems do Jerusalem. "Christians," he adds, "from Constantinople, "France, and other infidel countries, came every year to this city, and visited "its church, not because of its being the seat of a patriarch, but because they "pretend that the church was built by one of the Apostles of Jesus, son of "Mariam, whose name was Yakoh, others say Yacób; the church which he built "was called Shant-Yakoh, that is, the church of Yago, for *Shant*, in the language "of the Christians, means a temple, a place of worship, and is an equivalent

"of our word *mesjid* (mosque). Every Christian who comes to this city, and "visits its temple, is held in great respect by his countrymen, his authority "increases, and he calls himself *háji* (pilgrim). The church is built in the "midst of an island formed by an arm of the sea, and has only one door."

The same author says that there is in Galicia a lake called *Al-buheyratu-l-meytat* [12] (the dead lake), and that that name has its origin in a very wonderful peculiarity of its waters, for no human being, animal, fish, or bird, will live in it, or, if taken thither from other parts of the country, it will die immediately, with the exception of the peacock, which is known to live, and feed, and lay its eggs in it. Ibnu Jezzár, who speaks also of this lake, places it in the heart of Galicia.

Some other cities, like *Liyón* (Leon), *Samórah* (Zamora), *Banbilónah* (Pamplona), are occasionally mentioned by geographers, but we shall not stop to describe them; let whoever wishes to acquire more information on the subject consult the works of Abú 'Obeyd Al-bekrí, Idrísí, and other writers, who have not only described the cities that were in the hands of the Christians, but given the most ample and circumstantial account of the manners, customs, and habits of their inhabitants. However, as it is important that the reader should know who were the nations of infidels with whom the Andalusian Moslems had to contend for such a length of time, we shall here transcribe the words of the Kátib Ibráhím Ibnu-l-kásim Al-karáwí, known by the surname of *Ar-rakík-beladi-l-andalus* [13] (the slave of Andalus), who, treating of the barbarous nations who live on the borders of Andalus, expresses himself in the following terms. "The Andalusians are a "brave and warlike people, and great need have they of these qualities, for they "are in continual war with the infidel nations that surround them on every side. "To the west and north they have a nation called *Jalalcah* (Galicians), whose "territories extend from the shores of the Western Ocean all along the Pyrenees. "The Galicians are brave, strong, handsome, and well made; in general the "slaves of this nation are very much prized, and one will scarcely meet in Andalus "with a handsome, well made, and active slave who is not from this country. As "no mountains or natural barriers of any kind separate this country from the "Moslem territories, the people of both nations are in a state of continual war "on the frontiers.

Barbarous nations bordering on Andalus.

"To the east the Moslems have another powerful enemy to contend with; that "is the Franks, a people still more formidable than the Galicians, on account "of the deadly wars in which they are continually engaged among themselves, "their great numbers, the extent and fertility of their territory, and their great "resources. The country of the Franks is well peopled, and full of cities and

"towns; it is generally designated by geographers under the name of *Ardhu-l-kebírah* (the great land). The Franks are stronger and braver than the Galicians, "—they are likewise more numerous, and can send larger armies into the field. "They make war on a certain nation bordering on their territory, and from "whom they dissent in manners and religion; these are the Sclavonians, whose "land the Franks invade, and, making captives of them, bring them to be sold "to Andalus, where they are to be found in great numbers. The Franks are in "the habit of making eunuchs of them, and taking them to castles and other "places of safety in their territory, or to points of the Moslem frontier, where "the Andalusian merchants come to buy them, to sell them afterwards in other "countries. However, some of the Moslems who live in those parts (near to "the frontiers) have already learnt that art from the Franks, and now exercise it "quite as well as they do." [14]

CHAPTER VI.

Ruins and ancient remains—The Aqueduct of Tarragona—that of Cadiz—Roman causeways—Idol of Cadiz—The pit of Cabra—Iron pot of Kal'atu-Aurád—Ancient tradition concerning the conquest of Andalus—Extraordinary olive tree—Water-clocks of Toledo.

Abú 'Obeyd Al-bekrí says that Andalus contains ruins of buildings erected by the Greeks, and talismans constructed by their philosophers: he includes in the number of these the tower of Cadiz, that of Galicia, the amphitheatre of Murbiter (Murviedro), the water-works of Tarragona, the bridge of the sword, and many other stupendous buildings scattered all over the country; and which that author asserts are for the most part attributed to one of the ancient kings of Andalus, whose name was Herkiles (Hercules).

Some of these structures are fully described by Ibnu Ghálib in the historical work entitled "Contentment of the soul in the contemplation of the ancient remains found in Andalus," as for instance the aqueduct of Tarragona, which he says conveyed the water from the sea to the city by a gentle level, and in the most admirable order, and served to put in motion all the mill-stones in the town, the whole being one of the most solid, magnificent, and best contrived buildings that ever were erected.[1] Aqueduct at Tarragona.

Another wonderful aqueduct was that of Cadiz, which conveyed fresh water from a spring in the district of the idols[2] to the island of Cadiz, crossing an arm of the Ocean. It consisted of a long line of arches, and the way it was done was this: whenever they came to high ground, or to a mountain, they cut a passage through it; when the ground was lower they built a bridge over arches; if they met with a porous soil they laid on a bed of gravel for the passage of the water; when the building reached the sea shore the water was made to pass under ground, and in this way it reached Cadiz. That part of the aqueduct nearest to the sea Ibnu Sa'íd tells us was still visible at the time he wrote.[3] Aqueduct of Cadiz.

Another of the vestiges of the ancient kings of Andalus were the causeways which traversed it in all its length. "We read," says Ibnu Ghálib, "in some of the Roman causeways.

"histories of Rome that when Julius, known by the surname of *Heshar* (Cæsar), "began to reign, he ordered the earth to be measured, and roads to be constructed. "According to his injunctions causeways were made from Rome to the east, west, "north, and south of the earth, until they reached half the circumference of the "globe. One of these causeways led to Andalus, and ended to the east of Cordova, "near the gate of 'Abdi-l-jabbár. Another, beginning at the gate of Al-kantarah "(the bridge), south of that city, led to Shakandah, Estijah (Ezija), Karmónah "(Carmona), Seville, and the sea.[4] Both these roads were by the orders of "Julius provided with mile-stones, on which his own name, that of the city to "which the road led, and the distance from Rome, were engraved; they say also "that he ordered that the mile-stones should be furnished with a roof in some "parts of the road, intending them as halting-places for travellers, who might "shelter themselves from the rays of the sun in summer, and from cold and "rain in winter; but that these buildings being in the course of time converted "into places of corruption and iniquity, and into so many haunts frequented by "robbers and vagabonds, owing to their situation in the midst of uninhabited "districts, and far from towns, the work was discontinued, and the mile-stones "left in the state in which they are at present."

Idol of Cadiz. The author of the *Kitábu-l-ja'rafíyah* [5] has furnished us with details concerning the tower of Cadiz. We shall quote his own words. "In this city," he says, (meaning Cadiz) "there formerly stood a square tower, upwards of one hundred "cubits high, and built of large blocks of stone, admirably placed one on the "top of another, and fastened together by hooks of brass. On the top of the "tower was a square pedestal of white marble, measuring four spans,[6] and on it a "statue representing a human being, so admirably executed in form, proportions, "and face, that it looked more like a living man than an inanimate block. His "face was turned towards the Western Sea; he had his back to the north;[7] "the left arm extended, and the fingers closed, with the exception of the fore-"finger, which he held in a horizontal position, pointing towards the mouth of "that sea which issues out of the Ocean, and lies between Tangiers and Tarifa, "being known by the name of Bahru-z-zokák (the Straits of Gibraltar). His "right arm was close to the body, as if holding his garments tightly, and in "the right hand he bore a stick, with which he pointed towards the sea. Some "authors pretend that what he held were keys, but it is a mis-statement; I "saw the idol often, and could never discover any thing else but the above-"mentioned stick, which he held in his right hand in a vertical position, and "somewhat raised from the ground; besides, I am assured by the testimony of "trustworthy people, who were present or assisted at the pulling down of this

" idol, that it was a short stick, of about twelve spans in length, having at the " end some teeth like a curry-comb. Who was the builder of this tower, with " the idol on the top, does not sufficiently appear. Mes'údí, in his 'Golden " Meadows,' [8] attributes its construction to Al-jabbár,[9] the same who built the " seven idols in the country of Zinj, which are one in sight of the other: but " the most probable opinion seems to be that it was built by some of the ancient " kings of Andalus to serve as a guide to navigators, from the fact of the idol " having his left arm extended towards the Bahru-z-zokák (straits), and pointing " to the mouth, as if he was showing the way. There were not wanting people " who thought this idol to be made of pure gold; for whenever the rising or " setting sun fell on the statue it sent forth rays of light, and shone in the " brightest hues, like the collar of a ring-dove, blue being the colour which " prevailed. Thus placed on the top of the tower the idol was like a signal for " the Moslem navigators to go in and out of the Ocean, and whoever wanted to " sail from any port in the Mediterranean to places in Al-maghreb, such as Lisbon, " and others, had only to approach the tower, and then put up the sails, and " make for the port whither they wished to go, whether Salé, Anfa,[10] or any " other in the western coast of Africa. When in after times this idol was pulled " down, it ceased of course to be a signal for navigators: its demolition happened " thus. In the year 540 (A. D. 1145-6), at the beginning of the second civil war, " 'Alí Ibn 'Isa Ibn Maymún,[11] who was Admiral of the Fleet, revolted at Cadiz, and " declared himself independent. Having heard the inhabitants say that the idol on " the top of the tower was made of pure gold, his cupidity was raised, and he gave " orders for its immediate removal. The statue was accordingly brought down by " dint of great exertions, and when on the ground was found to be made of brass, " covered only with a thin coat of gold, which, when removed, produced twelve " thousand gold dinárs. It is a general opinion among Andalusian and African " Moslems that this idol exercised a sort of spell over the sea, but that the charm " ceased the moment it was thrown down. They account for it in the following " manner. There used once to be in the Ocean some large vessels which the " Andalusians call *karákir*,[12] provided with a square sail in front, and another " behind; they were manned by a nation called *Majús*, people of great strength, " determination, and much practice in navigation, and who at their landing on the " coasts destroyed every thing with fire and sword, and committed unheard-of " ravages and cruelties, so that at their appearance the inhabitants fled with their " valuables to the mountains, and the whole coast was depopulated. The in- " vasions of these barbarians were periodical—they took place every six or seven " years; the number of their vessels was never less than forty, it sometimes

"amounted to a hundred;[13] they devoured any one they found on the sea. The "tower that I have described was known to them, and, following the direction "pointed at by the idol, they were enabled to make at all times for the mouth "of the straits, and enter the Mediterranean, ravage the coasts of Andalus, and "the islands close to it, sometimes carrying their depredations as far as the coasts "of Syria. But when the idol was destroyed by the command of 'Alí Ibn Maymún, "as I have already stated, no more was heard of these people, nor were their "*karákir* (vessels) seen in these seas, with the exception of two that were wrecked "on the coast, one at *Mersu-l-Majús* (the port of the Majús),[14] and the other close "to the promontory of Al-aghar."

Pit of Cabra.

Among the wonders of Andalus one is the pit of Kabrah (Cabra), which, in the opinion of Ar-rází, who mentions it, is one of the gates of the winds. It is to be seen at some distance from Cabra,[15] and whatever efforts have been made to find the bottom of it have proved ineffectual.

Iron pot at Kal'atu-Aurád.

Ibnu Sa'íd also mentions a mountain in the neighbourhood of *Kal'atu-Aurád*[16] where, says he, is a rock with a wide gap, and within it an iron pot hanging by a chain. Whoever goes to the spot will see it, his hands will touch it, but all his attempts to take it out will be fruitless; for no sooner will his hands come in contact with it than the pot will sink in the cavity of the rock and disappear; however, if the person desists from his undertaking it will return to its former position. This is related by Ibnu Sa'íd on the authority of Ibnu Bashkúwál, who, among some ancient traditions, and other wonderful stories, concerning Andalus, mentions the following:

"It has been related to us on the authority of a traditionist, who had it from "Seyf, that 'Othmán Ibn 'Affán said 'that the conquest of Constantíniyeh (Con- "stantinople) would be made from Andalus.' Perhaps he meant Rome instead of "Constantinople, but God is all-knowing."

Such are the words of Ibnu Bashkúwál; but this point requires elucidation. The tradition to which that illustrious writer alludes stands thus. 'Othmán is said to have sent an army from Cairwán to the conquest of Andalus, and to have written to the generals who were to command the expedition: "Know ye how the conquest "of Constantinople shall be made, passing first through Andalus; so, if ye quickly "subdue those regions whither ye are bound, ye shall participate of the favours "of God." Such is the tradition; but let the responsibility of it lie on its preservers, for as to us, we wish to be considered entirely pure and free from it; for although it be true that it has been adopted and repeated by Ibnu Bash-kúwál, by Ibnu Sa'íd, and other respectable writers, yet we cannot give credit to it, for it is not only improbable, but entirely devoid of foundation. For at what

time, we ask, did 'Othmán send troops from Africa to conquer Andalus; when it is evident, nay, it rests on incontrovertible proofs, that the Arabs never invaded Andalus until the times of Al-walíd, and that Cairwán, the city from whence the expedition is said to have departed, was not built until twelve[17] years after the death of that Khalif? However, let not these objections of ours be taken as uttered in contempt of the authors of the tradition: we merely state them as a proof of our ardent wish to warn our readers against error, and to assist them in the investigation of truth.

Extraordinary olive tree.

Another of the wonders of Andalus we would pass over were it not that all the historians of that country mention it. It is an olive tree, which is said to blossom and produce fruit on a certain day of the solar year. But this is rather a proof of the difficult task an historian takes upon himself, and how easily authors as trustworthy and learned as Ibnu Sa'íd may be led into error by the adoption of facts which they have not ascertained, or by transcribing the accounts of over-credulous writers. This phenomenon, which Ibnu Sa'íd relates on the authority of people who are said to have witnessed it, is nothing more than the effects of light on an olive tree of the common species, as the author of the *Ja'rafíyah* tells us. We shall quote his words: " In this mountain (meaning " that of Sholayr, in the neighbourhood of Granada,) is the famous olive tree " of which people talk wonders. I happened once to pass by it early in the " morning of the day of Pentecost, when all the inhabitants of those districts " collect round it. I saw nothing on it to deserve attention; both its appearance " and its fruit were the same as those of similar trees at that season of the year, " only that, in proportion as the day advanced, the leaves looked of a bright " green; at noon they looked white, as if the tree was covered with blossom, " and later in the day, a little before sunset, they partook of a reddish hue. " With the exception of this circumstance, which I believe to be common to " every tree of the same species, I saw nothing wonderful either in the fruit, " the branches, or the leaves of the tree."

Water-clocks of Toledo.

Several authors, and amongst them the last-mentioned writer, describe most minutely two water-clocks which Abú-l-kásim Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, known by the surname of Az-zarkál,[18] built in Toledo, when he heard of the famous talisman which is in the city of Arín in India, and which Mes'údí describes as marking the time with a hand from sunset to sunrise. These clocks consisted of two basins, which filled with water or emptied according to the increasing or waning of the moon. Az-zarkál placed them in a house out of the city, to the south-west, and on the banks of the river Tajoh (Tagus), near to the spot called *Bábu-l-*

dabbághín[19] (the gate of the tanners); their action was as follows. At the moment when the new moon appeared on the horizon water began to flow into the basins by means of subterranean pipes, so that there would be at day-break the fourth of a seventh part, and at the end of the day half a seventh part, of the water required to fill the basins. In this proportion the water would continue to flow until seven days and as many nights of the month were elapsed, when both basins would be half filled; the same process during the following seven days and nights would make the two basins quite full, at the same time that the moon was at its full. However, on the fifteenth night of the month, when the moon began to wane, the basins would also begin to lose every day and night half a seventh part of their water, until by the twenty-first of the month they would be half empty, and when the moon reached her twenty-ninth night not a drop of water would remain in them; it being worthy of remark that, should any one go to any of the basins when they were not filled, and pour water into them with a view to quicken its filling, the basins would immediately absorb the additional water, and retain no more than the just quantity; and, on the contrary, were any one to try, when they were nearly filled, to extract any or the whole of their water, the moment he raised his hands from the work the basins would pour out sufficient water to fill the vacuum in an instant. These clocks were undoubtedly a greater work of science than the Indian talisman, for this latter is placed in a country under the equinoctial line, where the days and nights are of the same length, while in Andalus, which is in the temperate zone, it does not happen thus. They remained for a long time in Toledo, until that city was taken by the Christians, (may God send confusion amongst them!) when the tyrant Al-fonsh[20] (Alfonso) felt a great curiosity to know how they were regulated, and caused one of them to be excavated, which being done the interior machinery was damaged, and the water ceased to flow into the basins. This happened in the year five hundred and twenty-eight of the Hijra (A. D. 1133-4).[21] Others say that the cause of their being spoilt was Honeyn the Jew,[22] he who conveyed all the baths of Andalus to Toledo in one day in the said year of five hundred and twenty-eight, and who predicted to Alfonso[23] that his son would conquer Cordova, as it happened. This accursed Jew, being anxious to discover the motion of the clocks, said once to Alfonso, "O king! were I to look at them in "the inside, and see how they are made, not only could I restore them to "their ancient state, but even construct two others still more wonderful, and "which would fill during the day and empty at night." Alfonso granted

him his request, and the Jew then had one opened; but when he afterwards tried to restore it to its former state he was unable to accomplish what he had promised, and the machinery being damaged the works were stopped. The other basin, nevertheless, continued still to fill and empty in the same wonderful manner; but God is all-knowing,—he knows the truth of the matter.

CHAPTER VII.

Anecdotes respecting Andalus—Population—Productions of the soil.

Anecdotes respecting Andalus.

We have read in a certain book that when the *Amíru-l-moslemín* (Prince of the Moslems) 'Alí, son of the *Amíru-l-moslemín* Yúsef Ibn Táshfín Al-masúfí,[1] Sultán of Maghreb and Andalus, crossed the Straits, and landed in the latter country,—when he had traversed it in all directions, and observed its shape and configuration, he compared it to an eagle, making the city of Toledo the claws, *Kal'at-Rabáh* (Calatrava) the breast, Jaen the head, Granada the bill, and placing its two wings, the right far into the west, and the left in the east.

We have also read that the said Sultán and the Africans who formed his court were very much struck with the beauty of the prospect, the fertility of the land, the abundance of provisions, the mildness of the temperature, the magnificence of its buildings, and other advantages which make Andalus superior to any other country in the world, and that their admiration gave rise to many witty expressions and curious anecdotes in which the African histories abound; but unluckily the work in which we have read these and other particulars is not in our possession, as we have left it with the remainder of our library in the Al-maghreb (West), so we must content ourselves with quoting that which we know by heart, and fill up the deficiency with such works as we have been able to procure in this country.

Population.

Ibnu Sa'íd, the author of the book entitled *Al-mugh'rab fí holí-l-maghreb*[2] (the eloquent speaker on the ornamental beauties of the West), a work which we have had frequent occasion to quote, and which has been of the greatest assistance to us, when describing at large the population and agricultural resources of Andalus expresses himself in the following terms. " Were I called upon to give an adequate and just " description of Andalus, I would say that it is a country surrounded by sea, " abounding in fruits and productions of all kinds, full of cities and towns, and so

" thickly populated that if a traveller goes any distance through it he will find at " every step on his road hamlets, towns, farms, orchards, and cultivated fields, and " will never meet, as is more or less the case in other countries, with large tracts " of uncultivated land, or desert. This, united to the habits of the Andalusians, " who, instead of living together, as the Egyptians do, grouped in towns and " villages, prefer dwelling in cottages and rural establishments in the midst of " the fields, by the side of brooks, and on the declivities of mountains, gives " altogether to the country an aspect of comfort and prosperity which the tra- " veller will look for in vain elsewhere; their houses too, which they are " continually white-washing inside and out, look exceedingly well by the side of " the green trees, and, to use the words of the famous Wizír and poet Ibnu-l- " himárah[3] in his description of Andalus—

' Its hamlets brightening among the trees look like so many pearls set in ' a bed of emeralds.'

" And he was right, for if thou goest to Egypt after having staid any length of " time in Andalus, thou wilt be surprised to see the wretched appearance of the " Egyptian villages, placed as they are at great distances one from another, with " their narrow, badly constructed, ill-shaped houses, looking gloomy and dismal to " the eye. In Andalus, on the contrary, the traveller will find many districts " where large cities and populous towns almost touch each other, without counting " the numberless villages, hamlets, farms, castles, and towers which lie between. " So, for instance, going out of Seville, the first day's march will take him to " *Sherish* (Xerez), a very handsome city, placed in the midst of a fertile territory, " and surrounded by villages; close to Xerez is Algesiras, and then comes Malaga, " one of the finest ports in the Mediterranean; and let not the reader suppose that " this excessive population is only to be met with in that particular district, for " the description is applicable, as well, to any other province of Andalus, this " being the reason why historians and geographers who have described this country " mention so many large cities and wealthy towns. Most of these are strongly " fortified, and surrounded with walls, as a protection against the incursions of the " enemy; some, even, will be found so strong by nature, or so well fortified by " art, as to have been besieged by the Christians during twenty years without " falling into their hands. This, indeed, is not so much owing to the strength of " their fortifications as to the undaunted courage of their defenders,—their aptitude " for all military exercises, to which they are trained from their infancy, and their " early and continual acquaintance with the perils and horrors of war, owing to " the proximity of the enemy with whom they are in perpetual hostility. To this " must be added the facility they possess of keeping their corn for several years in

"subterranean granaries, owing to which any city might, if necessary, stand a "siege of one hundred years; and what I state here concerning the strength of "their cities is applicable not only to the prosperous times of Islám, but even "to the present disastrous epoch; for although it is true that at the time I write "the enemy of God has penetrated far into the heart of Andalus, and considerably "diminished the dominions of the Moslems,[4] yet there are still remaining in the "hands of the true believers cities like Seville, Granada, Malaga, Almeria, and "others, ruling over extensive and populous districts, full of cities and towns, "and provided with sufficient strength to resist and defeat, with God's help and "assistance, all the attacks of the unbelievers."

Alas! the bright hopes of this holy man have been blighted, and his good wishes frustrated, for God Almighty had decreed that the contrary should happen, and that the worshippers of the crucified should every where subdue and overpower his own servants. Such was the will of God—Him who can change sorrow into joy, and pain into delight—the high! the great! May He permit in his infinite wisdom that the words of Islám resound again in Andalus, and that its present inhabitants be annihilated and destroyed!

But to return to Ibnu Sa'íd's account. "I shall conclude," says that most elegant of writers, "by stating one thing in praise of Andalus which will establish "its fame much better than any thing else I can say. When I quitted it I "travelled along the northern coast of Africa, and visited its great cities, such "as *Marékash* (Morocco), Fez, and Ceuta; I afterwards went to Africa proper, "and the neighbouring districts of the *Maghrebu-l-ausatt* (middle West), and saw "Tehámah, Bejáyeh, and Túnis; from thence I proceeded to Egypt, and resided "in Alexandria, Cairo, and Fostát; I then went to Syria, and entered Damascus, "Aleppo, and other intervening cities. Well, I must confess that in the course "of my rambles I saw no country whatever which could be compared to Andalus "either in beauty, fertility, abundance of water, or luxuriance of trees, with the "exception of the environs of Fez in the *Maghrebu-l-aksá* (remote West), and the "country round Damascus in Syria. Neither did I see in the East or West any city "which could compete with those of Andalus in the size and solidity of its buildings, "for nowhere could I find such magnificent edifices and public works as I saw in "almost every city of Andalus, unless it be some of the works lately raised at "Morocco by the Sultáns of the dynasty of the Bení 'Abdu-l-múmen, and perhaps "one or two at Túnis, where all the houses are built of stone as in Alexandria, "owing to the great quantity of ancient stones (dug out from the ruins), only "that the streets of Túnis are not so well levelled or so broad as those of "that city. Great buildings may also be found in Alexandria; Aleppo may

" likewise be placed in the number of well-built cities, for the good design and " interior accommodation of its houses, which are built of hard stone, but no- " where did I find combined the elegance, the magnificence, the excellent distri- " bution, of the houses all over Andalus."

To this account of the population of Andalus by Ibnu Sa'íd we think it proper to add what an anonymous writer says on the subject.

" Andalus contains eighty cities of the first order, and upwards of three hundred " of moderate size; as to its towns, villages, hamlets, castles, and towers, their " number is so considerable that God only can count them. It is stated that the " towns and villages on the banks of the Guadalquivir only amounted to no less " than twelve thousand;[5] and Andalus is generally believed to be the only country " in the world where a traveller meets with three, four, or even more cities in the " course of a day's ride; finding besides at every two parasangs springs of limpid " water, and villages with markets and shops well provided with bread, fruit, meat, " fish, cheese, and all sorts of provisions."

Productions of the soil.

The before-mentioned author (Ibnu Sa'íd) says in another part of his work that Andalus far outstrips every other country in the world in the fertility of the land, which yields abundant crops of all kinds; in the delicacy of its fruits, the riches of its mines, the wonderful productions of nature, and the number of its manufactures. We shall now proceed to bestow on each of these topics such information as lies scattered in the authors that we have consulted.

Andalus has been compared by many authors to a terrestrial paradise; some even go so far as to advance that God, having forbidden the Christians the entrance into the celestial paradise, had given them instead one in this world; for indeed by what other name can we designate the countries which the Christians inhabit from the gulf of Constantinople down to the ocean of Andalus; since they are well known to be a perpetual paradise, wherein the acorn, the filbert, the nut, the chesnut, and other fruits of the northern climate, grow at the same time with the banana, the sugar cane, and others which are the productions of warmer countries alone? Andalus is the country which has been most favoured by God, and in point of fruits and other produce of the land even the most fertile regions of India cannot compete with it. The sugar cane grows in great luxuriance all along its southern coast, and in more temperate[6] regions the banana and other delicious fruits. In general, except dates, which do not thrive, all the fruits of other climates may be found in abundance, as well as many which are either scarce, or not produced at all, in other countries, such as the two species of figs called *Al-kútti* and *Ash-sha'rí*, which grow in the neighbourhood of Seville, as we have stated elsewhere, and which Ibnu Sa'íd says he never saw any where out of Andalus,

nor ever tasted after his departure from that country. The same might be said of the Malaga fig, or the raisins of Almuñecar, or those called *al-'aselí* (sweet as honey), the peaches, the apricots, the pomegranate called *Safarí*,[7] the walnuts, almonds, and several other fruits which grow in great perfection, and which we shall not stop to enumerate and describe for fear of making this our work too long.

Another of the productions for which Andalus is famous is its aromatic woods and roots; in this respect indeed it has often been compared to India, that privileged country of drugs and perfumes, which it resembles in some of its productions, as for instance the *mahleb*,[8] that sweetest of all perfumes and choicest of drugs, which is only to be met with in India and in Andalus, and which, according to Ar-rází, is found in great abundance in the western districts. Ibnu Ghálib, quoting the words of Al-mes'údí in his *Golden Meadows*, says that in Andalus are found five-and-twenty different perfumes or odoriferous substances, such as spikenard, clove, gillyflower, sandal wood, cinnamon, *Kassábu-dh-dharírah*,[9] *mahleb*, and others, and that out of the five substances which are considered to be the principal ingredients of perfumes, viz. musk, camphor, aloe wood, saffron, and amber, the two last are found in great quantities in Andalus. Ar-rází also, after describing some of the properties attributed to the *mahleb*, says that in the district of Dalayah (Dalia), which falls within the jurisdiction of the Alpuxarras, grows a root called *At-tólaj*,[10] which yields not to the Indian aloes in fragrancy; and which, he adds, grows in the crevices of rocks, and was collected for the use of Kheyrán, the Sclavonian king of Almeria, who liked its smell exceedingly. *Kost* [11] (costum) and spikenard grow also in great abundance, and the gentian, which is exported to all parts of the world, is held in great estimation for the sweetness of its smell, and commands a very high price. Myrrh is found in great quantities in the neighbourhood of Calatayud; and various authors speak of a plant with which the mountains near Ossonoba [12] are covered, and which when burnt sends forth a smell similar to that of the aloe wood. This account is confirmed by Ibnu Sa'íd, who says that there are in Andalus several mountains covered with odoriferous plants and shrubs, where if a fire be lighted the air becomes impregnated with a fragrant smell very much resembling that of burnt aloe wood, and that in the mountain of Sholayr, in that part which is nearest to Granada, grow many of the plants that are peculiar to India.

Respecting amber, it is found in great abundance all along the western coast of Andalus,[13] especially at *Shidhúnah* (Sidonia), where it is particularly fine, and very much prized, owing to its good quality and its resistance when exposed to the fire. It is known in the East by the name of *Al-gharbí* (western), and according to Al-mes'údí one drachm of it sold in his time for several drachms of that

produced in other countries. But let us hear what Al-mes'údí himself says in his Golden Meadows. "The seas that wash the shores of Andalus, and especially the "Mediterranean, abound in amber, which is exported to Egypt and to other "countries. That which they use at Cordova comes from a place on the western "coast called *Shantareyn* (Santarem), as also from Shidónah (Sidonia). One "ounce of this amber is sold in Andalus for three gold mithcals—in Egypt it may be "procured for twenty gold dinárs, although inferior in quality: the ounce used in "Andalus is equal in weight to that of Baghdád. As to the pieces of amber which "are now and then picked up on the coasts of Egypt, it is probable that they come "from the Mediterranean, and are impelled there by the waves. Andalus abounds "in mines of silver and quicksilver, which have not their equal any where in the "world, either in the countries subject to the Moslems, or in those which the "infidels occupy. It produces also ginger root, saffron, and several other aromatic "roots, as well as five kinds of musk; aloes and camphor may also be pro-"cured, although they do not grow in the country, being imported in great "quantities from India."

The preceding has been transcribed from Al-mes'údí's work;[14] for although he adds nothing new to what we have already stated, yet his account is not altogether devoid of interest. About the formation of amber very little is known; some authors, like Ibnu Sa'íd, believing it to be the saliva and excrements of marine monsters, while others, like Ibnu-l-hijárí, say that it is a plant growing at the bottom of the sea.

Mines of gold, silver, and other metals, abound in Andalus; according to the author of the *Ja'rafíyah* there are three places from which, during the occupation of that country by the Moslems, gold was extracted in great quantities; one was the river *Daroh* (Darro), the other a spot on the western coast close to Lisbon and at the mouth of the Tajoh (Tagus), and a third in the river of Lerida, that which falls into the Ebro.[15] According to Ibnu Sa'íd mines of all the seven known metals[16] were to be found in the north and north-west of Andalus, in those countries which were in the hands of the infidels. "The richest gold mine in all Andalus," says that author, "is in the neighbourhood of the city of Santiago, the capital of "Galicia. Silver is also very common; it may be procured near Tudmir, and in "the mountains of Al-hamah,[17] near Bejénah, and in the neighbourhood of "Kartash,[18] a town belonging to the district of Cordova. At Ossonoba[19] are "mines of tin, a metal very much resembling silver; it is also found in great "abundance in the country of the Franks and at Liyón (Leon). The Pyrenees "are likewise full of that metal as well as of quicksilver." Mines.

Mines of red and yellow ochre were also very abundant, and in a village close

to Vera, called *Baternah* (Paterna),[20] was found excellent tutty, which was used in giving colour to copper. Tutty was also met with in the mountains near Cordova, but inferior in quality to that of Paterna. In the neighbourhood of Tortosa were mines of collyrium, as good as that of Isfahán, and of which large quantities were annually exported; quicksilver abounded in the territory of Cordova, lead near Almeria, copper in the north, as also a kind of metal called *as-sofar*,[21] which very much resembles gold; as to those of alum[22] and iron, they were so numerous that it would be a difficult task to mention them all. The foregoing account of the mineral riches of Andalus has been for the most part extracted from the works of Ar-rází.

Other writers assert that the primitive inhabitants of Andalus called every one of the seven known metals after the name of that planet which was known to exercise an influence over it,—for instance, they called lead, Saturn; tin, Jupiter; iron, Vulcan; gold, the Sun; copper, Venus; silver, the Moon; and quicksilver, Mercury.

Precious stones.

A great variety of precious stones was likewise found in Andalus, according to the accounts of different writers: for instance, not far from a place called *Hadhratu-l-warikah*,[23] in the jurisdiction of Cordova, as likewise in the mountain of Shaheyrán,[24] to the east of Beyra (Vera), are mines of beryl.[25] Rubies may be found near the castle of Montemayór,[26] in the province of Malaga, only they are very small, which makes them very difficult to be worked. The golden marcasite, which has not its equal in the world, is extracted from the mountains of Ubeda,[27] and is exported to all distant countries on account of its beauty, as also another stone called *Al-ma'tisisá*,[28] and talc, which are found in great quantities. Pearls may be fished in the seas adjoining to Barcelona, but when they are large they are wanting in transparency and colour; as to the smaller kind, they are found in such abundance all along the coast of the Mediterranean, that at Vera, a sea-port in the jurisdiction of Almeria, eighty *arrobes*[29] weight are often collected in less than a month's time.

In the district of Bejénah, not far from a deep valley called *Kariatu Násherah*,[30] there are quarries of a stone resembling the ruby, of various hues, and which stands the fire. The *magnetes* (load-stone), which is well known to possess the property of attracting iron, is found in great abundance in the district of Tudmir, and close to Lisbon there is a mountain so impregnated with the stone called *An-najádí*[31] that the whole place looks at night as if it were illuminated with lanterns. The stone called *Ash-shádenah*[32] abounds on a mountain in the neighbourhood of Cordova—its use in gilding is sufficiently known.[33] The stone called Jewish stone,[34] which is acknowledged by all the physicians to be the most

efficacious remedy for pains in the kidneys and in the bladder, is dug out in the environs of *Hisnu-l-bónah;* and the territory round Lorca, a city belonging to the district of Tudmir, is full of mines of lapis-lazuli of the finest quality, which rare and precious article may also be found in other parts of Andalus.

We cannot pass in silence the spring of Liblah (Niebla), which pours out glass[35] of the best quality; nor a mountain in the neighbourhood of Toledo called *Jebalu-t-tafal,* where *tafal,*[36] surpassing in quality any other in the East or West, grows in prodigious quantity.

Andalus is equally rich in marbles, and stones for building. Ar-rází says that the mountains of Cordova abound in marbles of all sorts and colours, such as the purest white without any spot, and that having the colour of wine; the green is also to be found in the Alpuxarras in large blocks, from which columns are cut; and in the neighbourhood of Vega, a town depending on Granada, are several quarries of the most exquisite marbles, such as the spotted, the red, the yellow, and others. Almeria is famous for some small pebbles[37] (agates) which are found in its territory, and which are exported to distant countries, owing to their similarity to pearls, which they strongly resemble in brightness and transparency. In short, Andalus is, in the opinion of historians and geographers, the country which abounds most in marbles and jaspers, white, black, red, and of all colours. Marbles.

If from the productions of nature, or the fruits of the soil, we pass to the animal kingdom, we shall find that Andalus contains a larger number of the animals useful to man, while it has fewer wild beasts, than any other country in the world; as a proof of what we advance we shall quote the words of Al-hijárí in his *Al-mashab.* "Andalus," says that author, "abounds in antelopes, deer, zebras, oxen, and other "quadrupeds common to other countries; but there are neither elephants nor "giraffes, lions, tigers, nor other beasts of warmer countries; instead of these we "have an animal peculiar to our country which we call *al-lúb*[38] (lupus), somewhat "larger than a jackal,[39] but equally cruel and ferocious, and which, when insti-"gated by hunger, attacks and devours men. The mules are strong and sure-"footed, and the horses powerful and swift, and equally fit for sport and for battle, "enduring fatigue and weight most admirably, since in time of war they will not "only carry a cavalier armed cap-à-piè with all his provisions, but be themselves "caparisoned and barbed in steel." Animals.

Birds of all sorts, whether small or of prey, are found in such quantities, that were we to stop to enumerate them we should protract this our narrative to an undue length; the same might be said of the fishes, and other monsters of the sea, especially of the Ocean, where many are to be found so prodigiously large that we are afraid even to guess at their dimensions lest we should still remain far from the truth.

Ibnu Sa'íd tells us that he once saw one of these monsters, while on a sea voyage, and that it was so large that the crew of the vessel were trembling lest it should by a sudden jerk overturn the vessel. "We looked at it in amazement," says Ibnu Sa'íd, "and were filled with horror and consternation, for a long time unable "to utter a word, and expecting every moment to be drowned, for whenever "the monster breathed it raised large columns of water to a height really sur-"prising."

We find likewise in those authors who have written on the natural history of Andalus that frequent allusion is made to an amphibious quadruped, whose skin is used as a garment, and whose *scrotum* is reckoned to be a specific in several diseases. As the name of this animal is differently written, and there are besides many extraordinary circumstances attached to it, we shall transcribe here the words of the different writers who have mentioned it.

Ibnu-l-hijárí, in the *Al-mashab*.—"The Andalusians make jackets of the skin "of a certain amphibious quadruped called *al-wabrah*[40] (seal), whose skin is very "much prized; they are found in great abundance on the shores of the Ocean, and "in that part of Andalus which faces the island of Britannia. Thence they are "brought to Saragossa, where the skins are dressed, and then made into jackets."

Ibnu Ghálib, mentioning these jackets, which he observes were also manufactured at Cordova, says "the skins here alluded to and called *samúr*[41] are very much used "in Cordova for jackets, but I am unable to say to what animal they belong, whether "to some quadruped peculiar to that country, or to the *wabrah* (seal); in case of "their being those of the latter animal, it is a well-known amphibious quadruped, "very strong and muscular."

But the best account is that given by Hamíd Ibn Samjún[42] the physician, in his work on the simples employed as remedies in medicine. It reads thus: "the seal is "a quadruped whose *scrotum* is used as a remedy in several diseases; they abound "in the Mediterranean, where they generally live in the water, although they often "come on shore, and are pursued by huntsmen, who catch them, and after cutting "off their *scrotum*, let them go. I have heard the people who practise this trade say "that if one of these quadrupeds happens to fall a second time into their hands, "he fails not to throw himself on his back, to show his pursuers that he no longer "has the object of their wishes, upon which the men let him go unhurt."[43]

Another author says that the remedy to which we allude is also called *jendu-bádastar*, from the animal's name, which is likewise *jendu-bádastar*;[44] that it is considered a great specific in all diseases originating from cold temperaments, on account of its being held by the physicians and naturalists as hot and dry in the fourth degree. Some say that in size this quadruped is like a hare, others

that he is somewhat smaller, and that his flesh has a better taste; others again make him much larger,—but God only knows; one thing is certain, that the skins of the *wabrah* (seal), or some other quadruped resembling it, were used as an article of dress, and much worn by Christians as well as Moslems.

But it is quite time that we should say a few words about the different manufactures that existed in Andalus, which are generally acknowledged to have reached the utmost degree of perfection, so much so that when an Andalusian begins upon this subject there is no end to his praises of his native land: we shall here slightly mention a few; as, for instance, its manufactures of sashes,[45] which were famous all over the world for brilliancy of colours and fineness of texture; its silver and gold tissues manufactured at Almeria, Malaga, and Murcia, with such perfection that when taken to Eastern countries the people were amazed and bewildered at the sight of them. Of the manufactures established at Almeria we have already spoken elsewhere, when we gave the description of that city; we shall only add here, by way of supplement, that all the stuffs woven by its industrious inhabitants were at all times in great demand in the East and West, and that a very considerable trade was carried on in this, as well as in other products of their industry, both with Moslems and Christians. At Tentala, a town depending on Murcia, there were manufactures of carpets called *Tentalí*,[46] which, when exported to the East, brought a very high price. Both Granada and Baza were famous for the manufacture of certain warm stuffs for winter called *Al-mulabbad*,[47]—they were generally of woollen, stamped,[48] and dyed of the most beautiful and delicate colours. Murcia was likewise famous for the manufacture of coats of mail, breast-plates, and all sorts of steel armour, inlaid with gold; saddles and horse-harness richly set in gold; all kinds of instruments of brass and iron, as knives, scissors, and other trinkets, inlaid with gold, such as are used in weddings to present to the bride; and, above all, weapons and other warlike instruments, which were so highly finished and wrought in such perfection as to dazzle with their brightness the eyes of the beholder.[49] All these articles, Ibnu Sa'id informs us, were exported to Africa and other more distant countries, where they were held in great estimation. Murcia was likewise renowned for the fabrication of glass and pottery, of both which materials they made large vases of the most exquisite and elegant shapes; they manufactured also glazed pottery, and another kind which was washed over with gold. The manufactures of Malaga have already been described by us under the head of that city; it was famous above all things for its glass and pottery, and for many articles of clothing. Manufactures.

We find also that there were in Andalus several manufactures of *al-mafssass*,[50] which is known in the East by the name of *al-foseyfasá* (mosaic), as well as of a sort

of tile called *az-zulaj*[51] (azulejo), which they used in paving the floors of their houses. The *azulejos* were made of all sorts of gay colours, and very much resembled the *al-mafssass;* they were exported in great quantities to the East, and used instead of marble flags to make mosaic floors, to pave fountains, and other similar ornaments.

As to weapons and military stores of all kinds, such as shields, swords, spears, helmets, breast-plates, bows, arrows, saddles, bits, bridles, and all kinds of horse-trappings, the manufactures of Andalus exceeded those of any other country in the world; and according to Ibnu Sa'íd (from whom the preceding narrative is abridged) that part of the country which was in the hands of the infidels was likewise famous for the manufacture of arms, so highly polished as to dazzle the eyes; amongst which he makes particular mention of certain sharp-edged, well-tempered swords, called *al-bordheliat*,[52] from Bordhil (Bourdeaux), a city placed at the north-eastern extremity of Andalus. The same author speaks in the highest terms of the swords manufactured at Seville, and which, he says, were not inferior to those of India. Seville is likewise represented by him as a city of great trade, and where several manufactures of rich clothing and costly articles existed. The town of Xativa, near Valencia, was well known for its paper manufactures, of which a large quantity was annually exported to Maghreb, and to other parts of Africa. But we shall not dwell any longer on this topic, inasmuch as we have already given some details, under the head of those cities and districts where the objects were manufactured, and we may again occasionally allude to them in the course of this our narrative.

CHAPTER VIII.

Government—Public functionaries—Wizír—Kátib—Sáhibu-l-ashghál—Sáhibu-sh-shartah—Mohtesib—Ad-dárabún, or night-watch—Revenues.

HAVING thus far sketched some of the peculiarities of Andalus, we shall now proceed to say a few words on its government and institutions, as well as on the customs and manners of its inhabitants. Our narrative will be mostly borrowed from Ibnu Sa'íd, an author who has treated the question at large in his *Kitábu-l-mugh'rab*, in a chapter entitled "Shining stars in the just and impartial description of the eastern and western governments."[1] These are that author's words: Government.
"Andalus, which was conquered in the year 92 of the Hijra, continued for many "years to be a dependency of the Eastern Khalifate, until it was snatched away "from their hands by one of the surviving members of the family of Umeyyah, "who, crossing over from Barbary, subdued the country, and formed therein an "independent kingdom, which he transmitted to his posterity. During three "centuries and a half, Andalus, governed by the princes of this dynasty, reached the "utmost degree of power and prosperity, until civil war breaking out among its "inhabitants, the Moslems, weakened by internal discord, became every where the "prey of the artful Christians, and the territory of Islám was considerably reduced, "so much so that at the present moment the worshippers of the crucified hold "the greatest part of Andalus in their hands, and their country is divided into "various powerful kingdoms, whose rulers assist each other whenever the Moslems "attack their territories. This brings to my recollection the words of an eastern "geographer who visited Andalus in the fourth century of the Hijra,[2] and during "the prosperous times of the Cordovan Khalifate, I mean Ibnu Haukal An-"nassíbí,[3] who, describing Andalus, speaks in very unfavourable terms of its "inhabitants. As his words require refutation I shall transcribe here the whole "of the passage. 'Andalus,' he says, 'is an extensive island, a little less than a "month's march in length, and twenty and odd days in width. It abounds in

"rivers and springs, is covered with trees and plants of every description, and is "amply provided with every article which adds to the comforts of life; slaves are "very fine, and may be procured for a small price on account of their abundance; "owing, too, to the fertility of the land, which yields all sorts of grain, vegetables, "and fruit, as well as to the number and goodness of its pastures in which innu- "merable flocks of cattle graze, food is exceedingly abundant and cheap, and the "inhabitants are thereby plunged into indolence and sloth, letting mechanics and "men of the lowest ranks of society overpower them and conduct their affairs. "Owing to this it is really astonishing how the Island of Andalus still remains in "the hands of the Moslems, being, as they are, people of vicious habits and low "inclinations, narrow-minded, and entirely devoid of fortitude, courage, and the "military accomplishments necessary to meet face to face the formidable nations of "Christians who surround them on every side, and by whom they are continually "assailed.'[4]

"Such are the words of Ibnu Haukal; but, if truth be told, I am at a loss "to guess to whom they are applied. To my countrymen they certainly are "not; or, if so, it is a horrible calumny, for if any people on the earth are famous "for their courage, their noble qualities, and good habits, it is the Moslems of "Andalus; and indeed their readiness to fight the common enemy, their con- "stancy in upholding the holy tenets of their religion, and their endurance of "the hardships and privations of war, have become almost proverbial. So, as "far as this goes, Ibnu Haukal is decidedly in error, for as the proverb says, "'the tongue of stammering is at times more eloquent than the tongue of "eloquence.'[5] As to the other imputation, namely, their being devoid of all "sense, wisdom, and talent, either in the field or in administration, would to "God that the author's judgment were correct, for then the ambition of the "chiefs would not have been raised, and the Moslems would not have turned "against each other's breasts and dipped in each other's blood those very "weapons which God Almighty put into their hands for the destruction and "annihilation of the infidel Christian. But, as it is, we ask—were those Sultáns "and Khalifs wanting in prudence and talents who governed this country for "upwards of five hundred years, and who administered its affairs in the midst "of foreign war and civil discord? Were those fearless warriors deficient in "courage and military science who withstood on the frontiers of the Moslem "empire the frightful shock of the innumerable infidel nations who dwell within "and out of Andalus, whose extensive territories cover a surface of three months' "march, and all of whom ran to arms at a moment's notice to defend the religion "of the crucified? And if it be true that at the moment I write the Moslems

"have been visited by the wrath of heaven, and that the Almighty has sent down "defeat and shame to their arms, are we to wonder at it at a time when the "Christians, proud of their success, have carried their arms as far as Syria "and Mesopotamia, have invaded the districts contiguous to the country which "is the meeting-place of the Moslems, and the cupola of Islám, committed all "sorts of ravages and depredations, conquered the city of Haleb (Aleppo) and "its environs, and done other deeds which are sufficiently declared in the "histories of the time?[6] No, it is by no means to be wondered at, especially "when proper attention is paid to the manner in which the Andalusian Moslems "have come to their present state of weakness and degradation. The process "is this: the Christians will rush down from their mountains, or across the "plain, and make an incursion into the Moslem territory; there they will "pounce upon a castle and seize it; they will ravage the neighbouring country, "take the inhabitants captive, and then retire to their country with all the "plunder they have collected, leaving, nevertheless, strong garrisons in the "castles and towers captured by them. In the meanwhile the Moslem king "in whose dominions the inroad has been made, instead of attending to his "own interests and stopping the disease by applying cauterization, will be "waging war against his neighbours of the Moslems; and these, instead of "defending the common cause, the cause of religion and truth,—instead of "assisting their brother, will confederate and ally to deprive him of whatever "dominions still remain in his hands. So, from a trifling evil at first, it will "grow into an irreparable calamity, and the Christians will advance farther "and farther until they subdue the whole of that country exposed to their "inroads, where, once established and fortified, they will direct their attacks "to another part of the Moslem territories, and carry on the same war of havoc "and destruction. Nothing of this, however, existed at the time when Ibnu "Haukal visited Andalus; for although we are told by Ibnu Hayyán and "other writers that the Christians began as early as the reign of 'Abdu-r-"rahmán III. to grow powerful, and to annoy the Moslems on the frontiers,[7] "yet it is evident that until the breaking out of the civil wars, which raged "with uncommon violence throughout Andalus, the encroachments of the "barbarians on the extensive and unprotected frontiers of the Moslem empire "were but of little consequence.

"But to return to our subject. During the first years after the conquest the "government of Andalus was vested in the hands of military commanders "appointed by the Viceroys of Africa, who were themselves named by the "Khalifs of Damascus. These governors united in their hands the command

"of the armies and the civil power, but, being either removed as soon as "named, or deposed by military insurrections, much confusion and disorder "reigned at all times in the state, and the establishment and consolidation "of the Moslem power in Andalus were thwarted in their progress at the "very onset. It was not until the arrival of the Bení Umeyyah in Andalus "that the fabric of Islám may be said to have rested on a solid foundation. "When 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'awiyeh had conquered the country, when every "rebel had submitted to him, when all his opponents had sworn allegiance to "him, and his authority had been universally acknowledged, then his importance "increased, his ambition spread wider, and both he and his successors displayed "the greatest magnificence in their court, and about their persons and retinue, "as likewise in the number of officers and great functionaries of the state. At "first they contented themselves with the title of *Benú-l-khaláyif* (sons of "the Khalifs),[8] but in process of time, when the limits of their empire had "been considerably extended by their conquests on the opposite land of Africa, "they took the appellation of Khalifs and *Omará-l-múmenín* (Princes of the "believers). It is generally known that the strength and solidity of their "empire consisted principally in the policy pursued by these princes, the mag-"nificence and splendour with which they surrounded their court, the reverential "awe with which they inspired their subjects, the inexorable rigour with which they "chastised every aggression on their rights, the impartiality of their judgments, "their anxious solicitude in the observance of the civil law, their regard and "attention to the learned, whose opinions they respected and followed, calling "them to their sittings and admitting them to their councils, and many other "brilliant qualities; in proof of which frequent anecdotes occur in the works "of Ibnu Hayyán and other writers; as, for instance, that whenever a judge "summoned the Khalif, his son, or any of his most beloved favourites, to appear "in his presence as a witness in a judicial case, whoever was the individual "summoned would attend in person—if the Khalif, out of respect for the law "—and if a subject, for fear of incurring his master's displeasure.

"But when this salutary awe and impartial justice had vanished, the decay "of their empire began, and it was followed by a complete ruin. I have already "observed that the princes of that dynasty were formerly styled *Omará-bná-l-"kholafá* (Amírs, sons of the Khalifs),[9] but that in latter times they assumed "the title of *Omará-l-múmenín* (Princes of the believers). This continued until "the disastrous times of the civil war, when the surviving members of the "royal family hated each other, and when those who had neither the nobility "nor the qualities required to honour the Khalifate pretended to it and wished

" for it; when the governors of provinces and the generals of armies declared " themselves independent and rose every where in their governments, taking " the title of *Molúku-t-tawáyif*[10] (Kings of small estates), and when confusion " and disorder were at their highest pitch. These petty sovereigns, of whom " some read the *khotbah*[11] for the Khalifs of the house of Merwán—in whose " hands no power whatsoever remained—while others proclaimed the Abbasside " Sultáns, and acknowledged their Imám, all began to exercise the powers and " to use the appendages of royalty, assuming even the titles and names of " former Khalifs, and imitating in every thing the bearing and splendour of " the most powerful sovereigns,—a thing which they were enabled to accomplish " from the great resources of the countries over which they ruled,—for although " Andalus was divided into sundry petty kingdoms, yet such was the fertility " of the land, and the amount of taxes collected from it, that the chief of a " limited state could at times display at his court a greater magnificence than " the ruler of extensive dominions. However, the greatest among them did " not hesitate to assume, as I have already observed, the names and titles of " the most famous Eastern Khalifs; for instance, Ibnu Rashík Al-kairwání[12] says " that 'Abbád Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád took the surname of Al-mu'atadhed, " and imitated in all things the mode of life and bearing of the Abbasside Khalif " Al-mu'atadhed-billah;[13] his son, Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád, was styled Al-" mu'atamed; both reigned in Seville, to which kingdom they in process of " time added Cordova and other extensive territories in the southern and western " parts of Andalus, as will hereafter be shown.

" As long as the dynasty of Umeyyah occupied the throne of Cordova, the " successors of 'Abdu-r-rahmán contrived to inspire their subjects with love of " their persons, mixed with reverential awe; this they accomplished by sur-" rounding their courts with splendour, by displaying the greatest magnificence " whenever they appeared in public, and by employing other means which I have " already hinted at, and deem it not necessary to repeat: they continued thus until " the times of the civil war, when, having lost the affections of the people, their " subjects began to look with an evil eye at their prodigal expense, and the extra-" vagant pomp with which they surrounded their persons. Then came the Bení " Hamúd,[14] the descendants of Idrís, of the progeny of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib, who, " having snatched the Khalifate from the hands of the Bení Merwán, ruled for some " time over the greatest part of Andalus. These princes showed also great osten-" tation, and, assuming the same titles that the Abbasside Khalifs had borne, they " followed their steps in every thing concerning the arrangement of their courts " and persons; for instance, whenever a *munshid*[15] wanted to extemporize some

" verses in praise of his sovereign, or any subject wished to address him on " particular business, the poet or the petitioner was introduced to the presence of " the Khalif, who sat behind a curtain and spoke without showing himself, the *Hájib* " or curtain-drawer standing all the time by his side to communicate to the party " the words or intentions of the Khalif. So when Ibnu Mokéná Al-lishbóní " (from Lisbon), the poet, appeared in presence of the Hájib of Idrís Ibn Yahya " Al-hamúdí, who was proclaimed Khalif at Malaga,[16] to recite that *kassídah* of his " which is so well known and rhymes in *min*, when he came to that part which " runs thus—

'The countenance of Idrís, son of Yahya, son of 'Alí, son of Hamúd, prince 'of the believers, is like a rising sun; it dazzles the eyes of those who look 'at it—

'Let us see it, let us seize the rays of yonder light, for it is the light of the 'master of the worlds'—[17]

" the Sultán himself drew the curtain which concealed him, and said to the " poet—'Look, then,' and showed great affability to Ibn Mokéná, and rewarded " him very handsomely.

" But when, through the civil war, the country was broken up into sundry petty " sovereignties, the new monarchs followed quite a different line of politics; for, " wishing to become popular, they treated their subjects with greater familiarity, " and had a more frequent intercourse with all classes of society; they often " reviewed their troops, and visited their provinces; they invited to their presence " the doctors and poets, and wished to be held from the beginning of their reign as " the patrons of science and literature: but even this contributed to the depression " of the royal authority, which thus became every day less dreaded; besides, the " arms of the Moslems being employed during the long civil wars against one " another, the inhabitants of the different provinces began to look on each other " with an evil eye; the ties by which they were united became loose, and a number " of independent states were formed, the government of which passed from father to " son, in the same manner as the empire of Cordova had been transmitted to " the sons and heirs of the Khalifs. Thus separated from each other, the Moslems " began to consider themselves as members of different nations, and it became " every day more difficult for them to unite in the common cause; and owing " to their divisions, and to their mutual enmity, as well as to the sordid interest and " extravagant ambition of some of their kings, the Christians were enabled to attack " them in detail, and subdue them one after the other. However, by the arrival of " the Bení 'Abdu-l-múmen all those little states were again blended into one, and " the whole of Andalus acknowledged their sway, and continued for many years to

" be ruled by their successors, until, civil war breaking out again, Ibn Húd, " surnamed Al-mutawákel,[18] revolted, and finding the people of Andalus ill-dis- " posed against the Almohades, and anxious to shake off their yoke, he easily made " himself master of the country. Ibn Húd, however, followed the policy of his " predecessors (the kings of the small states); he even surpassed them in folly and " ignorance of the rules of good government, for he used to walk about the streets " and markets, conversing and laughing with the lowest people, asking them " questions, and doing acts unsuitable to his high station, and which no subject " ever saw a Sultán do before, so much so that it was said, not without foun- " dation, that he looked more like a performer of legerdemain than a king. Fools, " and the ignorant vulgar seemed, it is true, to gaze with astonishment and " pleasure at this familiarity, but as the poet has said—

' These are things to make the fools laugh, but the consequences of which ' prudent people are taught to fear.'[19]

" These symptoms went on increasing until populous cities and extensive dis- " tricts became the prey of the Christians, and whole kingdoms were snatched " from the hands of the Moslems. Another very aggravating circumstance added " its weight to the general calamity, namely, the facility with which the power " changed hands. Whoever has read attentively what we have just said[20] about " the mode of attaining and using the royal power in Andalus, must be convinced " that nothing was so easy, especially in latter times, as to arrive at it. The process " is this: whenever a knight is known to surpass his countrymen in courage, " generosity, or any of those qualities which make a man dear to the vulgar, the " people cling to him, follow his party, and soon after proclaim him their king, " without paying the least regard to his ascendancy, or stopping to consider " whether he is of royal blood or not. The new king then transmits the state as " an inheritance to his son or nearest relative, and thus a new dynasty is formed. I " may, in proof of this, quote a case which has just taken place among us: a " certain captain[21] made himself famous by his exploits, and the victories he won " over the enemy, as likewise by his generous and liberal disposition towards " the citizens and the army; all of a sudden his friends and partisans resolved " to raise him to the throne, and regardless of their own safety, as well as that " of their families, friends, and clients residing at court, and whose lives were " by their imprudence put in great jeopardy, they rose in a castle, and pro- " claimed him king; and they never ceased toiling, calling people to their ranks, " and fighting their opponents, until their object was accomplished, and their " friend solidly established on his throne. Now Eastern people are more cautious " about altering the succession, and changing the reigning dynasty; they will on

"the contrary avoid it by all possible means, and do their best to leave the power "in the hands of the reigning family, rather than let discord and civil dissen- "sions sap the foundations of the state, and introduce dissolution and corruption "into the social body.

"Among us the change of dynasty is a thing of frequent occurrence, and the "present ruler of Andalus, Ibnu-l-ahmar, is another instance of what I have "advanced. He was a good soldier, and had been very successful in some ex- "peditions against the Christians, whose territories he was continually invading, "sallying out at the head of his followers from a castle called *Hisn-Arjónah* "(Arjona),[22] where he generally resided. Being a shrewd man, and versed in all "the stratagems of war, he seldom went out on an expedition without returning "victorious, and laden with plunder, owing to which he amassed great riches, and "the number of his partisans and followers was considerably increased. At last, "being prompted by ambition to aspire to the royal power, he at first caused his "troops to proclaim him king; then sallying out of his stronghold he got "possession of Cordova, marched against Seville, took it, and killed its king "Al-bájí.[23] After this he subdued Jaen, the strongest and most important city "in all Andalus, owing to its walls and the position it occupies, conquered likewise "Malaga, Granada, and their districts, and assumed the title of *Amíru-l-moslemín* "(Prince of the Moslems); and at the moment I write he is obeyed all over Andalus, "and every one looks to him for advice and protection."[24]

The preceding has been transcribed from Ibnu Sa'íd's work, where the subject is treated at length: we shall now extract from him and from Ibnu Khaldún some particulars concerning the charges or public offices which composed the government of the different dynasties in Andalus.

Wizír.

The charge of Wizír during the times of the Bení Umeyyah was common to several functionaries, to whose deliberation and inspection the chief of the state submitted the affairs of the government. The historian Ibnu Khaldún, who in his book *of the subject and attribute* has defined the functions of these and other officers of the court of the Khalifs, says that the title of Wizír, under the Sultáns of Cordova, was given to certain functionaries in whose hands rested the management of public affairs, and each of whom had under his care one branch of the administration; for instance, the financial department, the foreign relations, the administration of justice and redress of injuries, and, lastly, the care of the frontiers and the provision and equipment of the troops stationed on them, would each constitute a separate and independent office under the special care of a Wizír. These functionaries enjoyed besides the right of sitting in the audience-room with the Khalif, and it was from among them that he chose his Náyib, called in the East

chief, or grand, Wizír, but who in Andalus was designated by the name of Hájib. These dignities were moreover conferred on certain noble families, until at last they became almost like an inheritance;[25] so that notwithstanding the governors and generals, who shared among themselves the dominions of the Khalifs, soon began to assume the signs of royalty, they still considered the titles of Wizír and Hájib as a very honourable distinction, and styled themselves Hájibs of the Bení Umeyyah, as if they were merely governing their states in their name.[26] Some even thought that no title could be more honourable, for we see them continually designated under that appellation either by poets singing their praises, or by historians relating their actions.

The appellation of Wizír was therefore given to all those who sat in council with, or were admitted into the privacy of, the sovereign; so that the Wizír, who to the right of sitting in council united the duties of the administration (in any particular branch), was distinguished by the title of *Dhú-l-wizárateyn*, that is, the holder of the two offices; and he had therefore to unite to the general accomplishments in literature which were required from the other functionaries a profound knowledge of the science of government.

The office of Kátib or secretary was of two kinds: the most important was called Kátib. *Kitábatu-r-rasáyil* (the office of the correspondence), the chief of which had under his care the direction of the correspondence of the Sultán with his allies or enemies, as likewise the drawing up of orders from the sovereign, and other documents for the inspection of the subjects: this office was also the most important, and that which required the greatest abilities in its holder, for he had to write (as it were) in the eyes and hearts of the people. The second was called *Kitábatu-dh-dhimám* (office of protection), and corresponded exactly to that of the *Kátibu-l-jihbadheh*[27] in the East: the person intrusted with this office had, as its name sufficiently indicates, to attend to the protection and security of the Christians and Jews; and it may be said without exaggeration, that so long as this office subsisted in Andalus and in the Maghreb no Christian or Jew ever needed the protection and assistance of the great and powerful.[28] Both these functionaries were called Kátibs, a title in which they gloried, and which they considered as the most honourable which they could receive; so that whoever wanted to honour or praise them never failed while addressing them, either verbally or in writing, to call them Kátibs; besides, the Andalusians showed always the greatest respect for all individuals entitled to that denomination, and never by any means forgot to do so when they addressed one of them; for had any one by mistake or otherwise omitted this, or suppressed any other of their honorific titles, neither the rank, riches, nor high station of the

offender would have prevented him and his friends from being ill-treated in words or action.

Sáhibu-l-ashghál.

No public office whatever equalled that of the *Sáhibu-l-ashghál*, or collector of taxes, in authority and importance, and the person who was at the head of it [29] was considered more powerful and influential than a Wizír; he had more followers, and could count a greater number of friends; the emoluments attached to his place were also more considerable, all necks bowed before him, all hands were stretched out to him, and he kept the provinces in awe by means of his overseers and informers. Yet with all this, and though this was a most desirable appointment—one which gave so much influence and importance to its holder, and in which considerable riches might be amassed in a very short time—it was a dangerous one, and full of hazards and cares. But this does not belong to our subject, as it depends upon the changes of fortune, and the character of the Sultán.

Kádí.

The charge of Kádí was always reputed in Andalus as the most honourable of all, not only on account of his spiritual jurisdiction, all religious affairs being exclusively intrusted to his care, but also owing to the great independence and power which that office gave to its holders; for, as we have observed elsewhere, if a Kádí summoned the Khalif to his presence, the latter would immediately obey the summons,—at least such appear to have been the prerogatives annexed to that office during the reign of the Bení Umeyyah, and such of the sovereigns of the petty dynasties as followed their system of government. The title of Kádí ought in strictness to be applied to those only who exercised the functions of judges in a city or large town; if the place was small he was called Hákim. The Kádí-l-kodá (or chief Kádí) was also called *Kádíu-l-jamá'h.*

Sáhibu-sh-shartah.

The office of the *Sáhibu-sh-shartah* [30] was the same as it is in our days, and its functions nearly similar to those now attached to that post in Africa. The vulgar called him *Sáhibu-l-medínah* (city magistrate), and *Sáhibu-l-leyl* (night magistrate). The functions of this office were at one time of a most formidable description, for if he were at all in favour with the Sultán, and had his confidence, he could sentence to death any one he pleased, and have the sentence executed without any previous leave from the sovereign. However, this appears to have been but of rare occurrence; neither was the appointment much used, being only to be met with in great capitals, and at the court of the Sultán. Abú Zeyd Ibn Khaldún treats at length of the functions of this officer,[31] which seem to have consisted in the detection and punishment of crimes against morality—such as adultery, the drinking of intoxicating liquors, and so forth. Other civil offences fell also under his jurisdiction. In former times, however, this office could not exist without the express consent

of the Kádí, by whose sufferance only it continued, and whose authority was much more respected, at the same time that it stood on more legal grounds.

Mohtesib. The office of the Mohtesib[32] was generally conferred in Andalus on men of probity, experience, and learning, and who belonged to the class of the Kádís. The duties of this officer consisted in riding, early in the morning, through the market, followed by his guards, one of whom carried a pair of scales in his hand, to weigh the bread; for in Andalus the weight and price of bread was at all times fixed by the authorities; so, for instance, a loaf of a certain weight would sell for the fourth of a dirhem, and another of half its size for the eighth of a dirhem. These measures, moreover, produced so good an effect, that whoever wanted provisions for his daily consumption might send to market a little boy or a simple girl, with directions to buy whatever he wanted, and yet be perfectly satisfied that no imposition was practised upon him, and that every article had its proper weight. The sale of meat was likewise subjected to the same rule, it being enjoined to every butcher to have over his stall a label, with an inscription marking the price fixed by the authorities of the town. So neither bakers nor butchers dared to sell their articles for a higher price, nor cheat in the weight; for were the Mohtesib to entertain the least suspicion about one of them, he would soon put him to the test by sending a boy or girl to buy some bread or meat from him, and if, when weighed, it was found to be in the least deficient, he would punish the infractor, and fine him heavily; this for the first time, for if he were to be found in fault again, the magistrate would sentence him to be publicly flogged, and exposed in the market-place for the salutary warning of all the rest of the dealers, after which he would banish him the city. The office of the Mohtesib was further made to extend to all articles of sale, and those who filled it had to learn certain practices or rules before being fit to obtain it; in the same manner as a Faquih would among us study the decisions of the law before he would be considered fit to fill the situation of a Kádí.[33]

Ad-dárabún, or night-watch. As to the night-watch, whom we call in the West *Tawáfu-l-leyl*, and who in the East are called *As'hab-arbá'*,[34] they were generally designated in Andalus under the name of *Ad-dárabún* (gate-keepers), on account of certain interior gates which most of the cities in that country had, and which it was the duty of those guards to shut every evening after the prayer of *'atemah*, thereby preventing any communication between the various quarters of the city during the night. Every one of these gates had its watchman, who, besides being well armed, was provided with a dark lantern, and had with him a dog to warn him by his bark if any noise was heard. "All these precautions," adds Ibnu Sa'íd, "are indispensable in the large cities "of Andalus, owing to the great number of thieves and vagabonds who either

" disturb the public tranquillity at night by their brawls and clamours, or commit " the most daring robberies; for it is by no means an uncommon thing in our " times to hear of a gang of robbers assembling at night, attacking a strong house, " penetrating into it, plundering it of whatever property they find, and murdering " all its inmates for fear they should offer any resistance, or assist the next day in " their discovery and apprehension. It is therefore a thing of frequent occurrence " in Andalus to hear people say,—' Last night robbers broke into the house of such " a one, or such a one was found murdered in his bed.'" It is true, observes our author, that crimes of this kind are not equally common all over Andalus, and are generally confined to large cities, and, even there, they are more or less frequent according to the severity or indifference shown by the authorities; but in general it must be owned that although the greatest rigour has been at times employed against robbers, so much as to inflict capital punishment for stealing a bunch of grapes out of a vineyard, and that the sword of justice has dropped with their blood, Andalus has never been quite free from that scourge. A very entertaining anecdote is told of a famous highwayman, called *Al-bâziyu-l-ash'ab* (the Grey-hawk), who lived in the time of Al-mu'atamed, King of Seville. He was renowned for his dexterity and courage, and soon became the scourge of the country; for at the head of a small band of chosen followers he began to scour the fields, surprising the inhabitants in their farms and villages, and depriving them of their valuables. Long did he baffle the search of justice, and escape from every troop sent for his apprehension; but, at last, he fell one day into the hands of the king's officers, and the event being reported to Al-mu'atamed, he was sentenced to be crucified by the side of a much-frequented path, in the midst of the very district which had been the principal theatre of his depredations. The sentence having been duly carried into execution, the poor man was hanging miserably stretched on the cross, when, behold! his wife and daughters came up, and began to sob and wail around him, exclaiming, in the midst of their tears, " Our doom is signed, and our deaths are certain; who " shall provide for us when thou art no more?" They were thus lamenting over their misfortune when a peasant happened to pass by, riding on a mule, and having before him something like a large bundle of clothes or goods.—" Friend," said the robber on the cross to the passenger, " take pity on me, and, since thou seest me " in this condition, grant me a last favour, which will prove beneficial to thee too." " And what is it, pray?" said the peasant. " Go to yonder well," replied the robber, " and thou shalt find at the bottom one hundred dinárs in a purse, which, " as I was closely pursued by the constables, I threw therein; if thou succeed in " getting them out, half shall be thy reward; the remaining half thou must " give to my wife and daughters here, that they may support themselves for a

"while after my death. Go, hasten to the spot, and do not be afraid; my wife will "assist thee in thy descent by holding a rope, and my daughters will take care "of thy mule." The peasant consented, upon the offered conditions, and bent his steps towards the well; there he tied a rope round his waist, and, assisted by the woman, began to let himself down, but no sooner had he reached the bottom than the robber's wife cut the rope, and the poor wretch was left in the water struggling and screaming, while his deceiver, as may easily be imagined, hastened to the spot where his mule was, seized on whatever property he carried, and quickly disappeared with her daughters. The poor man, in the meanwhile, finding the depth of the well, and that he had not the means of getting out, began to cry out as loud as he could, in hopes of calling the attention of some passenger; and the hollow of the well rang with his cries of "help! help!" It was summer time, and the weather very hot, so that many travellers approached the well to draw water for themselves and their beasts; but the moment one of them came near to it, and heard the voice of the poor peasant inside, he ran away from it in great fright and consternation, not knowing what caused the pitiful lamentations and wailings that issued from the water. For many a long hour did the unhappy man remain in this miserable plight, until some of the passengers having acquainted each other with the circumstance, they came to the resolution of returning to the spot, and ascertaining the cause of the strange noises they had heard. Hastening back to the well, they soon discovered the peasant lying at the bottom of it, who, by means of a rope thrown him, was speedily extricated from the dangerous situation in which he lay. Being asked how he had come by his misfortune, he told them that he had been deceived, and pointing to the highwayman on the cross, "Yonder knave," said he, "was the cause of it, in order to give his wife and daughters an opportunity to "plunder me." However, the adventure soon became known in Seville, whither the peasant directed his course, and being reported to Al-mu'atamed, he was surprised to hear of the robber's cunning and impudence; and wishing to see him, and interrogate him on the subject, he commanded that Grey-hawk should be made to appear in his presence. Agreeably to his orders, the robber was let down from the cross, and brought before the King, who addressed him thus: "Tell me, O "Grey-hawk! how couldst thou be guilty of such a crime as that now imputed to "thee, and that too, being, as it were, under the clutch of death?" "O King!" replied the robber, "if thou knewest how strongly nature impels me to the "perpetration of such acts, and how great is the pleasure I enjoy while I commit "them, I have no doubt but that thou wouldst relinquish the royal power, and "embrace my profession." Al-mu'atamed could not help smiling when he heard this; he then said, after some time, "O Grey-hawk! were I to set thee at liberty,

" and treat thee kindly,—were I to act generously towards thee, and allow thee a " pension for thy maintenance and that of thy family,—tell me, wouldst thou repent " of thy misdeeds, and forsake thy criminal practices?" "If repentance," said Grey-hawk, "is to be my only way to salvation, I do not hesitate to accept life under " such conditions." Upon which, Al-mu'atamed, having previously made him swear to keep his engagement, liberated him, and gave him the command of a resolute band for the prosecution and detection of thieves in a particular quarter of the city. But to return.

These appear to have been the principal offices during the reign of the Bení Umeyyah and those of the petty sovereigns who usurped the power after them; there are still some civil as well as military appointments which we have passed in silence for brevity's sake, such as the Wálí, or governor of a province, the *Káyidu-l-asátíl* (admiral of the fleet[35]), and others. In general, the Sultáns of the house of Merwán were distinguished for their care in naming to these offices the individuals most fit for their several duties, as also for having vied with each other in distinguishing and honouring the learned, raising them in rank or command, and admitting them to their privacy and favour: they were never known to appoint an undeserving Wizír nor a Kádí, nor to grant a seat in their council-room but to those who had given ample proofs of sagacity and learning. They always showed the greatest respect for the opinions of the learned, as is well known in the case of Al-hakem, who, persuaded by some strict theologians who were averse to wine, commanded that all the vines in his dominions should be rooted up, although, on the suggestion of some of his favourites, who represented to him that he could not prevent wine being made in other countries, and introduced into Andalus, he relaxed in severity, and the order was never carried into execution.[36] They never appointed any to the charge of Muftí, or to the examination of witnesses, but men of great learning and experience, and well read in the Korán, and in the decisions of the law. They were also to be rich, or at least to be possessed of a decent income, lest their poverty should induce them to covet the property of others, and sell justice to the pleaders. Ash-shakandí, from whom the foregoing details are borrowed, relates an anecdote which we shall transcribe here, as illustrative of what we have advanced. "Al-" hakem, surnamed *Ar-rabadhí*[37] (he of the suburb), wishing once to appoint " one of the most distinguished theologians of Cordova to the special charge of " receiving the declarations of witnesses, consulted with Yahya Ibn Yahya,[38] 'Abdu-" l-málik,[39] and other doctors, upon the propriety of his nomination, and asked " them to give him their opinion on the person of his choice. The doctors then

" said in reply,—' O Prince of the believers! the individual thou hast chosen is " no doubt an able and very worthy man, but he is exceedingly poor, and " whoever has not an independent fortune to live upon ought by no means to " be intrusted with the decisions of the law, and be made the judge between " the Moslems; especially if thou wishest him to derive utility and profit from " his office, and yet to be just and impartial in his judgments when he has " to decide between the executors[40] of a will and the heirs appointed in it.' " On hearing this Al-hakem kept silence, and did not seem inclined to accept of " their remonstrances; on the contrary, he appeared to be angry and disappointed " at seeing the doctors oppose his will. The counsellors then left the room, and " Al-hakem remained thoughtful, until his son 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who succeeded " him in the empire, happening to come in, and seeing sorrow and anger on his " countenance, inquired the cause of it. 'What ails thee, O father! who has " displeased thee?' 'Hast thou not seen,' said Al-hakem, 'those whom I " extolled and raised above all others, and whom I have distinguished so far as " to consult them on matters which neither concerned them, nor affected them " in the least, wishing us to turn our faces from our intention, and shutting " upon us the gates of intercession?'—and then he told his son what had " occurred. 'O, father!' replied 'Abdu-r-rahmán, 'thou art the dispenser of " justice, and thy uprightness exceeds that of any other Sultán on the earth; " in appointing and distinguishing the men of whom thou now complainest, " thy object was, no doubt, not to raise and extol them, but to honour science " through their means; so I see no remedy for it unless thou removest them " from their situations, and take away their dignities and honours to confer " them on ignorant people.' 'Certainly not,' said Al-hakem, 'that I will " never do.' 'Well, then,' continued his son, 'be just with them, and since " science and virtue have no other language, leave them in their offices, that " they may enjoy the pleasures of this world, and afterwards participate in the " blessings of the other.' 'Thou art right, son!' interrupted Al-hakem. 'As " to the objection raised by them,' continued 'Abdu-r-rahmán, 'respecting " the scantiness of his means, and his liability to be corrupted, the remedy rests " in thy hands, and thou mayest stop their mouths by a single act of thy wonted " generosity.' 'And what is that?' replied Al-hakem. 'Give to thy protégé,' " answered 'Abdu-r-rahmán, 'from thy treasury, a sufficient sum to enable him to " fill his station with honour; this will remove all the scruples of thy advisers, " and will, besides being an action in which none of thy predecessors surpassed " thee, raise thee highly in the estimation of thy subjects.' 'Well said,' ex- " claimed Al-hakem, his countenance suddenly brightening with joy and satis-

"faction; 'come to me, I see that generosity is natural to thee; and that the "poet was right who said—

'The sons of kings are generous and magnificent lords; the smallest 'among them is greater than the greatest of his subjects.'[41]

"After this, Al-hakem ordered 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Habíb into his presence, "and asked him how much he thought would be sufficient for the support of a "functionary in that situation; and when the sum was fixed by 'Abdu-l-málik, "the Khalif issued an order on his treasury for the amount; and not only was "the allowance paid regularly out of the royal coffers as long as the judge "lived, but he himself rose high in the estimation and favour of his sovereign, "who gave him a horse out of his own stables, and conferred on him all sorts "of honours and distinctions. And this was certainly a noble and generous "action, the merits of which cannot be concealed, nor its memory be obliterated "by time. Thus provided with means sufficient to resist the temptations of "bribery, and having sufficient piety and virtue to avoid the committing of "acts offensive to God, and the requisite learning to guide him through the "maze of legal decisions, and to inspire him with equitable sentences in all "trials and judgments, the new functionary fulfilled his duties in the most steady "and upright manner, and his legal decisions became so many oracles among "those of his profession."

Taxes. In the first years of the conquest the Moslems of Andalus were subject to the payment of those legal taxes designated in the *Sunnah*, and which every Moslem is bound to contribute. This, joined to certain customs paid by the Jews and Christians, was more than sufficient to meet the expenses of the court and carry on the government, but in latter times the splendour assumed by the Sultáns of the family of Merwán, their prodigality towards the learned, and the numerous armies they were obliged to keep constantly on foot, made it necessary for them to impose new tributes on their Moslem subjects, although every exaction of the kind is expressly forbidden by the text of the law. The amount of taxes thus collected in the time of the Sultáns of the house of Umeyyah has been differently estimated by various writers. The geographer Ibnu Haukal says that under 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. they amounted only to 300,000 dinárs, a sum which was collected from the principal cities according to their trade and the wealth of their inhabitants, each contributing a fixed quota towards the making up of the total sum. The contributions thus levied were divided into three equal portions: one-third was spent in the maintenance of the army; another went to pay the salaries of civil officers and judges, and to defray all the expenses of the administration; while the remainder was deposited in the coffers of the Khalif

to meet cases of emergency, sudden invasions of the enemy, and so forth. But, in our opinion, this statement is not correct; Ibnu Haukal can only speak of the legal tax called *zakah*,[42] and not of all the other contributions, or else they were enormously increased under the reign of his successors, for we are told that under 'Abdu-r-rahmán *al-ausatt*[43] the sums levied amounted to one million of dinárs every year, and that under his father's administration they were computed at seven hundred thousand, which makes more than double the sum stated by that geographer. Moreover, the revenues of Andalus must have increased in a still greater proportion under his grandson 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., since, in the words of Ibn Khallekán, Ibnu Bashkúwál, and other historians, they are said to have amounted to five millions four hundred and eighty thousand dinárs,[44] without including in that sum either the duties raised on all articles of sale, or the contribution called *al-mostkhaláss*,[45] which amounted to seven hundred and sixty-five thousand dinárs. But of this more will be said when we come to the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Religion—Orthodox sects—That of Málik Ibn Ans—When introduced—Faquírs—Costume of the Andalusians—Their weapons and equipments in time of war—Their eminent qualities—Their similarity to the Greeks—Their skill as workmen—They teach the Africans the useful arts of life.

It now behoves us to say something on the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Andalus; their piety, their aptitude for the sciences, their courage, their generosity, their wit, and a thousand eminent qualities by which they have become famous among the nations. We shall begin with their attachment to the internal dogmas as well as the exterior practices of religion. This may be said, in a certain measure, to have been more or less strong according to time and circumstances, and to have been determined by the religious habits and the conduct of the head of the state himself. However, it must be owned that, with a few exceptions, the precepts of religion were always held in the greatest awe and veneration, and all innovations or heretical practices abhorred and looked upon with contempt. Indeed, the disapprobation of the people in matters of this kind was so strong, that we are told by the historians of the time that it would have been a dangerous thing for any theologian, whatever might have been his birth or authority, to show the least deviation from the true spirit of religion; and that had a favourite or a relation of the Khalif been guilty of any heretical practice, and had the Sultán countenanced him in it, or not shown in some way his censure, the mob would have soon penetrated into his strong palace, and, in spite of his body-guard, seized on their victim, torn him to pieces, or expelled him from the city. This was of frequent occurrence during the reign of the Bení Umeyyah, as also the pelting of judges and governors whenever the inhabitants thought that proper justice was not given to them in their trials, or that they were despotically treated by their rulers.

Religion.

Orthodox sects.

In former times the Andalusians, like the inhabitants of Syria, followed the

sect of Al-auzá'eí,[1] but during the reign of Al-hakem, son of Hishám, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel, the third Sultán of the family of Merwán in Andalus, some learned doctors began to utter legal decisions in conformity with the opinions of Málik Ibn Ans and the people of Medína, whose doctrines soon became known and spread all over Andalus and Africa; the change being in a great measure brought on by Al-hakem's conviction and firmness. There are various opinions entertained as to the reasons which induced the Sultán to make that innovation; the most current being that several Andalusian doctors happening to go to Medína, and having become acquainted with the Imám Málik, then residing in that city, and having heard from his own mouth the exposition of his sublime doctrines, were deeply impressed with their truth, and on their return to Andalus began to spread and preach them every where, expatiating in praise of their master, boasting of his virtues, his influence, his wide-spread fame, and the high estimation in which he was held by all classes of the people. This having reached the ears of Al-hakem, he held several conferences with them, and the result was that, being convinced of the purity and advantages of their doctrines, he issued immediate orders for the establishment of the sect of Málik Ibn Ans throughout his dominions.

Sect of Málik Ibn Ans.

Others assert that the Imám Málik having once interrogated an Andalusian doctor, whom he happened to meet at Medína, as to the habits and mode of life of the sovereigns of the house of Merwán, was very much surprised and gratified to hear that Al-hakem led a most exemplary and irreproachable life, offering a contrast to the conduct of the 'Abbasside Khalifs, and especially of Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr, who, as is well known and may be read in the history of the time, was then persecuting the descendants and partisans of 'Alí, casting them into prison, and subjecting them to all manner of ill treatment, for which reason Málik never failed to censure his proceedings: hearing, therefore, of the praiseworthy conduct of Al-hakem Ibn Hishám, he is said to have exclaimed in rapture, "God grant that he may be one of ours," or words to that purport.[2] This wish having been communicated to the Sultán by the doctor in whose presence it was expressed, they say that Al-hakem, who was already informed of the great reputation which his virtues and sanctity had gained him, decided immediately upon adopting the sect of Málik and forsaking that of Al-auzá'eí. Among the Andalusian doctors who contributed most efficaciously to bring about this change, either by their words or by their writings, are counted 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Habíb, Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí, and Zeyád Al-lakhmí; but of this more will be said hereafter.[3]

When introduced.

We find that in Andalus, as in the East, faquirs might be found in great

Faquirs.

numbers; they wore their general dress called *darwázah*,[4] but so tattered and torn that it almost fell to pieces. There, as in the East, they were well acquainted with all the arts and tricks of their profession, and knew how to give the face the appearance of extreme hunger, in order to beg in the streets and market-places; indeed their filthiness and impudence seem to have been beyond description. However, we are inclined to believe that they never were so numerous as in the East, nor did they obtain in Andalus the same success which they had there, for Ibnu Sa'íd tells us that it was a general rule among his countrymen not to encourage idleness by bestowing alms on people capable of gaining their livelihood by labour, and that if an Andalusian happened to meet a strong and healthy man under such a disguise, he would, instead of giving him alms, abuse him, and, by denouncing him to the magistrates, have him cast into prison; this is the reason why beggars were at all times scarce in Andalus,—those, however, always excepted, who, through some corporeal defect, could not earn their living. However, the judgment that we have passed on the faquirs of Andalus must be applied to the generality, not to all, for there were among them men who, moved by sentiments of piety and devotion, left the world and its vanities, and either retired to convents to pass the remainder of their lives among brethren of the same community, or, putting on the *darwázah* and grasping the staff of the faquir, went through the country begging a scanty pittance, and moving the faithful to compassion by their wretched and revolting appearance. The following anecdote, which we extract from the celebrated work by Ar-rá'íí, entitled "the book of luminous introduction to the knowledge of those "qualities which a faquir ought to have,"[5] will convey some idea of their customs and habits. "It happened once," says that author, "that the Sheríf Abú-l-ma'álí, "son of Abú-l-kásim Al-húseyn, Kádí-l-kodá of Granada,[6] and commentator of "the *Al-khazrajíyeh*, and the *Makssúrah*[7] of Házem, a man not only illustrious by "his birth,—for both his father and mother were descendants of Hasan, and "consequently of the family of the Prophet,—but by his virtues and eminent "qualities, renounced at once all his dignities and employments, and gave himself "up entirely to devotion and abstinence. Being a man of profound learning and "great piety, of amiable disposition and courteous manners, he won the esteem of "every one of his fellow-citizens, and became the object towards which the fingers of "the people of this world and of the world to come were universally pointing. He "had a brother whose name was Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed, Kádí of a town in the eastern "districts of Andalus, but who was then residing in Granada; with him Abú-l-"ma'álí dwelt, but he would never eat any thing in his house because he was in "the employment of the Sultán: he would, whenever he felt hungry, go to his "brother, and say to him, 'Brother, I am hungry, give me a dirhem that I may buy

" food,' and he used to go to market, and procure such provisions as he most " wanted. In this way he lived for several years, persevering in his resolution, " and depriving himself of every one of the comforts which the world bestows, " until one day he bent his steps towards a convent in the outskirts of Granada, " called *Záwiyatu-l-mahrúk* (the convent of the burnt),[8] and addressing himself " to its inmates, whose superior at the time was Abú Ja'far Ahmed Al-mahdúd, he " said to them, 'My friends! I had a lamp to light myself with, and I have lost it, " so that I cannot see at all;' and the superior replied to him, 'O Sherif! I cannot " answer thee, but the first man who happens to come here shall do it to thy " satisfaction.' Few minutes had elapsed before one of the many holy men who " used to visit the convent made his appearance, and sat himself by the side of " Abú Ja'far, who addressed him thus,—'Brother, this Sherif has just now put a " question to our community, and I have told him that the first man who should " enter here would answer it for him; so hear what he has got to say, and reply " to him.' Abú-l-ma'álí then repeated his words,—'I had a lamp to light myself " with, and I have lost it, so that I cannot see at all:' the stranger then said, " 'Well, that only shows a breach of discipline, thou must tell me more:' then " Abú-l-ma'álí said, 'I do not remember any fault I have committed, unless it be " that when so and so incurred the displeasure of the Sultán, and concealed himself " for fear of the approaching chastisement, I passed one day by his house, and he " called me through the wicket of his door, and begged me to pray to God in his " behalf, and I said to him—repeat such and such a prayer,—meaning one which " contains all the illustrious names of the Almighty God, and which is well known " to be an efficacious remedy against all calamities present and to come; a prayer " which is recorded by Al-búní in his *Al-muntekhab*,[9] and has repeatedly produced " the most miraculous effects, and was communicated to me by my brother Ahmed " Ash-sherif, who had it from one of his disciples.' When the faquir heard this, " he said, 'And when this took place hadst thou permission to admonish him?' " 'No,' answered Abú-l-ma'álí. 'Well then,' said the faquir, 'it is of no use " asking for thy lamp, thou shalt never recover it, and the light shall never be " restored to thee, for thou hast committed a breach of the rules which every " faquir ought to observe.' And so it happened; for some time after this " Abú-l-ma'álí returned to the world, and, putting an end to his austerity and " abstinence, accepted the office of Kádí which was offered to him, and served " kings, ate at their tables, and accepted their presents. This anecdote is well " known all over Granada, as well as Abú-l-ma'álí's apostacy. We humbly " beseech God not to make us one of the number of those who are banished from " his grace and favours!"

Costume of the Andalusians.

"The inhabitants of Andalus," says Ibnu Sa'íd, "dress somewhat differently "from their Moslem brethren of Asia. They have left off the turban, especially "in the eastern provinces; in the western, however, it is still used by people "of rank and wealth, or those holding situations under government. Thou wilt "never see in Cordova or in Seville a Kádí or a Faquih without his turban; in "Valencia, Murcia, and other provinces of the east of Spain, on the contrary, it is "quite common to see men of the highest rank walk about the streets with bare "heads; as to the lower classes, they never use the turban. I recollect once "seeing in Murcia one of the most distinguished and respected Ulemas of the city "appear before the Sultán who then reigned in those districts; he wore nothing "on his head, and his white hair, shining bright among his black locks, had the "most ludicrous appearance. Military officers, soldiers, and men of the inferior "classes, have likewise left it off, even in the western provinces. Ibn Húd,[10] "formerly King of Saragossa, and who in our days reduced to obedience the "greatest part of Andalus, never used a turban; I accompanied him in most "of his military expeditions, and always saw him without it. I might say the "same of Ibnu-l-ahmar, who is the present ruler of this country.

"The cloak called *taylasán*[11] is used by all classes of the people, men of rank "as well as plebeians, so that thou wilt never see an Andalusian go out into the "street without having his cloak on, the only difference being that Sheikhs and "other people of distinction throw their hood over their heads, whilst common "people never do so. Woollen caps are generally used as a substitute for turbans; "the colours most worn are either red or green; yellow is reserved for the Jews, "who, on no occasion, are allowed to use any other. The hair is cut short, only "Kádís and Ulemas wear it long; but instead of letting it hang over their "shoulders, as is the fashion in the East, they wear it loose underneath the "left ear.

"Even the people who use turbans follow a fashion of their own, and seem "entirely to disregard the multifarious shapes used by people of rank and dis- "tinction in other Moslem states; so if an eastern Arab happens to come among "them, wearing a turban in the Syrian or Hejází fashion,—and large high things "they are, looking like towers,—they will show great astonishment, and appear "much struck with the novelty; but instead of admiring its shape and structure, "they will burst out laughing, and jest at the expense of the wearer, for in general "the Andalusians are very slow in adopting the fashions of other nations, and "neither admire nor like any thing but their own. They are also the cleanest "people on earth in what regards their person, dress, beds, and in the interior "of their houses; indeed, they carry cleanliness to such an extreme that it is not

"an uncommon thing for a man of the lower classes to spend his last dirhem in "soap instead of buying food for his daily consumption, and thus go without "his dinner rather than appear in public with dirty clothes.

Sultáns, military officers, and even the common soldiers, followed the fashions of the infidels; in time of war, especially, they wore a dress very similar to that of the Christians, their neighbours. They used likewise the same weapons, and, like them, were clad in mail, over which they threw a short scarlet tunic, in the Christian fashion. They fought on horseback with shield and spear, but knew not how to use either the mace or the bow of the Arabs; instead of which they adopted the cross-bow of the Franks, and used it in sieges, or in marches, to defend the infantry from the attacks of cavalry, for without that requisite they would certainly be defeated. However, we are informed by Ibnu-l-khattíb that under the Merínite Sultáns, who reigned at Granada, the Andalusian troops were again clad and armed in the real Arabic fashion; instead of the heavy steel helmet and thick breast-plate of their ancestors, they then wore a slender head-piece, and a thin but well-tempered cuirass; instead of the huge spear with a broad end in the Christian fashion, they took the long and slender reed of the Arabs, and they substituted for the clumsy and ill-shaped Christian saddle the more military-looking and more convenient horse furniture of the inhabitants of Arabia.[12]

Their weapons and equipment in time of war.

The character of the Andalusian Arabs has been thus described by Ibnu Ghálib in his *Kitáb forjati-l-anfus* (the book of contentment of the soul), a work to which we have more than once referred in the course of our narrative. "The "Andalusians," says he, "are Arabs by descent, in pride, in the haughtiness of "their temper, the elevation of their minds, the goodness of their heart, and "the purity of their intentions; they resemble them in their abhorrence of every "thing that is cruel or oppressive, in their inability to endure subjection or "contempt, and in the liberal expenditure of whatever they possess. They are "Indians in their love of learning, as well as in their assiduous cultivation of "science, their firm adherence to its principles, and the scrupulous attention "with which they transmit down to their posterity its invaluable secrets. They "are like the people of Baghdád in cleanliness of person and beauty of form, "elegance of manners, in mildness of disposition, subtilty of mind, power of "thought, extent of memory, and universality of talent. They are Turks in "their aptitude for war, their deep acquaintance with every one of its stratagems, "and their skilful preparation of the weapons and machines used in it, as well "as their extreme care and foresight in all matters concerning it. They have "been further compared with the Chinese (by an Andalusian author named

Their eminent qualities.

"Ibnu Hazm) for the delicacy of their work and the subtilty of their manufactures, "and their dexterity in imitating all sorts of figures. And, lastly, it is generally "asserted that they are of all nations that which most resembles the Greeks "in their knowledge of the physical and natural sciences, their ability in discovering "waters hidden in the bowels of the earth, and bringing them to the surface; their "acquaintance with the various species of trees and plants, and their several "fruits, and their industry in the pruning and grafting of trees, the arrangement "and distribution of gardens, the treatment of plants and flowers, and all and "every one of the branches of agriculture: indeed, so great is their proficiency "in this science that it has almost become proverbial, and some eminent "writers among them have composed works which are generally approved of "and consulted in the East and in the West. Such is the treatise on agriculture "by Ibn Bassál,[13] an Andalusian, which is in the hands of every farmer, and "the merits of which have been sufficiently appreciated by all those who have "followed its valuable instructions. The Andalusians, moreover, are the most "patient of men, and the fittest to endure fatigue; they are thereby well qualified "for labour of every description; they likewise show great inclination for war, "and have on all occasions proved to be active, brave, and intelligent soldiers."

Their similarity to the Greeks.

Various authors have dwelt at large on the great similarity existing between the Andalusian Moslems and the Greeks, but it is easily accounted for by the circumstance that the Greeks for a long time inhabited Andalus, and the Moslems became thereby the inheritors of all their knowledge in the sciences.

Ibnu Ghálib continues, "We may enumerate among the eminent qualifications "of the inhabitants of Andalus that of having been the inventors of the species "of verse called *al-muwashahah*,[14] which has not only been approved of by Eastern "critics, but adopted and used by their poets, and made the theme of public "literary competitions. As to their poems in the common kinds of metre, and "their works in prose, nobody who has read them will deny that they stand high "in the scale of merit.

Skill of their workmen.

"The skill of their workmen in all kinds of handicraft has been sufficiently "acknowledged by travellers from the East, and other Mohammedan countries, "who have lived among them; many are the articles now manufactured in "Andalus which are in high repute, and form the staple of considerable trade "with Moslems and Christians: Africa may be said to have derived its present "wealth and importance, and its extent of commerce, from Andalusians settling "in it. For when God Almighty was pleased to send down on their country "the last disastrous civil war, thousands of its inhabitants of all classes and "professions sought a refuge on these[15] shores, and spread over *Maghrebu-l-aksá*

"and Africa proper, settling wherever they found comfort or employment. "Labourers and country people took to the same occupations which they had "left in Andalus,—they formed intimacy with the inhabitants, assisted them in "their agricultural labours, discovered springs, and made them available for the "irrigation of their fields, planted trees, introduced water-mills,[16] and other "useful inventions; and, in short, they taught the African farmers many things "they had never heard of, and showed them the use of excellent practices "whereof they were completely ignorant. Through their means the countries "where they fixed their residence became at once prosperous and rich, and "the inhabitants saw their wealth increase rapidly, as well as their comforts and "enjoyments.

"The inhabitants of cities being for the most part well educated people, and "being versed in all the branches of learning and polite literature, soon made "themselves conspicuous and known at court, or in the chief towns where "they settled. They filled posts of distinction in the state, and were appointed "to the charges of Wizírs, Kátibs, governors of provinces and districts, tax "collectors, and other offices under government, so that there was no district "in Africa wherein some of the principal authorities were not Andalusians.

They teach the Africans the useful arts of life.

"But it was in the class of operatives and workmen in all sorts of handicrafts "that Africa derived the most advantage from the tides of emigration setting towards "its shores. It is well known that before the arrival of the Andalusians many "of the trades which are now in a flourishing state were hardly known in Africa, "and that in activity and dexterity the emigrants ranked far above the native "workmen. So, for instance, if they undertook the building of an edifice they "completed it in the shortest possible time, and finished every thing so beautifully, "and with such a perfection of design, that they won the hearts and affections "of their employers, and their reputation grew immense among the people; "these being notorious facts, which none but the ignorant or the ill-intentioned "could deny."

Such are Ibnu Ghálib's expressions, transcribed literally from Ibnu Sa'íd's work, where they may be found, with other curious information on the subject. The latter author himself, making as it were a comment on Ibnu Ghálib's words, and recording some of the good qualities which the Andalusians were known to possess, adds as follows: "God Almighty knows it is not my intention to flatter my countrymen, "but merely to state the truth, following those impartial writers who are neither "carried away by the love of their country, nor diverted from truth through envy "or malevolence; my motto shall be, 'the path of truth is the surest path to "follow.'[17] Perhaps some of my readers, in perusing the account I have just

" given, in the words of Ibnu Ghálib, of the revolution created by the Andalusian " emigration in the trade and agriculture of Africa, will say to themselves,—this " author was undoubtedly partial towards his countrymen, and he exaggerated " their merits; but let them plunge into his book, let them weigh every one of " his expressions, and compare his narrative with those of other writers, and they " will soon feel convinced that he spoke the truth, and they will, if necessary, " quote his words without fear.

'When they directed their looks towards Leylah, and saw the beauty of 'her face, they were confirmed in their belief, and

'They exclaimed, We have still fallen short in our praises of thee.'[18]

" I cannot deny," continues Ibnu Sa'íd, " for the sake of truth and justice, that " Morocco is the Baghdád of the West; it is the largest city on this coast, as " likewise that which abounds most in public works, splendid buildings, palaces, and " gardens. Yet it is a known fact that the capital of Al-maghreb was never so " flourishing as under the reign of the Beni 'Abdi-l-múmen, who took thither " workmen and operatives from all parts of their Andalusian dominions. This is " notorious, and needs no confirmation: the same might be said of the city of " Túnis, in Africa proper, to which in my times the prosperity and splendour of " Morocco may be said to have migrated, owing to the present Sultán, Abú " Zakariyyá Yahya Ibn Abí Mohammed Ibn Abí Hafs,[19] having fixed his court " in it. This prince has erected buildings, constructed palaces, and planted " gardens and vineyards in the Andalusian fashion: all his architects are natives " of this country, as likewise most of his masons, carpenters, bricklayers, painters, " and gardeners. The plans were either designed by Andalusians or copied from " buildings in their country; and although the Sultán himself is a very good judge " in these matters, and has an exquisite taste, yet it is well known that the " mosques, palaces, and gardens erected by him, and so much admired by the " Africans, are mere copies of similar buildings in our country. So, as far as " this goes, it is clearly demonstrated that Ibnu Ghálib told the truth."

CHAPTER II.

Character of the Andalusians—Their hospitality—Their courage in battle—Their haughtiness of temper—Devotion to their friends—Their justice—Forgiveness—Generosity.

Character of the Andalusians.

THE qualities of the Andalusians are as brilliant and manifest as the beauties of the country they inhabit are shining and conspicuous. The same author that we have mentioned elsewhere (Ibnu Ghálib) affirms, on the authority of Ptolemy, that, owing to the influence exercised by the planet Venus, the people of Andalus are endowed with a lively imagination, elegance of manners, exquisite taste in food, clothing, and whatever concerns their persons, cleanliness, and love of pleasure and music. Mercury imparts to them inclination to economy and orderly habits, ardour in the acquisition of learning, love of philosophy and the natural sciences, justice and impartiality in their judgments.

Ibnu Ghálib goes on detailing the qualities which are assigned to the Andalusians on account of the influence exercised over them by Vulcan, Saturn, and Jupiter; but in this the author was wrong, since it is well known that only the fourth and fifth climates pass over Andalus, the sixth passing close to its northern shores, and the seventh by the islands of the Majús. The Sun is the planet of the fourth climate, Venus of the fifth, Mercury of the sixth, and the Moon of the seventh; as to the second and third, they are in no way connected with Andalus.

We shall now enumerate some of their brilliant qualities, which we shall illustrate by examples, that they may be more deeply impressed on the minds of our readers.

Hospitality.

The Andalusians were justly renowned for their hospitality towards strangers, and their histories abound in acts which rank them far above the other Moslems in the exercise of that virtue. It is said of the Khalif 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. that on the arrival of Zaryáb, the musician,[1] at Cordova, he not only rode forth himself to receive and welcome him, but entertained him for several months in his own palace, and made him considerable presents; an action which is praiseworthy enough in an equal, but which in a superior, and a Sultán so powerful and

dreaded as 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who was the first of his family to assume the titles of Khalif and "Prince of the faithful," and whose court shone as bright as the dazzling rays of the summer sun, surpasses all encomium.

The geographer Al-bekrí, in his description of Africa, mentions another instance of remarkable hospitality on the part of the same Sultán. Having heard that Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Abí 'Isa, *Kádí-l-jemá'h* (or supreme judge) at Fez, intended to cross over from Ceuta, the place of his residence, to Andalus, in order to engage in some military expeditions against the Christians, he ordered that he should be written to in his name, pressing him to come, and apprising him that he was not to lodge any where during his travels but in houses belonging to the Sultán. Accordingly, between Algesiras, the place of his landing, and *Balát Hamíd*,[2] a place in the furthest frontier, where the army was then encamping, palaces were built by 'Abdu-r-rahmán's orders, in which Mohammed was duly received and lodged. The expenses of the erection of the palaces, thirty in number (one for each day or station), being one thousand mithcals each.

"The Andalusians," says Ibnu Sa'íd, "are both economical and orderly in "their habits; they are very careful of whatever property they possess, a circum-"stance which has induced some authors to stigmatize them as misers.

"In illustration of this I shall here relate an adventure which occurred to me "whilst in Andalus. I was once travelling with my father in one of the eastern "provinces when we were caught in a storm of rain and wind. It was then "winter, and the cold was intense; the clouds poured down upon us more "water than the Nile itself has in its bed. Lightning crossed our sight, thunder "roared over our heads, we were wet through and perishing with cold, so that "we determined upon directing our steps to a neighbouring village, and asking "hospitality from the first inhabitant we should meet. It must be observed "that both my father and I were at that time under the jealous vigilance[3] of "the Sultán, and unprovided with sufficient means to take any other determi-"nation. We therefore went to a house and knocked at the door; the owner, "a respectable old man, whom we had never seen before, soon opened it and "admitted us into his house; he received us with great kindness, and said soon "afterwards, 'If you have any money to give me I will buy charcoal and light "a fire, that you may dry your clothes and warm yourselves; I will also go to "market and get such provisions as you may want, and my people will dress "them for you.' We did what we were desired,—we gave him money to make "his purchases, and he soon came back and lighted a very good fire. While "we were warming ourselves at it, in came a young lad, apparently a son of "our host, who, approaching the fire, began to warm himself, but no sooner

" did the father perceive it than he came up to his son, gave him a beating, " and sent him away from it. 'What dost thou beat this boy for?' said my " father to our host. 'I beat him,' replied the old man, 'that he may accustom " himself from childhood to cold and privation, and be thereby enabled to earn " his subsistence and provide for himself after I am dead.' When it was time " to go to bed the old man said to the youth, 'Give that thick cloak[4] of yours " to this young man,' pointing to me, 'that he may add it to his covering and " sleep more comfortably,' and he did as desired. When I awoke in the morning " I observed that the youth was also awake and holding in his hands one of " the corners of his cloak. I afterwards communicated this observation to my " father, who said to me, 'Do not wonder at it, for this is a thing that happens " every day, and it is in the character of the Andalusians to show the greatest " hospitality and benevolence towards their guests, at the same time that they " use excessive precautions concerning their property. So, for instance, this man " gave thee his cloak, in doing which he preferred thy comfort to his own, but, " at the same time, seeing thee a stranger, and not knowing whether thou wert " an honest man or a thief, prudence dictated to him not to go to sleep without " holding the cloak in his hand, lest thou shouldst run away with it in the " morning while he was asleep,—thus spoiling by his mean conduct all the merits " of his generous action.'" The preceding anecdote is copied from Ibnu Sa'íd in his *Al-mugh'rab.*

The Andalusians have always been renowned for their intrepidity and courage, Courage. and their history is full of acts of bravery and heroism scarcely to be equalled by any other nation. It is related of the Amír Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Mardanísh[5] that whenever he came to close quarters with the infidels he used, regardless of his life, to dash into the thickest of the *mêlee*, where he performed such prodigies of valour that his very enemies remained motionless with astonishment: on one of these occasions, while he was charging the thick squadrons of the Christians, and dispersing them like dust right and left, he was heard to exclaim—

" When I plunge into the close ranks of the enemy, it matters not to me
" whether I find my death in the midst of them or elsewhere."[6]

On another occasion, having been attacked by superior forces, he required all his courage and ability to extricate himself from his dangerous position. The Christians closed on all sides upon him, but instead of losing courage he animated his followers, and making a most desperate charge against the enemy, penetrated into their ranks, unhorsed and killed their most valiant knights, and succeeded in disengaging himself, after performing such feats of arms that he himself was astonished. Then turning round to one of his favourite captains, an experienced

old warrior who had seen many a battle, and was well versed in all the chances of war,—" What thinkest thou of all this?" said he. " My opinion," answered the veteran, " is, that had the Sultán witnessed the extraordinary feats of arms that " thou hast just been performing, he would unquestionably have increased the " pension already allotted to thee from his treasury, and raised thee in honour and " command; but on the other hand I doubt whether he would not have been angry " to see thee expose thy life in the manner thou hast done, for it becomes not the " general of an army to hazard his life more than is necessary, lest by so doing he " should cause the destruction of his whole army." " Well, that may be so," replied Ibn Mardanísh, " but man dies not twice; and if I am killed, others may " save their lives by my death." [7]

Another famous warrior, whose name was the Káid Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Kadús, is also much spoken of by the Andalusian historians. They say that he made himself so conspicuous by his courage and his prowess against the enemy, as well as by the forays he made into their territory, that his name was well known to the meanest soldiers in the Christian camp, and that the single mention of it was sufficient to cast terror into the heart of the stoutest knight. In confirmation whereof an anecdote is told of a Christian warrior, who once approached a brook in order to give his steed water; when the animal pranced, reared, and would not come near it. " What ails thee?" said the soldier, addressing his horse, " hast thou seen Ibn Kadús in the water?" [8] And this was no doubt a great distinction, tending to prove the great estimation and awe in which the warrior was held by the Christians, owing to the brilliant feats of arms he was seen to perform on every occasion.

The same author from whom we have borrowed the preceding anecdote mentions another very curious one, which he says he had from a trustworthy friend and eye-witness. Ibn Kadús once left the frontiers of the Moslem dominions at the head of a small but chosen band of resolute followers, in order to make a foray into the enemy's territory. However, he soon fell in with a considerable body of the Christian troops, by which he was surrounded, and placed in imminent danger of being made prisoner. But Ibn Kadús being a brave and experienced warrior, and knowing that he could rely on the courage and devotion of his handful of men, instead of being frightened at the superior numbers of the enemy, rose in his stirrups, said a few words of encouragement to his soldiers, and, putting himself at their head, plunged into the close ranks of the enemy, which he scattered and dispersed right and left; thereby opening himself a passage, and disengaging his small force without the loss of a single man. He then began to retire in good order towards his camp, being closely followed by the Christians, but as he was retreating

and fighting, one of his men who had remained considerably behind was unhorsed, and his steed ran away. The soldier then implored the assistance of his captain, who hastening back to him said—" Wait a moment, and defend thyself on foot " till I get thee a horse ; "—saying which, he rode to the nearest Christian horseman, threw him down at the very first onset, took his steed, and gave it to his dismounted soldier, who was thereby enabled to join the main body. Many similar feats of arms are recorded of this valiant captain.

Haríz Ibn 'Okkáshah,[9] of the posterity of 'Okkáshah Ibn Mahíss, the companion of the Prophet, is also counted among the bravest warriors that Andalus ever produced. He was a man of colossal size and enormous strength, and few were the warriors whom his arm reached in the heat of battle who ever escaped with their lives. It once happened that Adfonsh[10] (Alfonso), one of the infidel kings of Andalus, at the head of considerable forces invaded the territories in which Haríz commanded, and began, as was the custom in similar expeditions, to burn the fields, to destroy the farm-houses, cut down the trees, and commit all sorts of ravages. No sooner was Haríz acquainted with the invasion than he dispatched a messenger to Alfonso, with a letter conceived in the following terms:—" Desist " from thy work of destruction, and spare misery and calamity to the creatures " of the Almighty, for if it be decreed by Him that this country shall be thine, " there is no need for thee to waste and destroy the land of thy future dominions ; " while, on the contrary, if it be written that thou shalt not conquer it, this country " shall never be thine, even if thou hadst ten times the number of troops now " under thy command." On the receipt of this letter Alfonso ordered his host to halt and abstain from further ravages ; he, moreover, feeling a great curiosity to see a warrior of whom he had heard so much, sent him a messenger, requesting him to come to his camp, and offering to give as hostages for the security of his person a certain number of noblemen[11] of his suite. Haríz consented, and the necessary arrangements having been made, he set out for the camp of the Christian monarch. On his arrival at *Medínatu-l-baydhá*,[12] which is the same as *Kal'at-Rabáh* (Calatrava), west of Toledo, Haríz rode through the streets of that city, and being a very handsome man, of gigantic size, mounted on a powerful war-horse, and completely cased in steel, the eyes of the people were fixed on him, for he was really a beautiful sight to contemplate. The inhabitants of the places through which he passed all came out to look at him, and gazed with astonishment at the immense size of his body, the muscular strength of his limbs, the beauty and polish of his armour and weapons, and his majestic and warlike demeanour ; they moreover told each other tales of his martial exploits and invincible courage. On his reaching the King's tents, which were not far distant, all the principal noblemen

went out to meet him, welcomed and greeted him, and received him with the greatest courtesy and distinction. When Haríz was about to dismount he planted his spear in the earth so deeply and with so much force that the King, who was present, felt fully convinced, by that act alone, of all the extent of his gallantry and strength, while all the bystanders were seized with irrepressible fear, and the countenances of his bravest knights appeared darkened with the terror which they in vain tried to conceal. There happened to be near the camp a large enclosure,[13] wherein the King and his knights exercised in manly sports; to this spot Alfonso led Haríz, and invited him to take a part in the tournament for which preparations had already been made, and which was on the point of beginning. "No," said Haríz, "the true knight never measures his sword but with those who "equal him in strength, and as I maintain that there is nobody among you capable "of drawing out this my spear which I have fixed in the ground, I shall not accept "thy invitation; but if there be any one among you who believes he can do it, "let him mount and try, and if he succeed I am ready to encounter him, one "or ten." No sooner had Haríz uttered this challenge, than most of the knights then present mounted their horses, and began to try their strength, but not one amongst them succeeded in pulling out the spear fixed by Haríz; in vain did they redouble their exertions and repeat the trial several times, the spear moved not an inch from the spot where it had been planted by Haríz. Alfonso was not a little astonished and grieved to see his knights so unsuccessful, but at last he was compelled to say to Haríz, "Thou art right, O warrior! let us see how thou dost "it;" upon which, Haríz, leaping on his horse, galloped to the spot, and with the slightest motion of his hand tore up his spear, the whole being done with the greatest ease and elegance. All the bystanders remained dumb with admiration when they saw the performance of Haríz, and the King himself bade him approach, spoke to him graciously, and treated him with great regard and distinction.

This Haríz was likewise an excellent poet, as may be gathered from the following verses, which he wrote to the Kátib Abú-l-motref Ibnu-l-muthanna, secretary to Ibnu Dhí-l-nún, King of Toledo. As Abú-l-motref was once travelling from Cordova to Toledo, he happened to pass by the castle of Haríz,[14] which stands on the road between those two cities; Abú-l-motref lodged at a house outside the walls, and soon after his arrival sent a message to Haríz, asking him for some wine. The message was in verse, and thus conceived:

"O incomparable man! O phœnix of the age! O new moon among the "nobles!

"Alas! wine is wanting, and has become as scarce as the ointment of the "balsam tree."[15]

And Haríz sent him down some, with the following answer, in the same metre and rhyme:

"O inestimable pearl! O thou, the first among the illustrious men of past "times!

"We have received thy verses resembling a garden refreshed by the gales "of eloquence,

"And we send thee wine as sweet and well-flavoured as thy character and "disposition are mild." [16]

When Al-muktadir-billah Ibn Húd, Sultán of Andalus, sallied from Saragossa to the frontiers to oppose the son of Radmir, the great Christian king, who at the head of considerable forces had invaded his territory, there happened to be in his host a Moslem of the name of Sa'dárah who performed a feat of arms well worthy of record. Both armies, which were equally numerous and well appointed, met in an extensive plain in the neighbourhood of Huesca; the battle was engaged with great fury on both sides, and maintained with equal animosity during the whole day, until towards evening the cavalry of the Moslems began to give way. When Al-muktadir saw this, he ordered into his presence a borderer named Sa'dárah, a man of tried courage, and equally renowned for his exploits and his experience in the affairs of war. "What thinkest thou," said Al-muktadir to Sa'dárah, "will "be the result of this day?" Sa'dárah cast his experienced eye over the plain, and, shaking his head, significantly answered, "To tell thee truth, O Prince! yonder "signs bode no good;" and pointing towards the dense iron-clad masses of the Christian cavalry dispersing the light horsemen of Al-muktadir, he added, "Unless "yonder iron wall be broken by some unforeseen accident, the day will be against "us." "Thou art right," replied Al-muktadir, "things look rather cloudy; "but what dost thou propose to do?" Sa'dárah meditated an instant, and said, "Among the white tents that cover the declivity of that hill I can easily perceive "in the centre that of the son of Radmir towering above the rest; if thou grant me "permission I will go there in disguise and kill the tyrant with my own hand." "Well said," replied Al-muktadir; "if thou succeed, the favours of thy master shall "be lavished on thee; if thou fail, the rewards of the Almighty will be thy recom- "pense." Sa'dárah then goes to his tent, puts on a dress similar to those used by Christian knights, arms himself with weapons like theirs, and, mounting his steed, plunges into the thickest of the *mêlée*. Being well acquainted with the language and customs of the Christians, he had no difficulty, after opening himself a passage through their thronged ranks, to penetrate into their camp. He then goes to the King's tent, and having entered it, he sees the son of Radmir sitting upon a throne, completely cased in steel, so that the eyes were the only visible

part of his body. He then watches for some time his opportunity, and, pouncing upon the Christian, with a small dagger wounds him in the eye through one of the apertures in the vizor, and kills him. He then leaves the tent, and begins to cry out at the top of his voice, "The King is killed! The King is killed!"[17] and the news spreading like fire through the enemy's camp, panic and consternation seize the Christian warriors; they give way in every direction, and the victory remains in the hands of the Moslems, who never ceased slaughtering until their arms were tired, and their swords shivered from dealing blows.

The princes of the family of Húd who reigned at Saragossa in the fifth century of the Hijra being continually at war, not only with the Christians who surrounded them on every side, but with their brethren among the Moslems during the long and bloody civil wars which ravaged that country, had naturally numerous armies in the best order and military discipline, and generals to command them, who, from their indomitable courage and superior tactics, cast terror into the hearts of the infidels. There were also warriors of tried courage, and unparalleled dexterity in the handling of weapons, who in single combat with the Christian knights never failed to gain the victory over their adversaries. We shall relate here an anecdote which, like the preceding, we borrow from the writings of 'Alí Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Hudheyl, of Granada. "Al-musta'ín Ibn Húd, King of Saragossa, made upon "a certain occasion a successful invasion into the enemy's territory. As he was "returning to his capital laden with plunder, and driving before him his prisoners "and cattle, he saw from a distance a strong body of Christian cavalry waiting "in a favourable position, on the road by which he had to pass, to attack "him. When Al-musta'ín came closer to them, he ordered the captives and "cattle to his rear-guard, formed his men in line of battle, and patiently waited "till the Christians should make their attack. The two armies were thus in "deadly silence waiting for the signal to engage in battle, when a Christian knight "of gigantic stature, clad in bright steel, and mounted upon a powerful black "horse, made his appearance in front of the ranks, and challenged the Moslem "warriors to single combat. Presently a Moslem comes out to him, but, after a "few blows dealt and parried on both sides, the servant of God is unhorsed and "killed by his antagonist, the worshipper of the crucified; seeing which, the infidels "gave a shout of joy, and the faithful were afflicted and silent. Elated with "success, the Christian knight rode his horse in front of the ranks, and exclaimed, "'Come on if ye dare, and if one be not sufficient, come three to one, I will fight "you all.' These words filled the hearts of the Moslems with rage, but none came "out to fight with the Christian, who, proud of his victory, was cantering his horse "in front of the two armies, while the air resounded with the deafening shouts of his

"companions. In this extremity, Al-musta'ín, whose heart was deeply afflicted to "see the shame falling upon his men, rode up to a captain of his, a man inured to "battle from his childhood, and who had the reputation of being as brave as he "was dexterous in the wielding of arms. His name was Abú-l-walíd Ibn Kayjún; "to him Al-musta'ín went in his distress, and told him thus,—'O Abú-l-walíd! hast "thou seen the arrogance of that Christian dog, and the insults he is heaping upon "the Moslems?' 'I have,' replied Al-walíd, 'but if my master grant me per-"mission to go out against him, I shall soon bring down his pride.' 'Thou hast "it,' said Al-musta'ín, 'and by Allah! if thou bring me his head, my gratitude for "the service will know no bounds.' Having previously announced to the Chris-"tian that a Moslem champion would immediately appear, Abú-l-walíd retired for "a moment into his tent; he put on a cotton shirt, and mounting on a milk-white "steed of his, which in swiftness far outstripped the winds, he rode out without "any other weapons than a scimitar by his side, and a long whip with a noose and "an iron ball at the end in his right hand. When the Christian knight saw his "antagonist so whimsically arrayed,—'What,' said he, struck with amazement, "'when a Christian challenges the Moslems is there not in the whole army any "warrior to be sent against him but this groom with his whip?' upon which he "burst out laughing, and gave other evident signs of the contempt in which he "held Abú-l-walíd. However, they rushed furiously against one another; the "Christian, rising on his stirrups, aimed a dreadful blow at the head of Abú-l-"walíd; he avoided it by suddenly wheeling round his docile steed, and, turning "as quick as lightning upon his adversary, struck him with his whip, entangled "his neck in the noose, and, dragging him from his saddle, stretched him upon "the ground. He then dismounted, and, drawing his scimitar, dispatched the "adventurous knight, whose gory head he threw at the feet of Al-musta'ín."

We need not expatiate any longer on the courage, the endurance, the discipline, and other military virtues, of the Andalusian soldiers: suffice it to say, that so great were their ardour in the pursuit, and their intrepidity in battle, that they became almost proverbial in the East, where, according to Ibnu Sa'íd, an Andalusian warrior was synonymous with a brave man. It is true that, exposed as their country was for so many centuries to the furious attacks of innumerable Christian nations, dwelling within and out of its limits, the Moslems of Andalus found ample opportunities to display and nurture in that vast field of battle their warlike inclinations, to evince their ardent zeal for the propagation of Islám, and to show at all times their eagerness to share in the rewards promised by God to the warriors who fall in battle with the infidels. What nation, we ask, among those that acknowledge the sublime truths contained in the Korán, showed a greater zeal

for religion, more readiness to uphold its tenets, and a greater alacrity to run to arms and win the crown of martyrdom? What people on the face of the earth maintained a longer, fiercer, and deadlier struggle than the Andalusians, who for a period of several centuries had to defend foot by foot the land inherited from their fathers, to irrigate with their blood every inch of ground conquered from the infidels, and to oppose their stout breasts to the overwhelming forces and innumerable swarms of the Christian nations, quickly succeeding each other, and pressing onwards like the furious billows of a tempestuous sea? And when at last they bowed down their necks before the irresistible laws of fate, is there any one who can blame them for it? No! the impenetrable decrees of the Almighty must needs be executed on his creatures. God is great! God is great! There is no God but him, the merciful, the compassionate!

Haughtiness of temper.

No nation on earth is so proud as the Andalusians, nor more unwilling to bear tyranny, oppression, or contempt: indeed their disobedience to their rulers, and their want of respect and submission to their superiors, have become almost proverbial. In illustration of what we advance we shall quote a few anecdotes. It is related of Shajá', a freedman of Al-musta'ín Ibn Húd, king of Saragossa, that he once went upon an embassy from his master to Alfonso, the Christian king. Having arrived at *Medínah Sélim* (Medina Celi), where the infidel was then holding his court, he was soon afterwards introduced to the presence of the Christian monarch, whom he found sitting on a throne of great elevation raised on the very tomb of Al-mansúr, and having his wife by his side leaning on him. After hearing his message, Alfonso said to him, "O Shajá'! I am the king of the "Moslems, and the conqueror of their country: dost thou not see me sitting on "the very tomb of the bravest and most powerful among their kings?" When Shajá' heard these expressions so injurious to his countrymen, he could not restrain his passion, and he said very spiritedly, "If he whose remains lie under that "marble were alive, and thou sitting so close to him, thou wouldst not say with "impunity things offensive to him, neither wouldst thou occupy long the place "thou now art in." "Alfonso caught the allusion," says Shajá', "and flew into a "most violent passion; he rose from his seat, intending no doubt to strike me, "but his wife interfered and said to him, 'This man is right; why should not "honour and glory reside in his countrymen as they do in thee?'"

Another act is recorded of the Háfedh of Andalus, the Imám of the learned, the chief of authors, the pearl of the poets, and the phœnix of his age, Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Ibráhím As-sanhájí Al-hijárí,[18] the author of the *Al-mas'hab* (chatterer). He once called upon business at the castle of 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd,[19] the ancestor of 'Alí Ibn Músa, the author of the *Al-mugh'rab*, a work which we have

often quoted in the course of this narrative. Having alighted at the gate, he knocked and asked for admission, but the sentry, who saw him arrayed in the Beydawí dress, not knowing who he was, refused to let him in. After some parley held with the guards at the gate, which was all of no avail, Abú Mohammed addressed one of them and said, "If thou do not let me go in, at least acquaint the "governor with my presence, and inquire whether it is his pleasure to see me." "What!" said the soldier, bursting out laughing, "thou see the governor! dost "thou think that our Lord has nothing else to do but to admit thee to his "presence?" Abú Mohammed then retired a little apart, and, taking a reed-pen and an ink-stand which he always wore suspended at his girdle, he wrote on a piece of paper the following verses:

"The illustrious governor of this castle never dismisses from his door the "people of rank and merit.

"There is now standing on the threshold a man from Silves, with an ode "which begins thus—

"'I have been possessed with an idea to sing thy praises, and to record thy "beneficent actions.'[20]

"If, after this, my Lord thinks that he ought to deprive himself of the sight of "one of his countrymen, and of the pleasure of listening to an ode of this description, "he may, for he knows best what to do, and it is not for me to upbraid him." He then ordered one of his pages to take his letter to the governor, and waited outside for the result. When the Káid 'Abdu-l-málik had perused the contents of the letter, he wondered at it, and said immediately, "A man from Silves, with an ode be-"ginning thus,—who can it be? unless it be the Wizír 'Ammár who has risen "from the dead, I know of nobody else answering the description,—let him come "in." Abú Mohammed was then introduced into the presence of the governor, who was sitting with some friends; he entered the room, but instead of bowing to the Káid, or addressing the company, he stood motionless at the door; seeing which, the people who were present took him for a rude and ill-bred man; they turned their backs upon him, and affected the greatest coolness and indifference: at last, seeing that he still remained in the same position, one of the company said to him, "What ails thee, O stranger? why dost thou not enter this room in the "manner poets and all well-bred people do, and salute the governor as is the "custom?" "I shall neither bow to the Káid," replied Abú Mohammed, "nor "pay any attention to you, till I have made you all as angry and out of humour as "you made me by keeping me waiting so long at the gate of this castle, and till "you tell me who among you is the most favoured by the governor, in order that I "may in future, by courting him and gaining his favours, be sure of not receiving

"more outrages at his door." "What!" exclaimed the governor, "dost thou "mean to charge us with the faults of the stupid? Dost thou intend to revenge on "us the errors of other people?" "No, God forbid!" replied Abú Mohammed, "I am, on the contrary, willing to forgive for thy sake the failings of others."

When Ayúb Ibn Matrúh revolted against 'Abdullah Ibn Balkín Ibn Habús, king of Granada,[21] in the fifth century of the Hijra, and the seas of civil war swelled and rose high in those districts, it happened that among those thrown by its waves against the shore Ayúb was one. The case being reported to Yúsef Ibn Táshfín, he was deprived of command and sentenced to death, with many others among the rebels. When the executioner came to strangle him, his friends and all those who were present, and who knew the great regard which Ibn Táshfín entertained for him, begged him to say something in his favour, that it might be reported to the Prince and obtain his pardon; but Ayúb being a man of great courage and determination, and exceedingly proud, would not consent to it; he put his head within the noose, and, persisting in keeping it there notwithstanding the entreaties of the bystanders to induce him to take it out and pronounce a word of repentance, he soon met with his death,—may God forgive him!

Devotion to their friends.

It is related that the Wizír Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Ghánim[22] was on terms of intimate friendship with another brother Wizír, named Háshim Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz;[23] both exercised the same functions to the Sultán of Cordova, Mohammed, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-amáwí, of the family of Merwán, and had on several occasions evinced their mutual love and affection, till Al-walíd gave that proof of attachment to his friend which forms the subject of this anecdote. When God Almighty permitted that the Wizír Háshim should incur the displeasure of the Sultán, and should be sent by him to prison, there happened to be at the palace a council meeting, at which Al-walíd was present in his capacity of Wizír. The conversation having turned on the disgraced functionary and the misdeeds imputed to him, the Sultán Mohammed, then addressing the assembly, spoke very slightly of him, and accused him of frivolity and inconstancy, as well as of obstinacy and too great a reliance on his own opinions. No one among those present undertook the defence of the accused Wizír but Al-walíd, who, rising from his couch, said, "O Prince! may the Almighty favour and prosper thee! Were I allowed to speak "one word in behalf of my friend, I should say that it is not in the power of a "mortal to contend against fortune, or to escape the immutable decrees of fate. "Háshim did all he could, he consulted with the greatest care his friends and "advisers, and he fulfilled all the duties of a brave and experienced general; but "if success did not attend his banners, it is no fault of his, for victory does not "always depend upon the general; it is well known that he was betrayed by those

" in whom he trusted, and deserted by those who stood near him, while he " himself never moved from the spot intrusted to his care, and never abandoned " the field of battle till the defeat and dispersion became general; instead of shame- " fully turning his back to the enemy, he fought to the last like a brave man; " and God has certainly rewarded him for his virtues, for if his master the Sultán " has deprived him of his honours and dignities, he still possesses the esteem of his " friends, who see nothing in his last conduct which is deserving of reproach. " Besides, if he did not die on the spot intrusted to his custody, or in the midst of " the enemy's ranks, it was because he thought that it would be a nobler action to " spare himself, and that a life spent in the service of his Lord was better than an " unprofitable death. I have no doubt but that he has been slandered and calum- " niated by people who were envious of him, and who looked with an evil eye upon " the favours lavished on him by his sovereign." Mohammed was not a little surprised to hear this speech of Al-walíd; he complimented him upon the strength of his attachment to his friend, and his anger against Háshim being in a great measure removed, he some time afterwards gave orders for his liberation.

Were we here to record the brilliant acts of justice which are told of the various Sultáns who reigned over Andalus, we should insensibly protract our present narrative to an interminable length. However, as the distribution of justice with an even hand is among the brightest qualifications of a sovereign, and one which many of the Andalusians possessed in a superior degree, we shall here select a few of the most striking anecdotes. As Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir was once sitting in the audience-room of his palace, in came a man of the lower classes, and addressed him in the following terms: " O defender of truth! O dispenser of justice! I have a " complaint to make against a servant of thy household; there he is, standing " at thy side;" and he pointed to one of Al-mansúr's chief eunuchs, who, being a favourite servant of the Hájib, exercised besides the functions of shield-bearer[24] near his person. " I have," continued the man, " summoned him several " times to appear before the magistrate, but in vain; he has never come at the " appointed hour, I am tired of sueing him, and I thought I should never get any " redress unless I came to thee." Al-mansúr then said to the man, " Dost thou " really mean to say that thou hast a complaint to make against 'Abdu-r-rahmán " Ibn Foteys?[25] Is it he whom thou accusest of thus disobeying the rules of justice?" " The same," replied the man. " I should have thought," said Al-mansúr, frowning, " that 'Abdu-r-rahmán would have been the last person in my household to commit " such a crime. Let us then hear thy grievance." The man then stated that he had entered into a contract with 'Abdu-r-rahmán, by which both parties were bound towards each other to the fulfilment of certain conditions, and that 'Abdu-r- Justice.

rahmán had of late without any sufficient reason refused to observe it. Al-mansúr then said, "There is no servant in my household that I love more than him, "(darting on the Sclavonian a look by which he was almost annihilated,) but, by "Allah! justice must be done. Pass thy shield to thy neighbour, and come down "before me, that I may send thee where thou mayest meet thy accuser, and be "either extolled or depressed by truth." Then addressing his *Sáhibu-sh-shartah*, intrusted with the execution of his private orders,—"Take that wretch, that criminal "man, by the hand, and lead him together with his accuser before the magistrate, "that he may investigate the case, and impose on him the punishment he "deserves; and mark well, let the sentence, whether it be imprisonment or fine, "be as rigorous as possible." The Sáhib did as he was ordered; he took both the parties before the magistrate, and shortly afterwards the complainant appeared again before Al-mansúr, and said he had got redress, and thanked him for having obtained justice through his means. "Well," said Al-mansúr, "begone; justice "has been done thee, and thou art revenged; it is now for me to get redress for "my injury, and to chastise the crimes committed by the people of my household." Upon which he ordered that the Sclavonian should be exposed to all sorts of humiliation and ill treatment, and he was at last dismissed from his service.

On another occasion there happened to be a lawsuit between his chief eunuch Al-búrakí and a western merchant; they had disagreed in some money matters, and the merchant brought the case before a tribunal. However, the eunuch being at the head of Al-mansúr's household, having the entire management of his house and harem, and possessing the confidence and favour of his master, was, as may well be supposed, a very influential person in the state, and the magistrate pronounced a decision in his favour. The merchant then appealed; but the magistrate, thinking that a man of high rank, and holding such an important situation as Al-búrakí did, could not be guilty of the breach of faith imputed to him, dismissed the appeal. The merchant, however, was not disheartened, and he resolved upon having justice, come what might. As Al-mansúr was on a Friday riding to the mosque, the merchant placed himself before his horse, and implored his justice against Al-búrakí. Al-mansúr immediately ordered one of his escort to ride back to his palace, take the eunuch into custody, and conduct him again before the magistrate, to whom he sent a message enjoining him to look again into the case. The suit was tried, the eunuch convicted, and the merchant redressed. Al-mansúr, moreover, was so much incensed against the culprit, that, after depriving him of all the favours he had previously lavished on him, he dismissed him from his service, and exiled him from Cordova.

The following act of justice is also recorded of Al-mu'atassem Ibn Samádeh,

king of Almeria.[26] When that prince began to build the famous palace which, after his name, was called *As-samádehiyah,* the architects, not finding room enough to execute their plans, seized on some houses and fields adjoining the palace, and united them to the main building. There happened to be among the pieces of ground thus appropriated by the builders a small orchard belonging to a good old man, who more than any other resented and opposed the spoliation, on the plea that the piece of ground did not belong to him, but was the property of an orphan of whom he was the guardian. As Al-mua'tassem was one day inspecting his building, seated in his garden by the side of an artificial rivulet,[27] which was made to wind through it, his eyes fell on something floating on the surface of the water, and which, when taken up by his orders, proved to be a hollow reed, stopped with wax at both ends. When the wax was removed, Al-mu'atassem found inside a scroll of paper, in which the following words were written. "O thou! whoever " thou mayest be, into whose hands this scroll may happen to fall, remember those " words of the Almighty, 'This my brother has ninety-nine ewes, and I have only " one, and he said to me,—Do intrust her to my care,—which I did, but his words " proved false, and he deceived me; there is no God but God!'[28] Thou art a king on " whom God has lavished his favours, making thee wealthy and powerful on earth, " and yet, far from being satisfied, thy ambition prompts thee to covet the property of " others; and to add to thy spacious gardens a piece of ground belonging to an " orphan, thereby committing an unlawful act, depriving a defenceless girl of all " means of subsistence, and taking advantage of thy power, and the importance of " thy situation, to do what is unjust. We shall to-morrow appear in the presence " of Him who never dismisses the wretched without aid or consolation, nor the " offended without redress, and then beware of the consequences!" No sooner had Al-mu'atassem perused the paper than his eyes were bathed in tears, and his heart was possessed with fear at the terrible consequences which this inconsiderate act of his servants might bring on him in future life; he immediately commanded that all the workmen employed in the building of his palace should appear in his presence, and when they were all assembled he interrogated them as to what the anonymous paper stated, bidding them to expose the case, and to tell nothing but the truth. The masons then owned the fact, but alleged as an excuse, that the piece of land occupied by the old man's garden being absolutely necessary for the finishing of the palace, the chief architect had deemed it indispensable to seize on the orphan's property, although unjustly and contrary to the law. Upon which Al-mu'atassem, violently incensed, exclaimed, "By Allah! " sins of this description are much graver in the eyes of the Creator than they are " in those of his creatures. Let the orchard be immediately restored to its owner."

And so it was done, although it materially injured the front of his palace, which thus remained incomplete.

We have read somewhere that some of the principal and most learned citizens of Almeria happening to pass shortly after this adventure by the palace of Al-mu'atassem, one of them said to the others, pointing to the spot where the orphan's garden stood, spoiling the look of the building, "By Allah! that orchard makes the "palace look as if it were a blind man."—"Thou art right," answered one of the company, "but in the eyes of the Almighty that spot constitutes its greatest "ornament." It is also related of Al-mu'atassem that whenever he cast his eyes on it, he used to say "I feel as if that empty spot in front of my palace was finer "than all the rest which is already finished." However, in the course of time the old man was prevailed upon to give up his ground; for Ibn Arkám,[29] who was Al-mu'atassem's Wizír, never ceased importuning the old guardian, and tempting the orphan, till they consented to sell their property for the price which they themselves fixed on it; the Sultán being thereby enabled to complete the building of his famous palace, after performing such a signal act of justice as ensured him the love and esteem of his subjects, and the future rewards of his Lord.

Forgiveness. Nor was Al-mu'atassem famous only for such acts of justice as that which we have just recorded; he was also renowned for his benevolence and his forgiving temper. It happened once that An-nahelí Al-bathaliósí, a poet, to whom he had been a very munificent and generous Lord, all of a sudden left his court, and repaired to that of Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád, king of Seville, where, regardless of past favours, and showing the greatest ingratitude towards his former benefactor, he began to praise the Sevillian monarch, who was not then on very good terms with Al-mu'atassem. In one of his poetical compositions he introduced the following verse:

"Ibnu 'Abbád has every where routed and exterminated the Berbers; Ibnu "Ma'n has extirpated the fowls of the villages." [30]

However, it happened some time afterwards that An-nahelí, forgetful of what he had said, returned to Almeria; and no sooner did Al-mu'atassem hear of his arrival than he invited him to an evening repast. An-nahelí went accordingly to the palace, where a numerous company was already assembled, and the tables spread, but they contained no other victuals than a profusion of fowls dressed in various ways. Astonished at what he saw, the poet could not help asking if there was no other food to be procured in Almeria but fowls; when the Sultán, rising from his couch, said,—"Yes, but we wished to make thee pass for a liar, when thou didst say "that Ibnu Ma'n had extirpated the fowls of the villages." Upon which, An-nahelí, trying to exculpate himself, said, "God has given thee abundance of means,

" and any one in thy rank of life would have done the same; but thy wrath ought " rather to be directed against him who heard my expressions and repeated them " to thee."

Al-mu'atassem answered nothing, and An-nahelí left the room; but thinking that he had incurred the wrath of the Sultán, he feared for his life, and on his return home he hastily made a few preparations, and left Almeria that same night.

However, some time afterwards An-nahelí repented, and wishing to return to Almeria he addressed to Ibnu Ma'n the following verses:

" Ibnu Samádeh receives graciously those who deserted him; he pardons " crimes which the world after him will not pardon.

" Almeria is a paradise, where every thing which Adam found may be " procured." [31]

On the receipt of these verses Al-mu'atassem gave him leave to return, and was kind and benevolent towards him.

Generosity is a virtue in which the Andalusians will not be found deficient by those who peruse their history. It is related of the Amír Al-mundhir,[32] son of the Sultán 'Abdu-r-rahmán, that a slave-merchant once presented him with a beautiful girl, named Tarab, who among other accomplishments possessed that of a sweet voice, and great proficiency in music. No sooner had the eyes of Al-mundhir contemplated her charms, and his ears listened to the ravishing melody of her songs, than he lost his heart, and became deeply enamoured of his slave. Having revolved in his mind how he should reward the merchant, he called one of his confidential servants, and said to him, " What dost thou think we ought to give " this man in return for his invaluable present, for this girl of incomparable " beauty ? "—" O master ! " answered the servant, " methinks the best way would " be to have her valued, and send him the amount in money."—" Well said," replied Al-mundhir. A merchant was accordingly consulted on the subject, and five hundred gold dinárs was the price set upon her. When the servant returned to acquaint his master with the valuation, Al-mundhir said, " Is that the proper reward " of a man who has presented us with a girl whose beauty has already captivated " our heart, and whose charms have won our affection ? Are we only to send him " the sum thou hast mentioned, a sum which he would undoubtedly have received " had he sold her to a Jewish merchant ? "—" Certainly," replied the servant, " but these merchants are an avaricious and miserly set, and every thing appears " inconsiderable in their eyes."—" Never heed that," said Al-mundhir, " we are " liberal and bounteous, and ought not to stand upon trifles when we intend to " show our generosity; take him one thousand dinárs, and give him our thanks for

Generosity.

"having given us the preference in making so valuable a gift, and tell him besides "that the girl he sent us occupies a place in our heart."

Ya'kúb Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, a brother of the above-mentioned Al-mundhir, and belonging also to the royal family of the Bení Umeyyah, was on a certain occasion praised by a poet, whom he caused to be rewarded with a very large sum of money. On the return of a similar occasion the same poet came again to him, with a poetical composition also in his praise—when one of Ya'kúb's servants remarked, "This importunate fellow fancies no doubt that we owe him some-"thing, and he comes to be paid." To which the Amír replied, "Let him come; "that only proves that the first visit he paid us was to him an agreeable one, and "that he thinks well of us; I would not consent, for all the riches in this world, "that he should alter the favourable opinion he has conceived of us." Upon which he gave orders for the admission of the poet, whom he treated kindly, and after hearing his verses rewarded him with the same sum as before.

We shall not at present say any more on the brilliant qualities of the Andalusians, but shall occasionally return to the subject when we come to the history of their Sultáns, Generals, Wizírs, Kádís, Poets, and other eminent men.

CHAPTER III.

State of science in Andalus—Passion for books—Education—Ethics and Metaphysics—Rhetoric and Grammar—Language—Hand-writing—Story tellers—Quickness at repartee—Memory—Their love of science—Their talent for poetry—natural in children—Jewish and Christian Poets.

State of science.

RESPECTING the state of science among the Andalusians, we must own in justice that the people of that country were the most ardent lovers of knowledge, as well as those who best knew how to appreciate and distinguish a learned man and an ignorant one; indeed science was so much esteemed by them that whoever had not been endowed by God with the necessary qualifications to acquire it did every thing in his power to distinguish himself, and conceal from the people his want of instruction; for an ignorant man was at all times looked upon as an object of the greatest contempt, while the learned man, on the contrary, was not only respected by all, nobles and plebeians, but was trusted and consulted on every occasion; his name was in every mouth, his power and influence had no limits, and he was preferred and distinguished in all the occasions of life.

Owing to this, rich men in Cordova, however illiterate they might be, encouraged letters, rewarded with the greatest munificence writers and poets, and spared neither trouble nor expense in forming large collections of books; so that, independently of the famous library founded by the Khalif Al-hakem, and which is said by writers worthy of credit to have contained no less than four hundred thousand volumes,[1] there were in the capital many other libraries in the hands of wealthy individuals, where the studious could dive into the fathomless sea of knowledge, and bring up its inestimable pearls. Cordova was indeed in the opinion of every author the city in Andalus where most books were to be found, and its inhabitants were renowned for their passion for forming libraries. "To such an "extent did this rage for collection increase," says Ibnu Sa'íd, "that any man in "power, or holding a situation under government, considered himself obliged to "have a library of his own, and would spare no trouble or expense in collecting

"books, merely in order that people might say,—Such a one has a very fine "library, or he possesses a unique copy of such a book, or he has a copy of such "a work in the hand-writing of such a one." Of this passion for books Al-hadhramí has recorded the following instance:—"I resided once in Cordova for "some time, when I used to attend the book-market every day, in hopes of meeting "with a certain work which I was very anxious to procure. This I had done for "a considerable time, when on a certain day I happened to find the object of my "search, a beautiful copy, elegantly written, and illustrated with a very fine com-"mentary. I immediately bid for it, and went on increasing my bidding, but, to "my great disappointment, I was always outbid by the crier, although the price was "far superior to the value of the book. Surprised at this, I went to the crier,[2] and "asked him to show me the individual who had thus outbid me for the book to "a sum far beyond its real value, when he pointed out to me a man, who by his "dress appeared to be a person of high rank, and to whom on approaching I said, "'May God exalt his worship the Doctor! If thou art desirous of this book I "will relinquish it, for through our mutual biddings its price has risen far above "its real value.' He replied, 'I am no Doctor, neither do I know what the "contents of the book are; but I am anxious to complete a library which I am "forming, and which will give me repute among the chiefs of the city; and as "there happens to be still a vacant place capable of holding this book, I thought "I might as well bid for it: besides, it seems to be neatly written, handsomely "bound, and in very good condition; it pleases me, and therefore I do not care "how high I bid for it, for, God be praised, my means are not scanty!'—When "I heard this," says Al-hadhramí, "I was so much vexed that I could not help "replying to him, 'Well, thou art right, means are never abundant except with "men like thee; and as the proverb says,—he gets the nut who has no teeth.[3] "I, who am acquainted with the contents of this book, and who know how to "appreciate its merits, am deterred from buying it, and profiting by it, through "the scantiness of my means, whilst thou, to whom the acquisition of it is a "matter of perfect indifference, art abundantly provided with money to pur-"chase it.'"

Education. Notwithstanding the proficiency of the Andalusians in all the departments of science, we are informed that there were no colleges in that country where the youth might be educated and inspired with the love of science, as is the case in the East; there seem to have been instead several professorships attached to every mosque, and numerous professors who delivered lectures on various subjects for a fixed salary which they received; and had it not been so, science could not have flourished as it did, for learned men among them laboured with all their might in the

acquisition of knowledge, disregarding every other consideration or occupation from which they might have derived emolument: this is the reason why Andalus produced so many authors who reached the highest degree of superiority and eminence in the several walks of science, as we shall have occasion to prove when we review their literature. At present it will suffice to say that the Andalusians left luminous tracks in every department of science, which they cultivated with an ardour and success unparalleled among other nations, with the exception, however, of natural philosophy and astrology, two sciences which, although secretly cultivated by the higher classes, were never taught in public, owing to the prejudices of the multitude against them; for if a man of the lower classes were to hear another say, "Such a one gives lectures on natural philosophy, or is working on astrology," he would immediately call him *zindík*,[4] (that is, heretic,) and the appellation might, perhaps, remain attached to the learned man's name during the whole of his life: even the length of this might in some measure depend upon his prudence or his management; since the lower classes being once ill-disposed and prejudiced against him, they would, on the least provocation, pelt him in the streets or burn his house down, before the head of the state had even been made acquainted with the offence. Sometimes the Khalif himself, in order to conciliate the good will and affection of his subjects, would order the poor man to be put to death, and a scrupulous search to be made throughout his dominions, when all works on the obnoxious sciences perished in the flames. This is even asserted to have been one of the means employed by Al-mansúr to gain popularity with the lower classes during the first years of his usurpation, although, if we are to believe Al-hijárí, he was himself an adept in those sciences, and worked at them secretly. But of this more will be said in the course of our work.

The reading of the Korán according to the seven different schools was, together with the science of sacred tradition, held in the greatest esteem by the Andalusians; the professions of law and theology were likewise much honoured and distinguished. As to their sect, they followed at first that of Al-auzá'eí, as we have remarked elsewhere; but in the course of time they adopted that of Málik Ibn Ans, and knew no other, this being considered the orthodox profession in the state. However, we read in the historians of the times that people of rank or learning occasionally followed one of the others, and went so far as to dispute about their respective merits in the presence of their sovereigns, whenever these were endowed with the necessary penetration, tolerance, and love for the sciences. No title was considered so honourable as that of Faquih,—indeed at one time it became such a high and distinguished one that the Al-mulaththamún (Almoravides) gave it to their great Amír, whom they wished to extol and distinguish; and the title of Theology.

Faquih in the West was, and is even to the present day, considered as honourable as that of Kádí in the East. So it was that Kátibs, grammarians, and rhetoricians were generally honoured with that distinctive title, although they might not have gone through their degrees in the law; for, we repeat, the title of Faquih was the highest and most honourable that could be given to any man learned in grammar, rhetoric, metaphysics, theology, or jurisprudence.

Ethics and Metaphysics. Grammar and Rhetoric.

Divinity and ethics were always cultivated with tolerable success, but grammar and rhetoric were carried to the highest perfection amongst them. "So great is "the ardour of the Andalusians in the cultivation of these two sciences," says Ibnu Sa'íd, "and so vast their attainments, that I do not hesitate to say that "there are at present, in this country, authors equal in merit and parts to the most "famous grammarians and rhetoricians in the times of Khalíl[5] and Sibauyeh,[6] "who have written works that will pass to future generations, and withstand the "blows of the destructive scythe of time. The various systems or schools into "which the science of grammar has been divided are by them preserved with the "greatest care, and with as much attention as the different schools of divinity and "jurisprudence are kept in the East. So, every literary man, whatever may be the "nature of his studies, must needs be a grammarian in order that he may pene-"trate the subtilties of the language, and appreciate the merits of good composi-"tion; for, if he be not perfectly conversant with all the rules of grammar, it will "be in vain for him to seek distinction; he will never rise in the opinion of the "learned, whatever may be his proficiency in other branches of learning, unless he "be well acquainted with that one; and he will be, besides, continually exposed to "the venomous shafts of criticism.

Language.

"The Moslem inhabitants of Andalus being either Arabs or Músta'rabs,[7] their "language, as may well be inferred, was no other than Arabic. However, it "cannot be said but that the common speech, both among the higher and the "lower classes, has considerably deviated from the rules of the Arabic grammar; "so that were an eastern Arab to hear the prince of our grammarians, Shalúbín, "engaged in conversation with another man, he would never believe him to be the "author so much consulted and valued in this country, and whose works are "circulated and read both in the East and West; and were he to attend one of his "lectures he would undoubtedly burst out laughing to hear the blunders he "makes in speaking. It is true that people of high rank will occasionally observe "the grammatical rules in their speech, especially if conversing with Arabs newly "arrived from the East, but, instead of being natural, their speech then sounds "heavy and affected. However, what I have stated about the language used in "Andalus must be applied only to the Arabic as used in conversation, and by no

" means to their writings, for they are the most strict and rigid of men in observing " the grammatical rules in their theological writings, sermons, epistles, history, " and all sorts of literary works, whether in prose or in verse."

Hand-writing. The Andalusians had also a hand-writing of their own; in former times they used the Eastern hand, they afterwards left it and adopted another, which, although resembling that which is generally used in Syria and other Moslem countries, was, nevertheless, distinguished by a few peculiarities. Ibnu Sa'íd, treating on the subject, says, "The Andalusian hand,[8] which originated in the East, is in my " opinion without a rival in point of elegance and distinctness,[9] and, if I may " judge of the ancient writing by such specimens as I saw of it in the Korán " written by Ibn Ghattús, which was preserved in a city in the eastern part of " Andalus, and in other ancient copies of the Korán referred to by the learned of " that country as specimens, it is a very handsome and clear hand, and what I saw " was executed in a style which did much honour to the patience and dexterity of " the scribes."

Story tellers. We find, likewise, that the Khalifs and other principal citizens of Cordova were excessively fond of listening to pleasant tales and entertaining stories, and that the art of learning these, and reciting them in public, was considered a great accomplishment among literary men, who were thus enabled to approach the presence of the Sultán, and by their wit and their humorous sallies insinuate themselves into his good graces. This was, indeed, considered to be so important a requisite, that whoever was not acquainted with a sufficient stock of entertaining tales, to recite at pleasure, was held in little estimation, and even despised in certain literary circles. Ibnu-l-khattíb tells us in his history of Granada of a certain Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Abí-l-halyi-l-kenání, who was a very facetious man, and knew by heart a prodigious number of stories and amusing anecdotes, which he used to repeat to his friends; his life had been one of continual adventure, and they say that he had gone through wonderful chances and changes of fortune. The stories told by this man were put down in writing by some studious men, and collected in one book, under the title of *Kitábu-l-mesáleki wa-l-mahálli fí akhbári-bni Abí-l-halyi*[10] (the book of routes and stations in the adventures of Abú-l-halyi). Abú-l-halyi died in 406 of the Hijra (A.D. 1015-16).

Quickness at Repartee. The Andalusians have been justly celebrated for the quickness of their answers, and that facility of repartee which puts a stop to further reply; in them wit, humour, acuteness of mind, and talents for poetry, seemed to be almost innate, so that it was not an uncommon thing to see among them uneducated youth, and even children, display those talents in a greater degree than grown up men trained in the paths of learning. It is somewhere related by a doctor, a native of Almeria, that

the Kádí Abú-l-hasan Mukhtár Ar-ro'ayní,[11] who was renowned for his wit and great eloquence, happened once to be summoned to the presence of his sovereign, Zohayr the Sclavonian,[12] king of Almeria, who, being then occupied in administering justice in the hall of his palace, wanted to hear his opinion in a certain legal case. When Ar-ro'ayní received the summons, he hastened to obey it, and began to walk towards the palace, although at a very slow pace, and in the grave and stately manner generally used by Kádís. Zohayr's messenger, who went by his side, and who knew how impatient his master would be, advised him to make haste, and quicken his pace, but Ar-ro'ayní, disregarding his injunctions, continued to proceed at the same slow rate, so that a considerable time passed before he reached the Sultán's palace. "What ails thee, that thou hast tarried so long, O Ar-ro'ayní?" said Zohayr to him on his entering the audience-chamber. The Kádí answered nought, but retracing his steps, and going back towards the door, he there took a stick from the hands of an attendant, and lifting up with one hand the lower part of his garment, he assumed the air and put himself in the position of a man who is going to run. "What is the meaning of all that?" said the Sultán, astonished. "This means," answered Ar-ro'ayní, "that I am going to take "possession of my new office, for as I was coming to thee, seeing that this thy "usher urged me to quicken my pace, and make haste, it occurred to me that I "might have been deprived of my place of Kádí, and appointed instead to be a "soldier in thy body-guard;"[13] upon which Zohayr burst into a hearty laugh, and from that moment he never afterwards reprimanded him for coming too late.

As Az-zahrí,[14] a famous preacher in Seville, who was lame of one foot, was on a certain evening walking with a son of his, a youth, on the banks of the Guadalquivir, he saw a party of young men coming down the river in a boat, frolicking and singing. It was then near the Passover, the time when our dogmas prescribe to us to sacrifice victims and distribute their flesh to the poor, and among our friends and relations. As the boat was passing Az-zahrí, one of the party shouted to him, "How much for that lamb of thine?" meaning his son,—and Az-zahrí answered immediately, "He is not for sale." "Well, then," replied another, "what is the price of the old ram?" meaning the father; upon which Az-zahrí, without being at all disconcerted, raised his lame foot in the air, and said, "Dost "thou not perceive that the animal is lame, and therefore unfit for sacrifice?" —hearing which the whole party in the boat burst into a laugh, and were impressed with admiration at the Sheikh's ready wit and good temper.

Memory. Memory is among the gifts which the Almighty poured most profusely upon the Andalusians, and their history abounds with records of poets and authors whose retentive powers were really surprising. Among others, a learned man named

Abú-l-mutawakel[15] Al-haytham Ibn Ahmed Ibn Ghálib seems to have been the phœnix of his age in memory, a real prodigy in learning by heart both prose and verse. Ibnu Sa'íd and his father Abú 'Omrán, who knew him, bear ample testimony of his extraordinary faculties. We shall let them speak: "I was once "told," says Abú 'Omrán Músa Ibn Sa'íd, "by a trustworthy person, who was "present with him at an entertainment, what I am going to relate. 'I was once "invited with other friends to the house of a rich citizen in Seville, where Abú-l-"mutawakel was one of the party; the conversation having turned upon his "extraordinary powers of memory, Abú-l-mutawakel kindly volunteered to exhibit "them before the company, and proposed to do any thing that was suggested to "him. Then one of those present said, 'In the name of Allah, we wish thee to "tell us traditions from authenticated sources.' 'Very well,' said he, 'let any "one of you choose the rhyme, and I promise not to stop until you are all tired.' "Upon which, one of the company having fixed upon the letter *kaf*, he began "to recite traditions ending with a rhyme in the said letter; and, although it was "early in the evening when he began, he continued throughout the whole night, "and did not stop until the morning.'

"Some time after this occurrence, I happened," continues Abú 'Omrán Ibn Sa'íd, "to meet him at the house called *Dáru-l-ashráf* (the house of the Sherífs), "in Seville. When I entered the room, the company were occupied in reading "various works, and among others the collection of poems by Dhú-r-rommah;[16] "Al-haytham, who sat by the side of one of the individuals who was reading "aloud to the others, went up to him and tried to snatch the book out of his "hands; the reader, however, grasped it with both hands, so that Al-haytham "was unable to accomplish his purpose. Then turning round to me, he said, 'O "Abú 'Omrán! is it just that this man should deprive us of a book of which he "does not know one single verse by heart, and that he should keep it from me who "can repeat every line it contains?' When the company heard this they were much "surprised; for, although they all knew Al-haytham's extraordinary powers, yet, "the book having been but recently published, so as scarcely to have afforded Al-"haytham sufficient time to read it, they all thought that he had said what was "untrue, and therefore proceeded to put him to the test, strongly suspecting that "he could not recite at any length out of it. Al-haytham said immediately, 'Let "one of you take up the book and follow me;' upon which, he began to recite "verse after verse in a masterly style, without forgetting either a vowel or an "accent, until he reached the middle of the book, when, night being far ad-"vanced, and all of us tired, we all at once besought him to stop, which he did, "and gave him our testimonials that we had never witnessed or heard of such

"a wonderful memory as his, for certainly this was one of his most prodigious "performances of this kind; and as the story was afterwards divulged by those who "had witnessed it, Al-haytham's reputation increased, and the performance was "applauded as it deserved."

Abú-l-hasan Ibn Sa'íd says, "the two preceding anecdotes I hold from my "father; but I myself recollect having once seen this extraordinary man dictate "extempore, and at once, to three *talbes*, in the following manner: to the first a "*kassídah*, to the second a *maushahah*,[17] and to the third a *zajalah*. Al-haytham "died, no doubt, during the siege of Seville by the troops of Al-bájí;[18] for he once, "when the city was closely besieged by the enemy, sallied out with the garrison, "and was never heard of afterwards."

Another anecdote is related by Abú 'Omar At-talamankí.[19] "I once entered," says he, "the city of Murcia, when the people flocked round me to hear me read the "work entitled '*Wonderful stories of authors and books*.'[20] I said to them—Here "is the book, fetch a man that may read in it; and I opened the work ready for "his arrival. Behold! what was my astonishment when I saw them returning "with a blind man, whose name was Ibn Sídah, who began to recite it from top "to bottom. Astonished at what I saw, I asked, and was informed that, although "a blind man, he was gifted with so prodigious a memory that he could repeat "whatever he had once heard, and that having on a former occasion listened to the "reading of the said work, he now knew it quite by heart. This extraordinary "man, whose entire name was Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Ahmed Ibn Sídah,[21] was not "only blind from his birth, but he was also the son of a blind man; he died at the "age of sixty, in the year four hundred and one[22] of the Hijra, and is well known "as the author of the *Kitábu-l-muhkami fí-l-loghati* (the book of the foundations of "the language)."

Their love of science.

The love of the Andalusians for science is sufficiently proved by the numberless anecdotes with which their biographical dictionaries and literary records are known to abound. Abú Bekr Ibnu-s-sáyegh, better known by the surname of Ibn Bájeh,[23] once entered the great mosque of Granada,[24] and found a grammarian surrounded by several youths, who were listening to his lessons. When they saw him come in, they all rose, and exclaimed, in high spirits, "What does the Faquih carry? what "does he say? how will he show his love for science?" And Ibn Bájeh answered, "What I carry with me is twelve thousand dinárs, here they are under my arm:" and he produced twelve beautiful rubies, each of which was valued at one thousand dinárs. "What I say is that, valuable as these jewels are, they are still "inferior in my eyes to twelve youths working as you are for the acquisition of "the Arabic language. And my way of showing my love to science is by drawing

"lots among you, and giving away the best of these rubies:" and he accordingly proceeded to do it. The preceding anecdote is transcribed from the work of Abú Hayyán the grammarian.[25]

Al-mudhdhafer Ibn Al-afttas, King of Badajoz, was, according to the historian Ibnu-l-abbár, of all the monarchs of his time the one who showed the greatest love for science, and who rewarded the labours of the learned with the most liberal hand. So great was his knowledge in all the branches of literature, so universal his attainments in the sciences, so ardent his love of all sorts of information, that notwithstanding his reign was one of continual agitation and danger, owing to the turbulent times in which he lived, he still found leisure successfully to cultivate all the sciences, leaving behind him that immense work in fifty volumes which raised the admiration of both Eastern and Western writers; and in the composition of which Al-mudhdhafer spared neither trouble nor expense, having previously collected a rich and extensive library for the purpose. His work, indeed, which in the East is known by the title of *Al-mudhdhaferí*,[26] from the name of its royal author, treats on universal science, being a repository of art, science, history, poetry, literature in general, proverbs, biographical information, and so forth. Al-mudhdhafer died in the year four hundred and sixty of the Hijra (A. D. 1067-8), and in the words of Ibnu Hayyán and Ibnu Bessám, two authors who have written an account of his life, he surpassed all the kings of his time in science and in learning, as well as in virtue and brilliant qualities. Our readers, moreover, must not be surprised at this, or think that we exaggerate when we say that Al-mudhdhafer's work was composed of fifty volumes. No, it is a notorious fact, and were we to judge by other very voluminous works which are in existence, we should say that it was the fashion among the Andalusian authors to protract their works to an enormous length. We can, without going any further, quote Ibnu Hayyán's large historical work called *Al-matín*,[27] in sixty huge volumes, and the *Kitábu-l-asmá* (the book of nouns) by Ahmed Ibn Ibán,[28] Sáhibu-sh-shartah in Cordova, in one hundred volumes. Ibn Ibán died in three hundred and eighty-two (A.D. 992-3); we have seen in Fez some volumes of his work. Another instance of this extraordinary fecundity is recorded by Ibn Alisa' regarding an author of the name of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Mu'ammar, a native of Malaga, who wrote a commentary on the *Kitábu-n-nabát* (book of plants) by Abú Honeyfah Ad-dinawárí,[29] composed of sixty volumes. Ibn Alisa', who knew him in five hundred and twenty-four of the Hijra (A.D. 1129-30), reports him as being then one hundred years old. We might likewise quote here the words of Ibnu Hayyán, who positively asserts that at the death of Abú Mohammed Ibn Hazm, which happened in four hundred and fifty-six (A.D. 1063-4), there were found in his

room no less than four hundred volumes of works on various subjects, such as history, poetry, jurisprudence, theology, &c. And Ibnu Hayyán adds, on the authority of Abú-l-fahl Ibn Hazm, a son of the deceased, that having calculated the sheets of paper which were taken up by his works, he found them to be eighty thousand. We could mention numerous similar instances of the fecundity and extent of Andalusian genius, but as this is a thing long since ascertained, and which needs not our confirmation, we shall leave it for the present.

Their aptitude for learning.

The aptitude of the Andalusians for all sorts of sciences will be likewise acknowledged by every reader conversant with their history and literature. We shall not, therefore, dwell upon it; but as their inventions and improvements in the arts and sciences, and their discovery of new and untrodden paths in the regions of literature, are generally allowed materially to have increased the sources of our knowledge, we deem it in place to mention, in a few words, those illustrious men to whose labours, talents, or perspicuity, the sciences are indebted for their advance, and who are placed by their countrymen at the head of their respective faculties.

Abú-l-'abbás Kásim Ibn Firnás,[30] the physician, was the first who made glass out of clay,[31] and who established fabrics of it in Andalus. He passes also as the first man who introduced into that country the famous treatise on prosody by Khalíl,[32] and who taught the science of music. He invented an instrument called *al-minkálah*, by means of which time was marked in music without having recourse to notes or figures.[33] Among other very curious experiments which he made, one is his trying to fly. He covered himself with feathers for the purpose, attached a couple of wings to his body, and, getting on an eminence, flung himself down into the air, when, according to the testimony of several trustworthy writers who witnessed the performance, he flew to a considerable distance, as if he had been a bird, but in alighting again on the place whence he had started his back was very much hurt, for not knowing that birds when they alight come down upon their tails, he forgot to provide himself with one. Múmen Ibn Sa'íd has said, in a verse alluding to this extraordinary man,—

"He surpassed in velocity the flight of the ostrich, but he neglected to arm
"his body with the strength of the vulture." [34]

The same poet has said in allusion to a certain figure of heaven which this Ibn Firnás, who was likewise a consummate astronomer, made in his house, and where the spectators fancied they saw the clouds, the stars, and the lightning, and listened to the terrific noise of thunder,—

"The heavens of Abú-l-kásim 'Abbás, the learned, will deeply impress on
"thy mind the extent of their perfection and beauty.

" Thou shalt hear the thunder roar, lightning will cross thy sight: nay, " by Allah! the very firmament will shake to its foundations.

" But do not go underneath (the house), lest thou shouldst feel inclined, " as I was, (seeing the deception,) to spit in the face of its creator."[35]

The following verse is the composition of Ibn Firnás himself, who addressed it to the Amír Mohammed.[36]

" I saw the Prince of the believers, Mohammed, and the flourishing star of " benevolence shone bright upon his countenance."

To which Múmen replied, when he was told of it, " Yes, thou art right, but it " vanished the very moment thou didst come near it; thou hast made the face of " the Khalif a field where the stars flourish; ay, and a dunghill too, for plants do " not thrive without manure."

Abú 'Obeydah Moslem Ibn Ahmed,[37] known by the surname of *Sáhibu-l-kiblah*, because he always used to turn his face towards the East when he was saying his prayers, was consummately skilled in the science of numbers, arithmetic, astrology, jurisprudence, and the knowledge of traditions. But his principal skill was in astronomy; he was perfectly acquainted with the movement of the stars and other heavenly bodies, and their influence on the body of man. He travelled to the East, and performed his pilgrimage to Mekka, where he attended the lessons of 'Alí Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz; he also resided for some time in Cairo, where he learnt from Al-muzaní[38] and others.

Yahya Ibn Yahya, better known by the surname of Ibnu-s-samínah,[39] a native of Cordova, was versed in arithmetic, astrology, rhetoric, prosody, jurisprudence, traditions, history, scholastic controversy, and the meaning of verses; in all which sciences he laboured with the greatest success. He also travelled through the East, where he is said to have adopted and professed the religious opinions of the Mo'tazelites.

Abú-l-kásim Asbagh Ibnu-s-samh[40] excelled in the science of grammar, as well as in geometry and medicine, upon which he wrote several valuable treatises. He also composed various works on geometry, such as the *Kitábu-l-mad'hali fi-l-hindasati* (a key to geometry), being a commentary on Euclid, another voluminous work on the same subject, and two others on the Astrolabe; and astronomical tables according to the doctrines of the Indian school, known by the name of *Sind-Hind.*[41]

Abú-l-kásim As-saffár[42] was also a profound geometrician; he was deeply versed in the science of numbers and astronomy, and wrote, among other works, some astronomical tables, which he composed according to the method of *Sind-Hind*, and a treatise on the mode of constructing Astrolabes.

Abú Is'hák Az-zahráwí[43] gained himself a name both as a physician and as a geometrician. He travelled to the East, and on his return to his native country published a very learned treatise on the mechanical arts,[44] accompanied by examples and illustrations.

Abú-l-hakem 'Omar Al-karmání,[45] an inhabitant of Cordova, acquired great celebrity in arithmetic and geometry. He travelled to the East, and resided for some time in the city of Harrán,[46] where he frequented the schools of the learned. To him belongs the honour of having introduced into Andalus the epistles of the *As'hábu-s-safá* (the sincere friends).[47]

Abú Moslem Ibn Khaldún,[48] one of the noblest citizens of Seville, obtained great celebrity through his knowledge of geometry, astronomy, medicine, and natural philosophy. He left a disciple, named Ibn Borghúth,[49] who inherited his extensive knowledge in those sciences, and was, besides, very accomplished in mathematics. Ibn Borghúth left also several disciples who profited by his lessons; among whom we may reckon Abú-l-hasan Mukhtar Ar-ro'ayní,[50] the famous geometrician and astronomer, and 'Abdullah Ibn Ahmed, of Saragossa, who gained himself a name in geometry, algebra, and astronomy.

Mohammed Al-leyth[51] was commended for his knowledge in arithmetic, geometry, and the motions of the planets.

Ibn Hayyí,[52] of Cordova, wrote on geometry and astronomy. He left Andalus in the year four hundred and forty-two of the Hijra, arrived in Egypt, where he resided for some time, and proceeded thence to Yemen, where he gained the intimacy of its sovereign, the Amír As-solayhí,[53] the same who rose in those districts and proclaimed Al-mustanser the 'Obeydite. That rebel sent him on an embassy to Baghdád, the court of the Khalif Al-káyem-biamr-illahi, which he duly fulfilled, returning to Yemen, where he died some time afterwards.

Ibnu-l-wakshí,[54] of Toledo, excelled in geometry and logic, as well as in the construction of astronomical tables and several other branches of knowledge which it would take us too long to enumerate.

The Hafedh Abú-l-walíd Hishám Al-washkí[55] was the most learned man of his time in geometry, in the opinions of the philosophers,[56] grammar, rhetoric, the obscure meaning of verses, prosody, the writing of *risáleh*, the canon and civil law, the functions of a secretary,[57] and other departments of science, so that, as the poet has said,—

> " He had sufficient science to be thought accomplished in every department
> " of it."[58]

The Wizír Abú-l-motref 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Shahíd[59] was profound in medicine and the natural sciences. He wrote a work on the various simples created by God,

and which are used as medicaments; and such were his patience, activity, and talents, that he knew perfectly well the properties of every one of the simples mentioned in his book, its strength, the degree of heat or cold which it possessed, and its application to the cure of various diseases. This eminent man entertained the opinion that diseases could be more effectually checked by diet than by medicine, and that when medicine became necessary, simples were far preferable to compound medicaments, and when these latter were required, as few drugs as possible ought to enter into their composition. As a physician, Abú-l-motref surpassed all his contemporaries; he performed wonders in the cure of acute diseases and chronic affections, administering, as we have observed, as little medicine as possible to his patients.

The science of botany was considerably advanced by the talents and exertions of Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Ahmed, better known by the surname of Ibnu-l-beyttar,[60] and a native of Malaga, who not only wrote numerous works in which he most scrupulously and minutely described the plants already known, but examined and analyzed many which had never been discovered before his time. Ibnu-l-beyttar died suddenly at Damascus in the year four hundred and thirty-four of the Hijra (A.D. 1042-3), and according to some his death was occasioned by poison, which he sucked while analyzing a plant brought to him, which he had never before seen.

Their talents for poetry.

The Andalusians may safely be pronounced to have been gifted by the Almighty with those shining qualities necessary to make a good poet,—quickness of thought, great command of language, a fertile imagination, and an extensive knowledge of men and things. These qualities indeed were not confined to the Moslem inhabitants of Andalus, but were also, as we shall have occasion to show hereafter, shared by women, as well as infidels. We ought not to wonder therefore if poetry among them has left such visible traces, especially when poets have been on all occasions much regarded by their kings, who rewarded their merits with bounteous gifts and large pensions. It was the custom in Andalus for the most eminent poets at the courts of the various Sultáns to appear before them at certain festivities, and on other great occasions, there to recite poetical compositions in praise of the sovereign: by these means poets rarely failed in drawing upon themselves the munificence of the monarch, who would reward them according to their merit and their rank, unless it happened that times were calamitous, and ignorance prevailed, although the former was more common. Many are the poems recited on these memorable occasions which to this day excite the admiration, and provoke the envy, of eastern poets; and the works of Al-fat'h Ibn Khakán, Abú-l-kásim Ibn Bashkúwál, Ibnu Sa'íd, and others, who have written the lives of Andalusian

authors, abound with extracts from their poems, sufficient to impress the reader with an idea of the reach and extent of their genius, the sweet melody of their verses, and the creative powers of their imagination.

It is related of Al-merwání,[61] Sultán of Andalus, that in a correspondence which he had with Nazár, the 'Obeydite Sultán of Egypt, there passed between them some angry words, when Nazár wrote to Al-merwání a letter full of insults, to which the Andalusian replied in these words: "Thou hast reviled us because we are known "to thee; had we been acquainted with thee in the same manner, we might have "given a proper reply: farewell." They say that Nazár was extremely hurt by the answer, and never afterwards sought to quarrel with Al-merwání, who is said on a previous occasion to have written to him the following distich:

"Are we not the sons of Merwán,—that favoured family upon whom "nature has poured her richest gifts, and whom fortune has loaded with her "choicest favours?

"Whenever a birth occurs in our family, is not the entire earth illumined "with joy at the appearance of the new-born child; do not the pulpits "shake to the sound of the proclamation of his name?"[62]

It is said of Ibn Dhí-l-wizárateyn Abí 'A'mir Ibni-l-faraj,[63] who held the appointment of Wizír to Ibnu Dhí-l-nún, King of Toledo, that feeling once indisposed he sent for a physician, who prescribed to him to drink old wine. Knowing that one of the Sultán's pages possessed some, very old and of excellent quality, he took pen and paper and addressed him the following lines, extempore:

"Send me some of that wine as sweet as thy love, and more transparent "than the tears which fall down thy cheeks.

"Send me, O my son! some of that liquor, the soul's own sister, that "I may comfort with it my debilitated stomach. I am thy servant."[64]

The Sultán of Valencia, Merwán Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz,[65] was an excellent poet. The following two verses are recorded as having been repeated extempore by him on the event of his learning that he had been deposed from his kingdom, to make room for a man his inferior in every respect.

"No wonder that a man has been found to succeed me in the government "of this kingdom. 'Tis true the day will dawn for them (the subjects); but "they will have no evening.

"His light will be like that of the stars in heaven, which never begin to "glitter until the sun is quite gone down in the West."[66]

Of this Merwán the historian Ibn Dih'yah has recorded many sallies of wit, among which the following is one. "I entered," says he, "the Sultán's apartment

" one day, and found him making his ablution; when he came to cleanse his beard, " which had just then begun to whiten, he said to me—

' When I first saw these grey hairs I took them for harbingers of my ruin, ' coming to announce to the body the moment of its destruction.

' For in plants when the green turns white it is a sign of their withering ' and decay.' "[67]

Al-mu'atassem, king of Almeria, having once received intelligence that some expressions excessively injurious to him had been introduced into a poetical composition by a poet who frequented his court, gave immediate orders for his apprehension; and after a long search made throughout his dominions, the culprit, whose name was Khalf Ibn Faraj As-samír,[68] was secured and brought into his presence. " I hear," said Al-mu'atassem to him, " that thou hast been indulging thy satirical " propensities against me. I command thee to repeat the verses in which thou hast " made allusion to me."—" In the name of Him who has put me under thy " power," replied the poet, " excuse me, for never was harm intended against " thee." " Speak out," cried Al-mu'atassem impatiently. Then the poet repeated with a submissive voice the following two verses:

" I saw Adam in my dream, and I said to him, O father of mankind! men " generally agree

" That the Berbers are descended from thee. Yes, it is true, but none " dispute that Eve was at that time divorced from me.[69]

" These are my expressions, O Al-mu'atassem! but thou must hear now my " reasons for uttering them. It is well known that Ibn Balkín, the Sultán " of Granada, thirsts after my blood, and has of late spared no trouble to get " at my person and sacrifice me to his unjust resentment. Since I have taken " refuge in thy dominions he has tried every means to circumvent and destroy me, " and he has caused reports of all kinds to be brought to thy ears, in order that " thou mightst be angry with me and order my death, and thus be the instrument " of his revenge, while all the responsibility of an unjust and tyrannical act would " weigh upon thee." " Well, but tell me," said the Sultán, " those verses contain " no personal invective against Ibn Balkín more than the opprobrium with which " thou hast charged his race. I would swear thou saidst something else against " him."—" So I did," answered the poet immediately; " when I saw my oppressor " build himself a strong citadel within the precincts of Granada, I said—

' The son of Balkín has built himself a castle; he has, like the silk-worm, ' wrapped himself up in his silk ball.' "[70]

Al-mu'atassem then said to the poet, " If what thou tellest me be true I can

" excuse thee, and pardon thy offensive language against the Berbers. However, " I leave to thy choice whether I am to treat thee kindly, or to deliver thee into " the hands of thy enemy that he may revenge his outrage." Khalf then immediately replied with these two extempore verses:

" Al-mu'atassem has given me to choose; but he knows well my inten-
" tions.
" Since he has uttered the word pardon, I have no doubt he intends to
" be generous, and protect me." [71]

" By my soul!" exclaimed the Sultán, " thy wit is the wit of Ashittán. I " pronounce thee both safe and free." And from that moment Khalf lived at the court of Al-mu'atassem, honoured and rewarded by his sovereign, until Al-mu'atassem was deprived of his kingdom.[72]

As the poet Abú-l-kásim As-sohaylí [73] was once sitting in his house in Malaga, news was brought to him how his native place, the town of Sohayl in the neighbourhood, had been attacked, plundered, and set on fire, and his friends and relatives either killed or taken, by a troop of Christian marauders, who had made a foray into the heart of the Moslem territory.[74] No sooner did the intelligence reach As-sohaylí than he hired a horse and a man to take him to the spot; and when he arrived at Sohayl he alighted, and finding the place deserted he uttered extempore the following verses:

" O my country! where are thy chiefs and elders gone? Where thy in-
" habitants from whom I experienced so much generosity?
" To see thy deserted dwellings the sighing lover might doubt whether he
" is alive, for to his greeting no salutation is returned.
" When I ask, no voice answers mine save the parting echoes; no sound
" strikes the ears of the pining lover.
" The dove, it is true, sings on the lofty trees, but his mournful intonations,
" caused by the loss of his consort, melt the heart of the sensitive, and make
" the tears fall in copious streams.
" O my home! how cruelly fate has acted with thee; since time, that never
" forgives, has spared thee in the midst of general destruction." [75]

We have said elsewhere that the town of Sohayl was so called from the fact of its being the only spot in Andalus from which the constellation called Canopus could be seen. As-sohaylí was a famous poet, as may be seen in Ibn Khallekán [76] and other historians who have written an account of his life. He was known also by the surname of Abú Zeyd.

A poet from Almeria was once coming down the Guadalquivir in a boat; as he came to that part of the river, near Shantobús,[77] where the stream narrows con-

siderably, exhibiting on both sides clusters of pretty buildings and pleasure-gardens, with verandas looking on the river, he said, singing,—

" I am tired of the river and the boats, as well as those who look on it from " Shantobús.

" Indeed, were it a paradise, I would not change it for my plantation of sweet " basil at home."

No sooner had he pronounced the last words of the second verse than a girl in one of the houses close to the river put her head out of an arched window, and said to him, " From what country art thou, O singer ? " and he answered, " I am " from Almeria."—" And pray what is there so much to be admired which would " lead thee to prefer it to the river of Seville, whose face is salt, and whose nape " is scabby ? "—and this is no doubt one of the most clever answers that can be imagined, since, angry at hearing him depreciate the Guadalquivir, she said ironically the contrary of what that river is famous for; it being notorious to every reader that the waters of the Guadalquivir are as sweet to the palate as those of the Nile, and that the mountains of *Ar-rahmah,* which form, as it were, the back of its head, are so full of fig and olive trees, and so studded with vines, that the eyes of those who visit that enchanting spot in the days of relaxation fall on nothing else but verdure. So the girl was right when she gave that answer, since Seville is far superior to Almeria in this respect.

Abú 'Amrú Ibn Sálim of Malaga says, " I was one day sitting in my room, when " all of a sudden I was assailed by a violent and irresistible desire of going to " Al-jebbáneh.[78] I therefore left my house and went in the direction of that place ; " but scarcely had I proceeded a few steps, it being summer-time, and the weather " very hot, when I felt oppressed by the heat; and, changing my mind, I returned " home. Still, when I reached my house, I could not help the temptation of going " out again ; but this time I bent my steps towards the mosque called *Rábitatu-l-* " *Ghobár*,[79] where I met the preacher Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wahháb Ibn 'Alí " Al-málakí, who on my approach said to me, ' I have just this moment been " beseeching God that he should bring thee to my presence ; and my prayer has " been granted : God Almighty be praised for it !' I then told him what had " happened to me, and how I had been led by an invisible power to go out of my " house. After this I sat by his side; and on his entreating me to recite him some " verses, I repeated the following of an Andalusian poet :

' They stole from morning the colour of her cheeks; they borrowed from ' the arák tree its slender and delicate form.

' Innumerable jewels shone brightly on their bosoms ; and they took the ' glittering stars for a necklace.

'Not content with the slenderness of the spear, and the agility of the an-
'telope, they still took from the latter the tender eye and the undulating
'cheek-bone.'[80]

"No sooner," continues Abú 'Amrú, "had I uttered the last syllable of the "latter verse, than to my great astonishment I heard 'Abdu-l-wahháb give a piercing "shriek, and I saw him fall senseless on the ground. Having run to his assistance, "I found him in a swoon, and it was not until an hour had elapsed that he again "came to his senses: when he said to me, 'Excuse me, my son, for there are two "things in this world against which I have no strength, viz. the sight of a pretty "face, and the hearing of good poetry.'"

They say that Abú-l-hoseyn Suleymán Ibnu-t-taráwah, the famous grammarian and poet, from Almeria, sitting one day with some of his friends at an entertainment at his own house, there happened to be close at his side one of his most intimate friends, who, when his turn came to drink, begged to be excused, and motioned away the jar in which the liquor was presented to him. Ibnu-t-taráwah then taking the glass from him drank off its contents; and finding that it struck cold on his liver he said extempore—

"Let the Sheikh and his equals, and all those whose conduct is worthy of
"praise, blame me for what I have done.
"This I know, that when the young camel finds her load too heavy she
"throws[81] it on the full grown one."

Poetry an innate gift in children.

We have said elsewhere that children in Andalus not unfrequently exhibited natural talents, and a facility of rhyming, which could not often be met with in people of mature age, or who had had the benefits of education. In proof of this we shall quote the following anecdotes, related by their writers. Ibn Abí-l-khissál[82] Ash-shekúri (from Segura) having, when still a boy, repaired to the city of Ubeda, in order to study in the schools of that place, lodged at the house of the Kádí Ibn Málik. Happening one day to go out with him to an orchard, Ibn Málik picked a bunch of black grapes, and holding it in his hand he said to Ibn Abí-l-khissál, "Look at these grapes hanging from the stalk." "Yes," answered Ibn Abí-l-khissál, in rhyme, "like the head of an Abyssinian slave." "Well said!" replied his master, who from that moment prognosticated that Ibn Abí-l-khissál would be an eloquent orator and a good poet.

It is related by Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Zarkún that Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-monkhol[83] and Abú Bekr Al-malláh, both born at Silves, and dwelling in Salobreña, a town on the southern coast, not far from Almeria, were so much attached to each other that they looked as if they were brothers. Each had a son, still young, but who had shown from infancy the greatest aptitude for science, and the most vehement desire

of learning, so much so that, although too young yet to have their abilities improved by education, they had already given repeated proofs of their proficiency and talents by gathering the spears of preference in the hippodromes of literature. These two children were continually attacking each other with satirical remarks and witty sayings, by which means their talents for versification were exercised and improved. However, Ibnu-l-monkhol happening one day to ride out together with his son Abú 'Abdillah, he began to reprimand him for his conduct towards his young friend, and said, "Thy continual jests and satirical traits against Ibnu-l-malláh "will, I have no doubt, damp the intimacy existing between me and his father, so "pray do not attack him any longer, lest I should lose through it my friend "Abú Bekr's love." "I cannot help it," replied his son, "if it is so, for it is "always he who begins the fray, and I only use in my own defence the weapons "of satire. The offender is always wrong, and it is but just that he should bear all "the weight of evil who begins with it."[84] When Al-monkhol heard this excuse of his son, he could not help saying, "Well, if the case between you stands as "stated by thee, I exculpate and justify thee." While this conversation was thus going on between father and son, behold! they came up to a large water-pool in the middle of the road, where frogs innumerable were filling the air with their croakings. "Go on," said Ibnu-l-monkhol to his son, "the frogs are croaking in "that pool." "Yes," replied his son, "and with no sweet melody, troth." "Their language was boisterous," said the father. "When they called the Bení "Al-malláh," answered the son. However, when they heard the footsteps of the travellers the frogs became silent, and a pause ensued also in the dialogue between father and son while crossing the pool. At last, Ibnu-l-monkhol said to his son, "Thou hast become mute like these frogs." "When they collected for "scandal," answered his son. "There is no help for the oppressed," said the old man; "and no rain for those who want it," was the son's reply.[85]

Certainly nobody will doubt but that this finishing of hemistichs is highly deserving of praise; had it been executed by a learned man advanced in life it would have commanded the greatest attention, but being, as it was, the work of a mere boy, it was a most wonderful performance, and well worthy of remark.

Nor were readiness of wit and poetical talents confined to the Moslems, for we find them existing among the Christians and Jews who inhabited Andalus, (may the Almighty God restore it entirely to the hands of the true believers!) For instance, a Christian named Al-maza'rí, a native of Seville, where he resided, is said to have extemporized the following verses in the act of presenting the Sultán Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád with a hunting bitch: Christian and Jewish poets.

"I never saw a better cause of pleasure for those that are fond of sport, nor "a surer source of profit for those who desire gain,

"Than this animal full of excellent qualities; her colour might throw into "the shade the brilliant hue of a yellow tunic:

"Like a bow in her shape, and yet she darts on her prey more straight than "an arrow.

"If thou try her scent, she will guide thee to secret haunts abounding with "game.

"Nay, were she to challenge the lightning to a hunting match, she would "leave it far behind in the race." [86]

These verses, and others by the same author, are recorded in the *Al-mas'hab* of Al-hijárí, who has therein introduced the Christian's biography.

The following verses are the composition of a Jew, of the name of Ibráhím Ibn Sahl Al-israyilí,[87] who is reported to have pronounced them extempore on a slave who was ill with the jaundice:

"Thou wast an honour to thy master until thou wast thus deprived of thy "beauty.

"For thou didst appear in the morning like a wax taper, which, when "extinguished, shows a black wick."[88]

There are various opinions entertained concerning this Jew; some saying that he was in heart a Moslem, others that he publicly embraced Islám, and professed it till the day of his death, others again that he lived and died in the Jewish persuasion. Abú Hayyán, the grammarian, relates, on the authority of the Kádí-l-kodá Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Abí Nasr Al-fat'h Al-kaysí, who had it from 'Alí the Christian, a native and inhabitant of Seville, whom he chanced to meet in Granada in one of his travels, that Ibráhím Ibn Sahl the poet was at first a Jew, but that towards the end of his life he was converted to Islám, and wrote in praise of Mohammed, the messenger of the Lord, a long and elegant *kassídah.* "I read it once," says Abú Hayyán, "and I declare that in point of melody it is one of the most admirable "poems I ever read in my life."

The same opinion is entertained by the Háfedh Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Omar Ibn Rashíd Al-fehrí,[89] who in his great itinerary entitled "*the filling of the knapsack with information collected during a journey to the two holy places, Mekka and Medína,*" asserts positively that Ibn Sahl embraced Islám, quoting as a proof an epistle written by 'Alí Hámish to the preacher and ulema Sídí Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Marzúk,[90] and which reads thus: "I have been in-"formed by a contemporary, who was well acquainted with him, that Ibn

" Sahl died a Moslem." The same author (Ibn Rashíd) quotes the following anecdote, which he says he read in a certain literary work in the West, and which would tend to prove that Ibn Sahl was really a Moslem. Ibn Sahl once received in his house a company of literary men, and, the conversation happening to turn on his religion, one of the party ventured to ask him whether he was really a Moslem in heart, as he professed to be, or only affected it, upon which he is said to have answered—

" For men are the things apparent, for God only what is concealed." [91]

As a further proof of Ibn Sahl's conversion, the following two verses of his are adduced:

" I am content with Moses for the sake of Mohammed; I am now in the
" right path, but had it not been for Allah I should never have been directed.
" What has made me change my mind is this, that I saw the law of Moses
" was wanting in a Mohammed." [92]

However, as we have already stated, there are not wanting authors who assert that Ibn Sahl's conversion was a feigned one, and that he never abandoned the Jewish creed. Ar-rá'ií [93] (may God show him mercy!) says, " I was told by the " Sheikh Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Sama't Al-andalusí,—' there are two things in this " world to which I give no faith,—one is the conversion of Ibn Sahl, the other " Az-zamakhsharí's repentance for having joined the Mo'tazelites.' But," observes Ar-rá'ií, " I have better authority not to coincide in this author's opinions: as to " Ibn Sahl's conversion, because, according to all received opinions on the subject, " I am inclined to believe it was a sincere one; and as to Az-zamakhsharí's repentance " from the heresy of the Mo'tazelites, because I myself saw in the East a legal " document stating that Az-zamakhsharí [94] had abjured the religious errors of that " sect."

Al-'azz,[95] who wrote Ibn Sahl's life, inclines to the contrary opinion, and thinks that there are sufficient proofs to believe he was a Moslem; but God only knows the truth of the case. One thing however is certain, namely, that Ibn Sahl was one of the best poets of his time, as the collection of his poems sufficiently testifies. He lived at Seville, where he was one of the elders of his tribe, and attended the lessons of Abú 'Alí Ash-shalúbín, Ibnu-d-dabbágh,[96] and others. They say that a western Arab, having been once asked the cause why Ibn Sahl could write in so tender a strain, gave the following answer—" Because he unites two humilities, the " humility of the lover and that of the Jew."

According to Abú Hayyán, Ibn Sahl perished in a sea voyage; the vessel in which he was embarked meeting with a tempest he was drowned with all the rest of the crew. This happened in the year six hundred and forty-nine, and Ibn

Sahl was then forty years old or thereabouts. When the event became known in Seville, another Jewish poet is said to have remarked very happily, alluding to Ibn Sahl's drowning, that "the pearl had only returned to its shell."

Ibráhím Ibnu-l-fakhkhár Al-yahúdí is another famous poet. He lived among the Christians, and in the service of Alfonso, king of Toledo, with whom he rose high in favour, so as to be appointed by him his ambassador to the court of a Moslem Sultán in the West. In the opinion of all his contemporaries he was an elegant prose writer, and a very good poet. Ibnu Sa'íd, who mentions him, has handed down to us some of his verses, among which are the following, which he wrote in praise of his master Alfonso (may God annihilate him!)—

"The court of Alfonso has always the appearance of a house prepared for "nuptials.

"And the leaving of sandals at the door would persuade thee that thou "wast in Jerusalem."[97]

The following anecdote is told of this Jew, who related it to the author from whose writings we now borrow it. "I once went on a message from my master "to the Khalif Al-mustanser,[98] and when I went to present my credentials to the "Wizír I found him sitting in one of the gardens of the palace, a charming spot, "of the greatest beauty and luxuriance, resembling in every respect a paradise, "only that the gate-keeper was the ugliest and most disgusting creature I had ever "seen in my life. When the Wizír asked me afterwards what I thought of the "garden, I said to him, 'I would undoubtedly compare it to paradise, were it not "for one circumstance, which is that its gate, I am told, is guarded by Redwán, "and here I see Málik.' The Wizír laughed heartily, and proceeded to acquaint the "Khalif with my answer. He then brought me the following reply,—'Tell the "Jew that such was my intention in choosing my gate-keeper; for had he been "Redwán, he would undoubtedly have sent him back, saying—Go away, this is "not a place for those of thy religion to enter;—while Málik, not knowing what is "behind him, and thinking he keeps the gate of hell, allowed him to pass without "resistance.' When the Wizír communicated to me the Sultán's answer," continues the Jew, "I could not refrain from saying, 'Well, God only knows who "those are who will enter paradise.'"

Another famous Jew, whose name was Elias Ibn Al-mudawwar, a native of Ronda, is mentioned by various historians; he was an eminent physician, and a good poet. The following two verses, which he addressed to another Jew, are much commended. The occasion of his writing them was as follows. There was in the same city of Ronda where Elias practised medicine another eminent Jewish physician, and, as is often the case among people of the same profession, they were jealous of each

other, and were continually disputing and quarrelling. Their common friends often interposed, and, by becoming the mediators in their quarrels, succeeded in making them friends; but at the first opportunity they broke out again, and the whole city of Ronda was made the scene of their squabbles. At last, Elias having become, by some means or other, the master of a certain secret concerning his antagonist, which might, if made public, seriously affect his reputation as a physician, and prevent the people from employing him, he wrote to his rival the following distich:

" Do not blame me (if I accuse thee), and let my excuse be the rivalry
" which ought to exist between people of the same profession.
" Look at the sun and moon when they illumine our globe; from their
" constant labours and rival courses light is produced:"[99]

meaning, as they were both labouring to diffuse the rays of science, it was necessary that there should exist between them mutual jealousy and division, in order that through their mutual efforts to surpass one another, and by their pursuing different courses, the cause of science might be benefited;—in the same manner as the sun and moon, by following opposite roads, illumine the world: the moon shining at night, and the sun by day-time; but the eclipse being produced the moment they tried to approach each other.

A Jewish poetess, named Kasmúnah, daughter of Isma'íl the Jew, is also counted among the bright geniuses of that nation. Her father, who was himself a man of considerable learning and a good poet, had bestowed the greatest care on her education, and imparted to her all the science which he himself possessed. He used to compose part of an ode and then give it to her to finish. He once said to her,—" Tell me who is

" The master of beauty, who fights and vanquishes those who oppose him,
" and yet whose trespasses are excused?"

And she replied, almost immediately,

" The sun, which imparts its light to the minor constellations, and whose
" face after this appears quite dark."[100]

But having proceeded so far in our endeavours to prove the aptitude and talents of the Andalusians for poetry, we should be guilty of negligence if, before terminating this chapter, we did not say a few words about the wives and daughters of the Moslems who made themselves conspicuous by their talents, and who showed their wit and eloquence in elaborate and ingenious poems.

Arab women excelling in poetry.

Ummu-l-sa'd, daughter of 'A'ssem Al-himyarí, a native of Cordova, was learned in sacred traditions, which she held from her father, her grandfather, and others. According to Ibnu-l-abbár, who has devoted an article to her in his biographical dictionary entitled *At-tekmilah*[101] (supplement), she was better known by the sur-

name of As-sa'dúnah. Among the numerous poetical compositions which we find ascribed to her the following distich deserves particular mention :

"Men generally court the friendship of strangers, and avoid any intercourse "with their own relations ;
"For relatives are like scorpions, or worse than they."[102]

The Khattíb Ibn Marzúk, by whom this distich has been preserved, attributes it to the above-mentioned poetess ; we have seen it quoted elsewhere as the composition of Ibn 'Omayd. But God only is all-knowing.

Hasanah Al-yatímah, daughter of Abú-l-hoseyn the poet, and Ummu-l-'olá, daughter of Yúsuf, were also two famous poetesses. The latter is mentioned by the author of the *Al-mugh'rab*, who speaks of her as a native of Guadalaxara, and as having flourished in the sixth century of the Hijra. Some of her verses may be seen in the said work.

Ummatu-l-'azíz Ash-sherífiyyah was, as her name sufficiently indicates, of the posterity of Hasan, son of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib. The Háfedh Abú-l-khattáb Ibn Dih'yah, who was a descendant of hers, has preserved to us in his *Kitábu-l-muttreb min ash'ári-l-maghreb*[103] (the book exhibiting songs extracted from the works of western poets), some of her verses, which are sufficient to rank her among the eminent poets of her time.

Al-ghosániyyah,[104] a native of Bejénah, a considerable and famous district in the province of Almeria, is likewise counted among the poets who flourished in the fifth century of the Hijra.

Al-'arúdhiyyah,[105] a freed slave-girl belonging to Abú-l-mutref 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Ghalbún the Kátib, was another distinguished female. She lived at Valencia, where she was taught by her master grammar and rhetoric, in both which branches of knowledge she soon made such progress as to surpass her teacher. She also shone in prosody, and learnt by heart and wrote commentaries on the *Al-kámil* of Al-mubarrad, and on the *An-nawádir* of Al-kálí. Abú Dáúd Suleymán Ibn Naját says, "I read under her direction the two above-mentioned commentaries, "and learnt from her the science of prosody. She died at Denia, some time after "her master's death, in the year four hundred and fifty of the Hijra, or there-"abouts." (May God show her mercy !)

Hafsah 'Ar-rakúniyyah, daughter of Al-hájí Ar-rakúní, was equally renowned for her beauty, her talents, her nobility, and her wealth. A notice of this famous poetess, as well as a selection from her verses, occurs in the work of Al-maláhí. The following, which she is said to have uttered extempore in the presence of the Prince of the believers 'Abdu-l-múmen Ibn 'Alí when about asking him for a favour, are justly commended :

" O master of men! O thou whose gracious favours the people anxiously
" and confidently expect!

" Grant me a diploma, which may be a promise to thy subjects;

" One upon which thy right hand has traced—'Praise be to God, the only
" one.'"[106]

The poetess here alludes to certain signs of royalty introduced by the Sultáns of the dynasty called Al-muwáhedún (Almohades), and which consisted in writing at the top of their dispatches, with a thick pen and in very large characters, "Praise "be to God, the only one."

With this Hafsah the Wizír Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd Al-'ansí[107] lived on terms of the greatest friendship and intimacy. They were continually addressing to each other epistles and verses, and their mutual answers can only be compared to the language of doves. We learn from Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Músa Ibn Sa'íd, the author of the *Al-mugh'rab*,—a work to which we own ourselves very much indebted for our information,—and who was the descendant of this Abú Ja'far, that he heard his father say, "I know not among the Bení "Sa'íd of any poet like him; or rather, I know not among my countrymen of any "who ever surpassed Abú Ja'far in poetical composition." Some account of this noble Wizír, extracted from the work of his descendant Ibnu Sa'íd, will not, we hope, be deemed superfluous.

Abú Ja'far was the son of 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd, Lord of Kal'at-Yahseb, a place not far from Granada, and the scene of the adventure which we have related in a former part of this book as having happened to the famous poet and historian Ibnu-l-híjarí. At the arrival of the Bení 'Abdi-l-múmen in Andalus, 'Abdu-l-málik, who had embraced the opposite party (that of the Almoravides), took an active part in the contest, and managed to maintain himself independent in his little dominions. His son, Abú Ja'far, he appointed to be his Náyib or lieutenant, that he might aid him in the perilous duties of the administration, and in the defence of his state. However, Abú Ja'far, who knew how to handle the pen better than the sword, soon perceived his own inability to meet the exigencies of the charge, and begged his father to exonerate him from it and appoint another in his stead. This request 'Abdu-l-málik refused to grant, but his son, not being able to bear any longer the important duties attached to his situation, deserted him, and left public affairs in order to enter into private life, after having written to his father a beautiful epistle in verse, in which he expatiated at full length upon the comforts and advantages of private life. They say that when 'Abdu-l-málik read his son's epistle, he exclaimed, "Well, I shall not go against his will, for God Almighty "does not permit that men should succeed in things for which they feel no inclina-

"tion." After this he wrote on the back of the letter, "We send thee our "benediction, and grant thee permission and full liberty to occupy thyself in such "pursuits as answer best thy inclination."

'Abdu-l-málik could not long maintain his independence; all the Andalusian chiefs having submitted to the Beni 'Abdi-l-múmen, he was himself constrained to acknowledge them as masters, and tender the oath of allegiance, owing to which he not only retained the government of Kal'at-Yahseb, but rose high in favour with the Sultáns of that dynasty. In the meanwhile Abú Sa'íd Ibn 'Abdi-l-múmen was appointed to be governor of Granada, and being in want of a secretary he began to inquire among the inhabitants for a person fit for the place. He was told that Abú Ja'far was the man most suitable, from his learning, his talents, and ability, to discharge the duties of Kátib; he accordingly sent for him and declared to him his intention to invest him with that charge. Abú Ja'far refused, as he had done on a previous occasion, and begged to be left in private life, but on Abú Sa'íd insisting strongly he was compelled to accept it. However, he did not exercise his functions long. As he was one day entertaining a party of friends at his house, the conversation, amidst wine and mirth, turned upon hunting, a pastime of which Abú Ja'far was passionately fond; a party was accordingly arranged for the next day, and, having provided themselves with all necessaries, Abú Ja'far and his friends started on their expedition. It happened to be a very cold and cloudy day, and, the cold increasing, the hunters thought fit to shelter themselves in the hut of a watchman who was guarding vines.[108] They lighted a good fire, dressed some of their game, and began to eat with good appetite, and drink abundantly after it. Abú Ja'far especially helped himself to so much liquor that he was quite intoxicated, and putting aside all reserve he began to divulge the secrets of his heart, and to describe the pleasures he had enjoyed that day in the following eloquent strain:

"This has been a day spent in pleasure and sport; a day in which the "atmosphere shone brightly, charged with the amber of the clouds;—

"A day which (after contributing to our amusement) left us enough evening "and sufficient wine to induce us to spend it in the midst of revelling and "mirth.

"After riding and sporting all the morning we perceived that the day was "not entirely gone, and yet we were all fatigued and broken down by the "jolting trot of our steeds.

"Our sport too had been abundant, for with grey-coloured hawks we chased "and brought down numerous birds, whose death our pleasures required, "although their throats might lament under the knife.

" So when the last rays of the sun began to spread a deep red tint over the " horizon, and the fight between obscurity and light commenced, victory " hanging for some time uncertain,—when every man and beast belonging to " our party had been assembled,—

" Wishing to give our empty stomachs a share in the spoil, and to begin " afterwards a new chase of mirth and pleasure,—the cold, too, increasing and " becoming more and more piercing,—

" We bent our steps to the hut of a watchman, placed in the centre of a " vineyard and surrounded by its sweetness, and provided with a blazing fire, " which proved our salvation from the rigour of the weather.

" I gave him a gold piece, and told him,—Go to the neighbouring village " and buy us provisions, heed not the price,

" And say to the seller that thou hast seen me tied down in the service of " my master, more cruelly than the bird in the cage of the fowler.

" And yet I only follow my inclination. Do I look like one who is subject " to a Lord? do I look like one who is deprived of liberty?"[109]

There happened to be among the company a man who, although he professed to be Abú Ja'far's friend, was, nevertheless, his secret enemy, and who, learning by heart the last two verses, went the next day to the governor and repeated them to him. Abú Sa'íd immediately removed Abú Ja'far from his place, and conferred it on another learned man. Things, however, did not stop there: Abú Ja'far having once said to Hafsah the poetess, "Do not love that black man, and I engage to buy " thee ten better than he in the black slave-market," meaning the governor, who was of so dark a complexion as almost to resemble a negro, the words were again reported to Abú Sa'íd, who, however much he might have resented the outrage, did not at first give vent to his passion, but concealed it in his heart, waiting for a favourable opportunity. This, however, soon presented itself, for Abú Ja'far's brother, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd, having taken part with the rebels, and quitted Granada in order to join the troops under the command of Ibn Mardanísh, who had been proclaimed in the east of Andalus, Abú Ja'far was arrested by the governor's orders, thrown into a dungeon, and soon afterwards beheaded at Malaga, then the place of his residence. But to return to our account of the Andalusian poetesses.

Another poetess named Hafsah, daughter of Hamdún, and a native of Guadalaxara, is mentioned by Ibnu Sa'íd among his illustrious characters of the fourth century of the Hijra. She is also much praised by Ibnu-l-abbár, who sets her down as a very clever poetess, and by Ibn Faraj, the author of the *Al-haddyik*[110] (orchards), who quotes some of her verses.

Zeynab Al-murabiyyah,[111] and Hamdah, whom others call Hamdúnah, were the daughters of Zeyád, a native of Guadix. They are mentioned by several authors, as Al-maláhí, Abú-l-kásim, Al-barák, and others. Ibnu Sa'íd says that they were born at Granada, but agrees with the former writers in fixing the city of Guadix as their residence. Both were famous for their wit, their literary accomplishments, and their talents for poetry. The former, especially, was deeply versed in various branches of literature; she wrote and copied many works, which, in the opinion of Ibnu Sa'íd, who says he saw some of them, were written in a masterly style. Zeynab died in the year four hundred of the Hijra; she never would consent to be married, although she had numerous proposals. She lived for some time at Cordova, where she used to frequent the house of Al-mudhfer, son of Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, in whose praise she composed several verses.

Mariam,[112] daughter of Abú Ya'kúb Al-ansárí, inhabited Seville, of which place she was a native, although other writers say that the city of Silves was the place of her birth. Ibn Dih'yah, who mentions her in his *Al-muttreb*, says that she was a learned and very accomplished woman, and that she taught rhetoric, poetry, and literature, which, united to her piety, her good morals, her virtues, and amiable disposition, gained her the affection of her sex, and gave her many pupils; she lived to an old age, and died after the year four hundred of the Hijra. Al-homaydí has likewise given an account of this poetess, and quoted some of her verses.

Asmá Al-'ámeriyyah was also a native of Seville, where she resided and made herself conspicuous among the learned by her talents. She addressed to 'Abdu-l-múmen Ibn 'Alí a *risáleh,* in which, after stating minutely her genealogy, and her claims to a descent from Ibn Abí 'A'mir, she proceeded to beg the favour of being exempt from the payment of taxes, and having soldiers quartered upon her. There was at the end of the *risáleh* an ode which began thus:

"O Prince of the believers! O our magnificent Lord! we wish thee "prosperity. May the Almighty give victory to thy arms!

"When we rise to the superior regions of tradition, thy name and thy acts "are the surest path to them."[113]

Ummu-l-hiná, daughter of the Kádí Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-hakk Ibn 'Attiyyah,[114] learnt divinity from her father, and was, besides, an excellent poetess. She lived at Almeria, and wrote several works on the mode of worshipping the Almighty.

Hind, a slave girl of Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Moslemah Ash-shátebí (a native of Xátiva), is said to have excelled in poetry, music, and the lighter branches of literature. It is related of Abú 'A'mir Ibn Yank,[115] that wishing once to hear Hind perform on the lute he addressed her in the following two verses, begging her to come to his house:

" O Hind, dost thou feel any impediment in coming to me? palm wine is
" forbidden, 'tis true, but not the drinking of limpid waters.

" The nightingale, after hearing thy performance, envies thee, and wishes to
" hear again the deep intonations of thy lute." [116]

To which Hind replied, on the back of the letter,

" O my Lord! may the Almighty prosper thee, and increase thy power
" and importance!

" It is my intention to hasten to thy presence, and to be in my own person
" the bearer of my answer." [117]

Ash-shelbiyyah is mentioned by Ibnu-l-abbár, who says, " I do not recollect now " what her name was, Ash-shelbiyyah [118] being only her patronymic. All I know is " that she was a very good poetess, as may be gathered from her writings, and " especially from an epistle in verse which she addressed to the Sultán Ya'kúb " Al-mansúr, complaining of a certain governor and collector of taxes in the city " where she resided."

Nazhún [119] the Granadian is described by Ibnu Sa'íd, who places her among the illustrious characters of the fifth century. She is likewise mentioned by Al-hijárí, who portrays her in his *Al-mas'hab* as a female endowed with great tenderness of soul, and a very mild disposition; extraordinary talents for poetry, and a most wonderful memory. She wrote several poems, and made herself famous by the beauty and happiness of her similes.

Bahjah, a native of Cordova, and a friend of the famous Waládah, was equally renowned for her beauty and for her verses. She lived in great intimacy with Waládah,[120] the daughter of Al-mustakfi, King of Cordova, and profited by her lessons. But of this Waládah, who was herself the most eminent poetess of her time, as well as of Ramíkiyyah, 'Imád, Al-'abbádiyyah, and Buthínah, the three former wives, and the latter a daughter, of Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville, more will be said in the course of our narrative.

Having clearly shown the aptitude and talents of the inhabitants of Andalus, we shall now proceed in the next chapter to give, in the words of the historian Ibnu Sa'íd, as faithful a sketch as we can of the productions of Andalusian genius in every department of science.

CHAPTER IV.

State of literature in Andalus—Epistle on the subject from Ibnu-r-rabíb At-temímí to Abú-l-mugheyrah Ibn Hazm—Answer of Abú Mohammed Ibn Hazm—Traditions respecting Andalus—Review of the Andalusian literature—Theology and jurisprudence—Works on the sect of Málik—Commentaries on the Korán—Legal decisions founded on the Korán—Biography of the companions of the Prophet—Grammar and lexicography—Medicine—Philosophy—Poetry—History—Metaphysics.

WHAT follows is transcribed word for word from Ibnu Sa'íd. " I deem it opportune," says that accurate historian, " to give here an epistle written by Abú " Mohammed Ibn Hazm the Háfedh, in which he records some of the excellences " of the learned of Andalus. The occasion of his writing the said epistle was as " follows. Abú 'Alí Al-hasan Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Ar-rabíb At-temímí " Al-cairwání once wrote to Abú-l-mugheyrah 'Abdu-l-wahháb Ibn Ahmed Ibn " 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Hazm an epistle in which he stated that the Andalusians " were negligent in perpetuating the history of their country, the memory of their " doctors, the virtues of their theologians, and the praiseworthy actions of their " kings. The epistle ran thus :

Ibnu-r-rabíb's epistle.

" 'O our Lord ! O thou most beloved among our intimate friends ! may the " Almighty God write down for thee prosperity and happiness ! may He continue " thee in power and command ! may He help and assist thee, put thee in the right " path whenever thou askest for direction, and enlighten thee whenever thou wishest " to be instructed !

" 'The object of this our letter is that we some time ago began to think about " thy country, and to consider how it was the abode of every excellence, the store " of every good thing, the resort of every novelty, and the meeting-place of every " advantage; the end of the hopes of the desirous, and the scope of the wishes of " the inquiring; the great emporium of trade, where every merchandize found a " purchaser, and every buyer the object of his wishes. All this we knew to be the " case with thy country; we knew also that the above-mentioned were not the

"only advantages which thy native land could boast of, for it possessed many others, "such as the vast number of its learned men, the multitude of its authors, the shining "virtues of its Kings, and their laudable practices in the encouragement of science; "their esteem for those who cultivated it, their honouring those whom science "honoured, and their extolling those whom learning extolled: nor was this confined "only to science, for the same conduct was observed by them towards military "men, distinguishing and raising in command those whom their valour and military "knowledge placed above others, and honouring those whom their intrepidity in "battle made honourable. By these means the coward became brave, the timid was "made bold,—the obscure, conspicuous,—the ignorant, learned,—the stammerer, "eloquent,—the inarticulate crier, a poet. The *Bogáth*[1] strove to imitate the eagle "in his flight, bats were enabled to see[2] by daylight, men gave their entire attention "to the cultivation of science, and the arts flourished through the general efforts "employed in them. All this we know to be true, but at the same time it must be "owned that your literary men are guilty of unpardonable negligence, and unaccountable indolence, in perpetuating the records of their country; since, instead of "collecting the excellences and advantages of their respective towns,—instead of "perpetuating in their books the memory of their cities, and transmitting to posterity "the actions of their Kings and Princes, Kátibs and Wizírs, Kádís and Ulemas,—"instead of leaving behind them accounts which might preserve for ever afterwards "the fame of their deeds, and eternize and renew their names through the lapse of "ages, and the course of nights and days,—instead of composing books which, like "the tongue of truth, might herald their virtues to future generations through the "succession of time,—they leave every merit and virtue in the most complete state "of oblivion. Yes, truth must be told; although we admit that your learned men "shine like so many bright stars in the sciences, thou must own that every thing "belonging to them remains in the shade, does not come before the public, stands "firm on its pivot, and never goes astray. If they write a book, they are afraid of "being criticised or impugned; and if they compile a work, they dare not show it, "lest people should be of a contrary opinion to their own; so that they never do "write, or, if they do, it is as if they were carried off by the birds, or blown away "by the winds to an enormous distance.[3] Not one among them pays the least "attention, or employs himself for one moment, in collecting the merits of his countrymen, or suffers his attention to rest on the brilliant qualities of former Sultáns. "None will dip his pen to commemorate the actions of their Kátibs and Wizírs, or "blot a sheet of paper with the virtuous deeds of their Kádís and Ulemas; and yet, "were they to let loose the padlocks of their mouths, and untie the bonds that

"restrain their eloquence, we have no doubt but that they would find an open space "for their speech, and that the roads of literature would be thrown free for their "passage, although their performances might not be equally approved of by every "school, and their opinions not followed by every lover of literature. One of them, "for instance, will think of devoting himself to a given department of science, and "of studying the works of the masters who preceded him in it; but it is vain for him "to collect all the spears of preferment, and to excel in his profession,—he may "carry away the vase of Ibn Mokbil,[4] or take possession of the pen of Ibn "Moklah,[5] or of the feather-notch of the arrow of Dagfal,[6] or become a quinsy in "the throat of Abú-l-'ameythal,[7]—the very moment he reaches the end of his existence, the moment fate cuts the thread of his life, all memory of his actions and "writings ceases, and his learning and science are buried along with him. Such is "not the case with learned people of other countries, for by perpetuating their records "they give to each author that share of celebrity to which he is justly entitled, and "they write books by which they raise everlasting monuments to their fame. And "if thou pretend to say that the same negligence of which we accuse the authors of "thy country is to be found among those of ours, and that they also produce works "which never reach the notice of the public, we will answer thee that the assertion "is not a true one; for this country being only separated from thine by an evening's "sail, or as it were by a short march, if the wind were to blow to our shores the "fame of your authors, or to carry hither the name of their writings, there is no "doubt but that the voice would be listened to by the dead in their tombs, not to "speak of those who are living in houses and palaces; and they would graciously "admit their performance, in the same manner as they received the collection of "poems by Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi which he entitled *Al-'ikd*, although, if truth "be told, he is somewhat to be blamed for not having made the excellences of his "country the chief topic of his book, and the noble actions of Kings the principal "jewel in his necklace,[8] for not having redoubled his efforts, and given all his "diligence to the inquiry, but having, on the contrary, strained every nerve, and "put in motion every joint, to produce—what?—a sword without edge; and to do "—what?—what his friends and companions had done before him: that is, to pass "over in silence that which might concern them, and neglect to mention that which "was most important, and might make them appear greater in the eyes of the world. "This is all we have to say; now, if thou shouldst have any thing to reply, if thou "shouldst have any good reasons to state in return, or have in thy hands the means "of solving this difficulty, pray acquaint us with it. Guide thy brother, and may "God guide thee! Direct thy brother, and may God direct thee! We salute thee, "—may the Almighty's mercy and benediction be with thee!'

" When the Wizír Abú Mohammed 'Alí Ibn Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Hazm[9] read " this letter, he wrote the following answer:

Ibn Hazm's reply.

" 'Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures, and his blessings be upon his " servant and messenger Mohammed, as well as upon his companions, the honour- " able, upon his wives, the mothers of the Moslems, and upon all his illustrious " progeny, those of the good deeds! O my brother! O Abú Bekr! Accept my " salutation and greeting, as the salutation of a beloved brother who has been sepa- " rated from thee during many long days and nights, and by thousands of miles and " farsangs, and who, on reaching thy dwelling, should find thee preparing for " migration and departure, and ready to grasp the staff of peregrination and travel.

" 'When I stayed to consider thy words, when my hands had been stretched over " the contents of thy letter, and my eyes had twice rambled over its details, I dis- " covered, after some attentive consideration, that its substance was addressed by a " certain writer among our African neighbours, and living in the city of Cairwán, to " an Andalusian whose name and genealogy are nowhere mentioned.[10]

" 'It is said in the letter that learned men born in this country, although they " may have reached the highest summit of elevation in the various departments of " science, and attained the most remote extremity in the different branches of " learning, are nevertheless unprovided with sufficient talents and imagination to " perpetuate the traditions of their country, the virtues and commendable actions of " their Kings, the meritorious deeds of their Faquihs, the inflexible justice of their " Kádís, the eloquent productions of their writers, and the profound learning of " their doctors and theologians. The letter even goes so far as to describe us as " not having among us authors in the different sciences whose writings exist, and " whose fame is transmitted to posterity; for we are told that the moment these " authors die their writings are forgotten, and their learning buried along with " them; and certainly, if what the writer of the letter tells us himself be true, it " cannot be otherwise, for he informs us that the very moment any work of merit " appears among us it is taken to Africa, and we become the object of continual " visitation, and the aim of the repeated attacks of the learned on the opposite shore.

" 'However, it was at a meeting crowded with all sorts of polite learning, and " a sitting abounding in all kinds of science, at a palace inhabited by every ex- " cellence, and a dwelling full of every description of elegance,—overflowing " with the subtilties of thought and the brilliant bursts of the imagination;—a " house which is the abode of honour and glory, the repository of dignity and " command, the halting-place and refuge of travellers struck with fear, and the " meeting-place of the staffs of peregrination; the habitation, in fine, of the illus- " trious, honourable, and highly respected Káid, Abú 'Abdillah Kásim, Lord

"of Al-bónt,[11] that I first became acquainted with the tenour and contents of thy "epistle. It was in the presence of that most worthy individual, the offspring "of illustrious ancestors, who is esteemed in proportion to the high sources "from which he holds his traditions, and the immensity of his learning, acquired in "all departments of science; it was at his house, frequented by all those whose "families do not sit opposite to them in their sleep, and whom their neighbours do "not leave in peace;[12] it was in that school of every knowledge, presided over by "him whose virtues cannot well be called by their names, whose meritorious deeds "will never be extolled to the height they deserve, and whose praiseworthy "character and inclinations will never be eulogized in words sufficiently strong to "convey an idea of them, but whose name alone is a praise and a recommendation, "and whose simple mention is more than enough to accomplish what would require "long commentaries with another,—it was there, I repeat, that I first fixed my "consideration on the contents of thy letter. Then that noble Lord, (may God "defer the end of his life, and continue him in his elevated position, in order that "the poets who sing his praise may not be destitute of their best ornaments, nor "the age be deprived of its principal jewel!) appeared desirous of writing a reply to "thy letter, and expressed a wish of putting in evidence whatever valuable in- "formation he possessed on the subject; but, unluckily, he either forgot it entirely "in the midst of his important occupations, or put off its execution to an indefinite "period; so that when I became certain that the person to whom thy letter is "addressed was among the dead, and therefore that all reply on his part was "impossible, *since the dead among us are not like those of thy country; they can "neither hear nor answer;* when I heard that the tomb had become his habitation, "(may God forgive him as well as me!) I undertook to write the present epistle in "answer to thine, since a letter was put into my hands written by thee, and asking "for an answer, and I had before my eyes an accusation which called for a defence. "I have a last warning to give thee before I begin; on the arrival of my letter "arrayed in the present form, bear in mind that my object was no other but that "of conveying information on the bibliography of this country to all those who "might need it, and to instruct those who might, like thee, be far from the sources "of inquiry. To God the power in the times past, and in the times to come! so "if thou art in the least instructed and enlightened by what I am going to state, I "shall consider myself happy were I to have no other recompense but the fire of "Hobahib.[13]

Traditions respecting Andalus.

"'If traditions respecting this country are wanted, we have Ahmed Ibn "Mohammed Ar-rází At-táríkhí' (the historian), who wrote several works on the "subject; and among others a very voluminous one wherein he described the

" routes, ports, and principal cities of Andalus, the six armies or bodies of Arabs who " settled in it,[14] the number of its provinces, the remarkable points of each of them, " the productions of the soil, and every thing else peculiar to this country and not " to be found in others; a very fine and most valuable work indeed. But were " there no other thing in favour of this country than the prophecy uttered by the " messenger of God when he announced that it would be subdued by his people, " and described the first conquerors, from whom we descend, as 'angels in armour,' " —as appears in the sacred tradition that we hold from Taríf Abú Hamzah Ans Ibn " Málik,[15] who had it from his great aunt Ummu-l-harám,[16] daughter of Malhán, " and wife of Abú-l-walíd 'Obádah Ibnu-s-sámah, (may God pour his favours upon " them all!) which great aunt received it herself from the mouth of the Prophet,— " that alone would be sufficient to honour and distinguish this our country, and " make it superior to any other. For although I am aware that many doctors " have disputed the interpretation given to the said prophecy, and will continue to " do so, and are of opinion that the Prophet meant perhaps by it either the island " of Sicily or that of Akritis (Crete), although I know the objection will be raised " that there is no sufficient proof of what I advance, namely, that the Prophet " meant by his words Andalus and no other country, and that early traditions like " this ought not to be admitted and adopted by prudent people unless they be " accompanied by manifest and convincing evidence, quite disengaged from the " ambiguities of language, and resting upon the testimony of good and honourable " witnesses; I, nevertheless, persist in giving to the prophecy the aforesaid in- " terpretation, as the proofs, in my opinion, are conclusive. I state them, trusting " in God, whose help and assistance I implore.

" 'It is well known to every Moslem how our Lord Mohammed was endowed with " the comprehensiveness of speech and the cream of delivery, and how God " Almighty permitted that whatever was revealed to him should be communicated " with the tongue of eloquence. It is likewise a matter of fact that a tradition " authenticated and handed down from witness to witness is in existence, purporting " that the Prophet said once, 'that two bands from among his people would furrow " the spray of the seas, and make conquest after conquest,' and that Ummu-l-harám " having asked him to beseech his Lord, the Almighty God, to make her one of " the number, he then announced to her that she would be one of the *first con-* " *querors;* and so she was, for she joined the naval expedition against Cyprus, " landed, fought on her mule, and died some time afterwards in the island, (may " God forgive her!) And certainly no other proof can be required of our Lord " Mohammed's prophetic mission than this acquaintance with and prediction of " events before they happened. Now this conquest of Cyprus being the first naval

" expedition in which the Moslems were engaged, it becomes evident that the " warriors who subdued that island, and planted in it the banners of Islám, were " the same whom the Lord's messenger designated in his prophecy by that word " *al-awalún* (the first conquerors), and that Ummu-l-harám being in their number, " as the Prophet had predicted, she was entitled to be counted among the *first con-* " *querors.* From the above-mentioned fact I draw an inference which admits of no " contradiction; for, owing to the eloquence and perspicuity of speech with which the " Prophet was gifted by the Almighty, it must be concluded that when he men- " tioned two different bands of his people, one of which he specified by calling it " *the first*, there must necessarily follow another called *the second.* This is, indeed, " a question which appertains to the rules of grammar, the construction of nouns, " with their relatives, and the syntax of numbers, for it is an imperious rule of " logic that a second should follow the first; since the first is not the first but with " relation to a second, nor the second such but with relation to a first, although the " third need not be mentioned unless it be particularly required by the second. So " when our Prophet (the Lord's benediction and salutation be upon him!) an- " nounced two bands of his people, and foretold two naval expeditions, one of " which was called by him *al-awalún* (that of the first conquerors), that word " must necessarily indicate the existence of another band called *akharún* (the " others), and who with relation to the first would have been the second. And " these are the people whom the Prophet announced would be the best of men, " after the men of his own age, and the first of mankind in virtue and excellence, " as well as in upholding the tenets of the religion revealed by him who is, and " will for ever be, the best of men.

" 'This point once established, I may easily prove that the conquerors of Andalus " were mentioned in the prophecy, since this country was the next which the " Moslems attacked by sea, the naval expedition directed against Constantinople, " and which was commanded by Hobeyrah Al-fazárí, not having taken place until " the reign of Suleymán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek.[17]

" 'As to the island of Sicily, it was not conquered until the year 212 of the Hijra " (A.D. 827-8), in the first days of the reign of the Bení Aghlab, the expedition " sailing from Africa at the command of Asad Ibnu-l-forát Al-kádí, the friend[18] of " Abú Yúsuf, who lived and died in the island.

" 'Crete was never subdued by the Moslems until the year 203 of the Hijra " (A.D. 818-9), when Abú Hafs 'Omar Ibn Sho'ayb, better known by the surname " of Ibnu-l-ghalíth, a native of Betróh (Petroche), in the district of Fahsu-l-bolútt, " near Cordova, attacked and conquered it at the head of an army of Cordovans, " whom the Sultán Al-hakem had, after a rebellion, fought in several battles, and

" ultimately expelled from his capital.[19] The throne of the island remained for " many years in the hands of the posterity of Ibnu-l-ghalíth, until, under the reign " of the last prince of his dynasty, named 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibnu Sho'ayb, it was " attacked and reduced by Romanus,[20] son of Constantine, emperor of the Greeks, " in the year 350 of the Hijra (A.D. 961-2).

" 'In what respects the division of climates, Cordova, the place of my birth and " the scene of my youth, is placed in the same climate with the city of *Sarra men* " *rai*;[21] we are therefore endowed with intelligence and acuteness of mind, which fall " to the lot of the inhabitants of the fifth climate; and although the planets come " to us only at their setting, after their rising in other countries, a circumstance " which, in the opinion of those who are versed in the science of the influence of " the stars over the human body, is rather a proof against the intellectual faculties " of the inhabitants, yet this country has produced men who have left in the " sciences as brilliant traces as those of most other countries. On the other hand, " the elevation of one of her planets ninety degrees is a proof of the aptitude of her " inhabitants for the sciences, and their high qualifications for them. This is " indeed become manifest, and may be proved by several instances, for the Anda- " lusians have always shown the greatest aptitude for the theological sciences, such " as the reading and expounding of the Korán, tradition and canonical juris- " prudence; they have exhibited the greatest subtilty and talent in grammar, " poetry, rhetoric, philology, history, medicine, arithmetic, astrology,—leaving in " every one of the said branches important works.

" 'As to the imputation which the writer of the letter casts upon the learned of " this country, namely, that they are guilty of neglecting to preserve the names, " birth-places, and genealogies, of the individuals who have distinguished themselves " by their acquirements in certain branches of learning, my answer is, that if the " charge preferred against us be as stated, then the same reproach is to be addressed " to most countries, and to most principal cities and large provinces. So, for " instance, to begin with Cairwán, the birth-place of the writer who accuses us, " I do not recollect having read any history of that city, save the account contained " in the book entitled *Kitabu-l-mu'arrab fí akhbári-l-maghrebi*[22] (the book of the " speaker according to the rules of Arabic grammar on the history of the West), " and with the exception of what may be found in the works of Mohammed Ibn " Yúsuf Al-warrák,[23] who, as is well known, wrote for Al-mustanser-billah (whom " may God forgive!) several books on the routes and kingdoms of Africa, on the " history of its Kings, and their wars with those who rose against them. The same " author wrote also the history of several African cities, as Tahart,[24] Wahrán " (Oran), Túnis, Sigilmásah,[25] Nakúr,[26] Basrah,[27] describing the manners and

"customs of their inhabitants; all works of the greatest learning and merit. It "must be stated that this Mohammed was an Andalusian by origin and by birth; "his parents were born at Guadalaxara, and he came to settle in Cordova, where "he lived and died, and is buried. Had he been born in Cairwán no doubt he "would have been adduced as a testimony against what I am endeavouring to "prove, but, I repeat, he was a native of Guadalaxara, and domiciliated in Cordova. "But it being my intention to enter at full length into the subject, and to investi-"gate thoroughly the question raised by thee, I shall, with God's favour, proceed "to state my arguments.

"'It is well known that our most illustrious historians among our ancestors, as "well as among our contemporaries, without one single exception, all, on the "contrary, agreeing with me on the subject, have constantly designated authors "and other learned men by the patronymic of the country of their residence, "provided they did not quit it to travel to other lands, but settled and lived in it "until the time of their death; so, for instance, when our historians or traditionists "mention those among the companions of the Prophet who are distinguished by "the patronymic surname of *Kúfiyyún*, they will put at the head 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib, "Ibn Mas'úd,[28] and Khodheyfah.[29] 'Alí only lived at Kúfah for five years and "some months, and although he had passed fifty-eight years and months of his "life both at Mekka and at Medína, (may God preserve them both!) and had "distinguished himself in both those cities, he is placed among the people of "Kúfah. The same might be said of the two other less illustrious companions "above mentioned. When they mention the people of Basrah they will begin with "'Ammar Ibn Hassín,[30] and Ans Ibn Málik; Hishám Ibn 'A'mír,[31] and Abú "Bekrah;[32] although every one of these distinguished individuals was born, had "resided, and spent most of his life in the Hejjáz, or in Tehámeh, or in the Táyef,[33] "his residence in the city whence his name is derived having been but insignificant "compared with the time he had spent in other countries. The same might be said "of the *Shamiyyún* (natives of Damascus); they will put the first in the list 'Ibádah "Ibnu-s-sámah,[34] Abú-l-dirhá,[35] Abú 'Obeydah Ibnu-l-jarrah,[36] Mo'adh,[37] Mu'a-"wiyah,[38] and others, who are in the same circumstances as the above-mentioned, "not having been born nor having resided any length of time in the city of Damascus, "whence their patronymics are derived. They will count among the *Misriyyún* "(natives of Cairo) 'Amru Ibnu-l-'áss, and Kharíjah Ibn Khodáfah[39] Al-'abduwí, "and among the *Mekiyyún* (natives of Mekka) 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbás,[40] and 'Ab-"dullah Ibn Zobeyr,[41] who are precisely in the same case as the above-described. "Now those among the learned who at different times have come to settle among "us we have always treated with justice, since they are held by us in the estimation

" which their merits deserve, and named after the countries where they were born. " They have, it is true, against them all those who do not approve of their doctrines, " but at the same time they have in their favour all their disciples, who take care to " preserve and hand down to posterity every particular respecting their ancestors, " birth-places, number of works they wrote, and so forth. But does the same thing " happen with such among our countrymen as happen to quit this land and settle " in foreign countries? No,—on the contrary, whenever any of our learned " leave this their native country to settle in distant lands, no trace whatever is " left of them, (may they be happy in the places of their residence!) I shall not, " therefore, lay claim to Isma'íl Ibnu-l-kásim,[42] neither shall we dispute about " Mohammed Ibn Háni,[43] unless we put justice above all things, for justice is the " thing I mostly aim at and desire; and my judgments,—independent of the " respective merits of each author (which are not for the present moment),—shall " be delivered with the greatest impartiality.

" 'But to return to my arguments in favour of my proposition, namely, that the " learned of other great cities have not been so anxious as they are described in " collecting and preserving the traditions of their native countries. Baghdád is " certainly the capital of the world, and the mine of every excellence; it is the city " whose inhabitants have always been the first to unfurl the banners of knowledge, " and to raise the standard of science; indeed their subtilty in all branches of " learning, their gentle manners and amiable disposition, noble bearing, acuteness, " wit, penetration, and talent, are deservedly praised. Basrah is the spring whence " all the qualities above mentioned flow to the rest of the world, and yet I know of " no other work on the history of this former city than that of Ahmed Ibn Abí " Táhir;[44] for although there are other works written by literary men born in that " city, none that I know has made the history of Baghdád the chief topic of his " book. Neither do I know of any works descriptive of Basrah than that of 'Omar " Ibn Shabah, and that of a man of the tribe of Ar-rabi', son of Zeyád,[45] and " dedicated to Abú Sufián, which treats upon the topography and divisions of " that city, and two more works by two of its inhabitants,—one of whom was " named 'Abdu-l-káhir, and bore the patronymic surname of Al-kúzí,—giving a " description of the markets, streets, inns, and so forth, of Basrah. On the history " of Kúfah I know of no other work than that of 'Omar Ibn Abí Sheybah;[46] and as " to the countries of Al-jebál, Khorassán, Tabaristán, Jorján, Karmán, Sejestán, " and Sind, Rey, Armenia, Adhrabíján, and many other populous and extensive " provinces, I must own that I never saw, in the whole course of my life, one " single work in which the history of those countries, the good actions of their " kings, and the talents of their ulemas, poets, and physicians, were satisfactorily

"treated of. In the mean-while, the people of this country were wishing most "vehemently for a work that should contain a biographical account of the theo-"logians of Baghdád, for all we know about them is that they were eminent for "their learning, highly praised for their virtues, and much honoured and respected "for their works: had a work on the subject been published, certainly it would "have reached us, as that of Hamzah Ibnu-l-hasan Al-isfahání [47] on the history "of Isfahán, and that of Al-maussilí [48] on the history of Maussil (Mosul), and "many others on the history of Cairo that have been received and read in this "country; in the same manner as we have become acquainted with various works "written by foreign literati on the different departments of science,—such as the "book of Abú-l-'abbás Mohammed Ibn 'Abdún Al-cairwání,[49] being a commentary "on civil law, and an exposition of the doctrines of the Imám Sháfa'í,—such as the "critique which the Kádí Ahmed Ibn Tálib At-temímí [50] wrote against Abú "Hanífeh, and those who followed his sect,—such as the works of Ibn 'Abdús,[51] "and Mohammed Ibn Sahnún,[52] and other useful books, which, nevertheless, have "not acquired great celebrity for their authors.

"'In what respects this country I must own that nowhere is that universal "proverb, 'Man always shuns the knowledge of his own people,' [53] so applicable "as it is among us; and, as I recollect having read in the book of the gospels, "Jesus (on whom be peace!) said, 'the Prophet shall not be destitute of honour, "or protection, but in his own country:' [54] nothing is more true, and the saying "can be tested by what happened to our own glorious Prophet with the Koray-"shites, who, notwithstanding their mild disposition and gentle manners, their "extreme forbearance, their quick intelligence, their veracity and honour, and "many other qualities in which they surpassed every other people on earth,— "notwithstanding they had received from the Almighty the most fertile valleys, "and the best-watered meadows for their habitation,—notwithstanding God had "distinguished Aus and Al-khazraj [55] by gifts which made them the most eminent "of mankind,—treated the Prophet as is well known. God, indeed, gives to each "race of men and to every country as he pleases; and it has fallen to the lot of "the inhabitants of this country to be the most envious of men towards people "who show learning, or who exhibit talents, or gain fame in any art or profession "whatever. So, for instance, the Andalusians will always depreciate the works "brought before them, they will find fault with the best passages, while they will "praise and extol those that abound with errors, or are written in a mean and "defective style; their envy and ill-will towards the author will last as long as he "lives, and be double of what it is in other countries: if an author acquire fame "by his writings, they will say that he is a literary thief, a plagiarist, a man who

" attributes to himself the writings of another, or who pretends to what he has no " right to; if the author only reach mediocrity, they will say that his writings are " devoid of sense, his plan bad, his narrative cold and ill-arranged, his style mean " and defective; if the author, on the contrary, show by his writings that he will " collect in time the spears of preference, they will say, with an air of patronage,— " When was that? Where did he learn? Whose lessons did he receive? Is he " an orphan?—If fate then allow him to enter one of the two ordinary paths of " literature, namely, the most frequented and open, or the solitary and deserted, " if he follow the former they will praise him and extol him above his equals, but " if he happen to take the latter, to leave the trodden paths and to introduce the " least innovation, then begins the fray against the poor author;[56] he becomes a " mark for the sayings of envious people, and an object for the attacks of the " designing, a stumbling-block for those who are inclined to satire, a prey to the " slanderers, and an obstacle in the way of those who wish to travel towards him. " He will at times be attacked for words which he never uttered, or assailed for " sentences which he never wrote; he will be arraigned for opinions which he never " entertained,[57] and charged with things he never dreamt of. The animosity " against him will increase if he happen to be forward in the line he pursues, or if " he is not sufficiently regarded by his sovereign, or placed in such a position near " the Sultán as may ensure him from the attacks of his opponents, and the shafts " of his envious adversaries; for if he venture upon composing a book he will be " defamed, opposed, and bitterly criticised; whatever errors he may have committed " will be magnified and exaggerated, his good points will be passed over in silence, his " merits will be concealed as with a veil, while he will be continually twitted with " such things as escaped him, or what he did without proper care and attention: " the consequence of all this being that the poor author is worried to death, that " his talents and imagination are sadly impaired by it, that his spirits are broken " down, and his ardour damped. And do not imagine that I am overcharging the " picture, for what I have just related is the true sketch of what is passing every " day among us; and whoever undertakes to write a poem, or to compose a *risáleh*, " is sure to fall into the circumventing nets that I have just described to thee, " and to be entangled in their inextricable knots,—nets which will be escaped by him " only who has sense enough to foresee the danger, or sufficient courage to face it, " or who makes himself superior to what may be said or thought of him. This is " the way in which works of the greatest merit have been produced among us, " and in such numbers that the readers will think they exceed those of any other " country. I proceed to mention a few.

" 'In this branch we possess many first-rate works, such as the *Kitábu-l-hedáyeh*[58] Theology and jurisprudence.

"(the book of direction), written by 'Isa Ibn Dínár, which is composed of four "parts, the whole collected according to the opinions of Málik and Ibn Kásim.[59]

"'Another is the *Kitábu-s-salát*[60] (the book of prayer); the *Kitábu-l-buyu'i* (the "book of buying and selling); the *Kitábu-l-jidár fí-l-ak'dhiyá* (the book of "foundations of the law); and the *Kitábu-n-nakáhi wa-t-taláki* (the book of "matrimony and divorce).

Works on the sect of Málik.

"'As to works on the sect of Málik, they abound among us. I may quote among "others that of the Kádí Málik Ibn 'Alí, who was a noble Arab of the tribe of "Koraysh, of the branch of the Bení Fehr, and who travelled to the East, where he "met with the disciples of Málik, and the disciples of his disciples: his work is an "excellent composition, full of wonderful anecdotes, and abounding with other "useful and instructive matter, such as letters, dates respecting the birth and death "of illustrious men, and so forth. Of the same kind is the work of Abú Is'hák "Ibráhím Ibn Mazín, being a commentary on the *Mowattá* of Málik,[61] and other "works by the same author, in which he not only paid the utmost attention to the "interpretation of all obscure words in the said book, but likewise collected and "put together all the information scattered through it. We have by the same "author a biographical dictionary of all the doctors mentioned in the *Mowattá*, with "an account of the traditional sayings which Málik held from each of them.

Commentaries on the Korán.

"'Commentaries on the Korán are likewise numerous. I shall only mention here "that of Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Baki-bn-Mokhlid,[62] which is written with so much "perfection that I do not hesitate to say that the like of it was never composed in "any of the countries subject to the rule of Islám; and that neither the celebrated "commentary by Ibn Jarír At-tabarí, nor those of other famous writers, can be "compared to it. Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán is likewise the author of a voluminous work "on sacred traditions, made in the form of a dictionary, in the following manner:— "he first of all arranged alphabetically the names of the companions of the Prophet, "(may the Lord's favour be with them!) he then disposed the traditions delivered "by each companion according to the initial letters of the different heads of juris-"prudence and the chapters of judicial decisions, quoting traditions from upwards of "one thousand three hundred authors. As a collection of traditional jurisprudence I "know of no other better than this, nor do I know of any writer who followed this "plan before, or who executed his task in a manner so highly deserving of praise, and "entitled to so much confidence, or who commanded so much attention and respect "by his grave and sound reasoning, by the variety and judicious selection of his tra-"ditional anecdotes, and the purity of the springs at which he drank; for he quotes "from the mouth of upwards of two hundred and eighty-four doctors, among whom "not one-tenth were of an inferior class, while all the rest were men well known for

" their learning and their works. Nor were these the only performances of this " distinguished writer; he composed besides several works on the excellences of the " *as'háb* (companions) and *tábi's* (followers) of the Prophet, and other eminent men not " belonging to either of the above-mentioned classes, which very much increase our " stock of information derived from the work of Abú Bekr Ibn Abí Sheybah, and " that of 'Abdu-r-razzák Ibn Hamám,[63] and that of Sa'íd Ibn Mansúr[64] and " others. The said writer, as well in this as in his other works, displayed the most " profound learning, and an erudition which no author before him ever showed: " the works of this illustrious Imám became the foundations of Islám, and I may " confidently assert that nothing equal to them was ever written. In private life he " was a most excellent and virtuous man; he never would accept any public office, " and was the intimate friend of Ahmed Ibn Hanbal, (may God show him mercy!)

Legal decisions founded on the Korán.

" ' On the legal decisions contained in the Korán we possess the *Ahkámu-l-korán* " (decisions of the Korán), a work by Abú Umeyyah Al-hijárí,[65] who followed the " sect of Sháfa'í, and wrote in a pure and elegant style: that of the Kádí Abú-l-" hakem Mundhir Ibn Sa'íd,[66] who followed the sect of Dáúd,[67] and was one of " his warmest supporters, and wrote a most eloquent and ingenious defence of it. " Both the works of these authors on the legal decisions founded on the Korán are " really invaluable. Besides the above-mentioned, Mundhir composed other works, " as the *Kitábu-l-abánati min hakáyiki osúli-d-diyánati* (the book of demonstration " of the true principles of religious observances).

Science of traditions.

" ' In the department of traditions I can quote the work of Abú Mohammed Kásim " Ibn Asbagh Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Nássíj,[68] as also that of Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik " Ibn Aymen, both of which are compositions of the greatest merit, and contain a " greater number of traditional stories, and wonderful anecdotes, than any other " work which has yet come to my hands. The former of those doctors is likewise " known as the author of several works which are held in great estimation; as " for instance the *Kitáb ahkámi-l-korán* (the book on the decisions of the Korán), " following the chapters and divisions of the book of Isma'íl,[69] and the very sense " of his words; *Kitábu-l-mujtaní*[70] (the book of the gathering), being a work on " the same subject, disposed in the same form as that of Ibnu-l-járúd entitled " *Kitábu-l-muntakí*[71] (the book of selections), to which it is considered far superior, " not only as containing a greater number of well authenticated traditions and " precious allegations, but because it abounds with useful and important learning in " other matters. Another of the same kind is the *Kitáb fí fadháyili Korayshi wa* " *Kanánati* (the book on the excellency of the tribes of Koraysh and Kanánah),[72] " and the *Kitáb fí-n-násikh wa-l-mansúkh* (the book on the copy and the original);[73]

" and the 'book of the wonders of traditions preserved by Málik, and which are not " in his *Mowattá*' (*Kitáb gharáyibi-l-hadíthi Máliki mimmá leysa fí-l-mowattá*).

" 'Another work on the subject is that written under the title of *At-tamhíd* (the " book of levelling) by our excellent friend Abú 'Omar Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr, who " is now living, and still very far from old age, (may God delay the end of his life!) " Such a book as his was never composed in Arabic; the style in which it is written, " and the respectability of the authorities consulted for it, make it highly commend- " able; indeed I cannot imagine how a better one could be written. An epitome of " the aforesaid work (*At-tamhíd*), entitled the 'book of the recollections' (*Kitábu-l-* " *istidhkári*),[74] is also counted among the works written by my friend, as likewise " many others equally valuable, and the like of which never were written. I shall " only mention his 'manual of legal decisions according to the school of Málik and " his disciples' (*Kitábu-l-káfiyu fí-l-fik'hi wa-l-madh'hebi Málik wa as'hábihi*),[75] which " he has divided into fifteen books, and wherein he has introduced every thing that " was necessary and important for a Muftí to know, explaining every circumstance " with the greatest care and attention, thus making it a work that rendered unne- " cessary other great compilations on the subject. He also composed a work on " the biography of the companions of the Prophet, which stands unrivalled by any " preceding author who has treated the subject, notwithstanding that many have " undertaken it.

" 'On the same topic we have a book, also the composition of Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr,[76] " entitled 'sufficient rules on the method of reading the Korán, according to the " schools of Náfi' and Abú 'Amrú, with proofs in favour of each system,' and the " book called 'glory of the assemblies and delight of the assembled on the charming " verses and wonderful anecdotes which occur in the reading of the Korán and its " commentaries' (*Kitáb bahjati-l-mejálisi wa anisi-l-mujálisi*),[77] and the book en- " titled 'repertory of science,[78] and exposition of its advantages,' being a manual " of what is necessary to be known in order to become a good traditionist.

" 'I can also mention another work by our Sheikh the Kádí Abú-l-walíd 'Abdillah " Ibn Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf, better known by the surname of Ibnu-l-faradhí,[79] on " the various modes of spelling proper names (*Al-mokhtalef wa-l-mutalef fí asmái-* " *r-rejáli*),[80] which is composed of thirty parts, or books, while the famous one " by the Háfedh 'Abdu-l-gháni-l-basrí,[81] on the same subject, has only two. In " fact, I know no better work on this science.

Biography of the companions of the Prophet.

" 'As to the history of the companions of the Prophet, and other famous tradi- " tionists, written by Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd,[82] I can only say that it is a work of the " greatest merit. The author followed an entirely new plan; he disposed his names

" in a manner which I believe was never pursued by any preceding writers, with the " exception of Mohammed Ibn Músa Al-'okaylí, a native of Baghdád,[83] who, I " am informed, followed the same plan, although his book has not come to my " hands. Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd is, moreover, deservedly put at the head of the authors " who have treated the subject.

" 'The Kádí Mohammed Ibn Yahya Ibn Mufarraj[84] is the author of several " works in the same department of science. The principal are: a treatise divided " into seven books, in which he collected all that Al-hasan Al-basrí[85] had written on " jurisprudence,[86]—a similar compilation of the writings of Az-zahrí,[87]—and other " less elaborate works on the same subject. Of the same kind is a commentary on " traditions by 'A'mir Ibn Khalf As-sarakostí (of Saragossa), which, in the opinion of " Abú 'Obeyd, was the most brilliant production of the age. As to the works which " the aforesaid writer composed on jurisprudence and the disciples of Málik, there is " but one opinion in this country; they are held in great repute, and considered most " accomplished performances: one of them, entitled *Al-mustakhrájatu mina-l-isma'ti* " (extracts from the hearing of lessons), better known by the title of *Al-'otbiyyah,*[88] " is justly celebrated, and held in great estimation among the people of Africa.

" 'Another work by Abú 'Omar Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Hishám Al-ishbílí, " better known by the surnames of Ibnu-l-makúwí[89] Al-korayshí, is also much " read. Abú Merwán Al-mu'ayttí[90] wrote a collection of all the sayings of Málik " Ibn Ans, which is equally commended. The author took as his model the collec- " tion which, under the title of *Al-báhir* (the illustrious),[91] was published by Abú " Bekr Mohammed Ibnu-l-haddád on the sayings of the Imám Sháfa'í.

" 'The *Kitábu-l-muntekhab* (the book of selections) by the Kádí Mohammed Ibn " Yahya Ibn 'Omar Ibn Lubábah[92] is well known as the most accurate and learned " performance that ever issued from the pen of any doctor professing the sect of " Málik on the traditions respecting that sect, as well as the best commentary on " the obscure points in the same traditions.

" 'The works of Kásim Ibn Mohammed, known by the surname of *Sáhibu-l-* " *wathdyik,*[93] are famous for the perspicuity of the arguments employed and the good " style in which they are written. He professed the sect of Sháfa'í, and followed in " every respect the practices and religious opinions of the people of Baghdád.

Grammar and lexicography.

" 'So much for the works on theology and jurisprudence. Those on grammar, " rhetoric, and lexicography, are almost innumerable. Among the first in merit " stands one composed by Isma'íl Ibnu-l-kásim,[94] which treats on all topics con- " nected with the Arabic language. Another production of the same writer on the " words which have a short *alif*, or a long one marked with *meddah*, or a *hamzah*,[95] " is reckoned to be the most complete that ever was written on the subject.

" 'The *Kitábu-l-af'ál* (the book of verbs) by Mohammed Ibn 'A'mir Al-maghrebí, " better known by the surname of *Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah*[96] (the son of the Goth), with " the additions by Ibn Taríf, a *maulí*[97] of the 'Obeydites, is generally considered to " be the best work on the subject.

" 'A compilation of Abú Ghálib Temám Ibn Ghálib, known by the surname of " Ibnu-t-tabbán, on the various topics connected with the language, passes for the " best book of its kind, not only on account of the valuable information which he " collected in an abridged state, but also owing to what he introduced of his own, " and the fidelity of his quotations. The author, I presume, is still living, (may he " live long!) But I cannot proceed any further with my epistle without relating an " anecdote concerning this distinguished writer. I was told by Abú-l-walíd 'Ab- " dullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah, known by the surname of Ibnu-l-faradhí, " that when Abú-l-jeysh Mujáhid, King of Al-jezáyir[98] (Algiers) and Denia, conquered " the city of Murcia, he sent to Abú Ghálib, who was then residing in that city, the " sum of one thousand dinárs of Andalus, on condition that he would make an addi- " tion to the title-page of the said work, and say that it had been written for him. " This, however, Abú Ghálib refused to do, and returned the money, nor did he " ever afterwards comply with the wishes of the Sultán; on the contrary, he said to " the messenger, 'Tell your master that were he to lavish on me all the treasures " of this world, I would persist in my resolution; I cannot tell a lie; this book of " mine was not written for him, but for the generality of studious people.' When " Abú Ghálib's answer was communicated to Mujáhid, he was very much surprised " at the boldness and severity of his words, but he could not help admiring the " steel temper of the writer's soul, and his contempt for worldly considerations.[99]

" 'Ahmed Ibn Ibán Ibn Seyid[100] wrote a work on the language, entitled *Kitábu-l-* " *'álimi* (the book of the learned), composed of about one hundred parts,[101] and " treating on genders. The subject is therein treated with the fullest details, and " all the nouns in the Arabic language, beginning with globe (*al-folk*), and ending " with *dorrah* (a grain of millet), are properly explained.

" 'The *Kitábu-n-nawádir* (the book of the rarities of speech) by Abú 'Alí Isma'íl " Ibnu-l-kásim,[102] being a sort of glossary to 'the book of complement' (*Kitábu-l-* " *kámil*) by Ibnu-l-'abbás Al-mubarrad,[103] is justly celebrated. And, by my life, I " do think that the work of Ibnu-l-'abbás exhibits neither the profound knowledge " of grammar nor the exquisite erudition of the former, whose work is likewise more " abundant in rhetorical and poetical extracts.

" 'An author named Sa'íd Ibnu-l-hasan Ar-raba'í,[104] who followed in the steps of " the two last-mentioned writers, composed a work entitled 'the book of gems' " (*Kitábu-l-fossúss*).

" 'On the science of grammar the following are the most in repute:—1st. A very " fine and ingenious commentary on the work of Al-kesáyí,[105] by a man of the " name of Al-haufí.[106] 2nd. The work of Ibnu-s-sídah on the same subject, " entitled *Kitábu-l-'álimi wa-l-muta'llami* (the book of the master and the " disciple).[107] 3rd. A commentary on the grammatical work entitled the book " of *Al-akhfash*,[108] by the same author.

" 'In poetry I shall first of all mention the work of 'Obádah Ibn Mái-s-samá,[109] Poetry. " which is a biographical account of poets born in Andalus—a very splendid perform- " ance: *Kitábu-l-hadáyik* (the book of enclosed gardens) by Abú 'Amrú Ahmed Ibn " Faraj,[110] who wrote it in imitation of the *Kitábu-z-zohor* (the book of flowers) by " Abú Mohammed Ibn Dáúd,[111] with this difference, that the work of the latter " contains only one hundred chapters with one hundred verses each, while that " of the former has two hundred chapters with the same number of verses in " each: there is still another circumstance which makes the work of Abú 'Amrú " the most valuable of the two, which is that there are not two chapters in his " book bearing the same title, a thing which is of frequent occurrence in that of " Abú Mohammed.

" 'Besides the two aforesaid works on the poetry and the poets of this country " there is a learned composition entitled 'the book of parallels drawn from the " works of various poets' (*Kitábu-t-tashbíháti min-ash'ári*), and which is attributed " to Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí-l-hasan Al-kátib, who is now living, " (may God protract his existence!) as likewise a splendid commentary on the " poems of Al-mutennabí by Abú-l-kásim Ibráhím Ibn Mohammed Al-iflílí.[112] " But had the Andalusians no other work to boast of than that entitled *Shodhúru-* " *l-dhahab* (gold particles), this alone would be sufficient to prove their eloquence " and establish their fame as poets. The author is 'Alí Ibn Músa Ibn 'Alí Ibn " Mohammed Ibn Khalf Abú-l-hasan Al-ansárí Al-jayyéní (from Jaen),[113] an in- " habitant of the city of Fez, and preacher of its mosque, who is generally " acknowledged to have had no rival in poetry. Indeed his poem on alchymy " is considered to be the best poetical composition of the age for the fulness and " depth of the measure, the comprehensiveness of the meaning, the eloquence " and choice of the expressions; so much so that it was a common saying among " Andalusian literati, 'If Abú-l-hasan's poem cannot teach thee how to make " gold, it will at least show thee how to write verses,'—and others would say, " 'Abú-l-hasan's gold may be surpassed, but his science cannot.' He was also " called the poet of the Hakíms, and the Hakím of the poets, and died (may God " forgive him!) in the year 393 (A. D. 1002-3).

" 'If from poetry I pass to history I shall be able to prove to thee that in that History.

"science also we possess some works of the greatest merit. I have already said "elsewhere that the historian Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ar-rází left several valuable "writings on the history and topography of this country. In this number is "counted a history of the Sultáns who reigned over Andalus, in which their "actions, their wars, misfortunes, victories, and defeats, are related in great detail. "Besides this work, which was composed of several books, Ar-rází wrote a "description of Cordova and its principal streets and suburbs, together with its "public buildings, and the palaces of the nobles; a work very much resembling "that which Ibn Abí Táhir wrote on the history of Baghdád, wherein he described "the palaces and sumptuous residences built in that capital by the courtiers of "Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr.

"'Histories of private individuals abound also with us. I may quote that of "'Omar Ibn Hafssún,[114] a rebel who rose in the city of Raya, relating his actions, "his battles, and other curious incidents of his life. Of the same kind is the "history of the life of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Merwán Al-jalíkí,[115] who rose in the "north-western districts of Andalus. I have seen also historical accounts of the "Bení Kasí, of the Tojibites,[116] and the Bení Táwáil,[117] who had their settle-"ments in the Thagher, all drawn up with the greatest care and containing most "valuable information. On the history of Raya,[118] a city in the south of Andalus, "I have read a book divided into many chapters, and containing a very ample "description of that city, as well as of the forts, castles, and villages in the "neighbourhood, and a narrative of all the wars waged in its territory, the whole "being accompanied by a very extensive biography of theologians and poets born in "that city. The author's name is Is'hák Ibn Salemah Ibn Is'hák Al-leythí.[119]

"'Mohammed Ibnu-l-hárith Al-khoshní[120] wrote a history of the Kádís of "Cordova and other cities of Andalus; another work containing the lives of eminent "theologians is likewise a production of this author. The book of Ahmed Ibn "Mohammed Ibn Músa[121] on the genealogy of the noble families established in "Andalus, composed of five thick volumes, is one of the most complete and best "written books on that science. The genealogical work by Kásim Ibn Asbagh[122] "is also very much valued for the clear and perspicuous manner in which the "narrative is disposed. The aforesaid writer (Kásim) is likewise the author of a "work in praise of the Bení Umeyyah, which has acquired great celebrity in this "country, owing to the authenticity of the sources which the author consulted, as "well as to the admirable way in which the whole work is conducted. I shall not "stop to enumerate other histories of the same kind which I have seen and "read, being those of cities, governors of castles,[123] and chiefs of the different "bodies of Arabs who from time to time settled in various districts of Andalus;

" for as their number is very considerable, I might protract this my epistle to an " undue length.

" ' Our large histories are valuable and numerous. That of Ibnu Hayyán, sur- " named Abú Merwán, composed of about ten volumes,[124] is undoubtedly one of the " best works that ever were written on the subject. The author is now living, and has " not yet passed the age of manhood, (God preserve him !) I have seen also several " works by various authors containing the lives of authors and poets born in different " towns of Andalus, and the whole of which were written for the use of Al-mustanser- " billah, (may God show him mercy !) Of this number is a biography of poets born " at Elvira,[125] in about ten volumes ; and another historical work entitled ' the rising " of the constellations ' (*Kitábu-l-mattáli'i*),[126] which treats on the genealogy of the " Andalusians.

" ' Another historical work of great repute is that entitled ' the book of vestiges " of Ibn Abí 'A'mir ' (*Kitábu-l-máthiri-l-'a'miriyyah*) by Huseyn Ibn 'A'ssim,[127] " being a history of the famous Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir. The work of Al-ifshín " Mohammed Ibn 'A'ssim, the grammarian,[128] on the classes of Kátibs born in " Andalus, is much read ; as likewise another on the same subject by Sakn Ibn " Sa'íd,[129] and the work of Ahmed Ibn Faraj[130] on the history of rebels who rose " at different times in Andalus against the supreme government ; and the history of " the Andalusian physicians by Suleymán Ibn Joljol.[131]

" ' As I have touched upon medicine it will not be amiss to say that on this " science we number some productions of the greatest merit ; such as the works of " the Wizír Yahya Ibn Is'hák,[132] which are most valuable, and those of Mohammed " Ibnu-l-hasan Al-mud'hají, better known by the surname of Al-katání,[133] whose " lessons I have received, (may God show him mercy !) The compositions of this " latter author are justly placed above all those of the same kind, and held in the " greatest esteem. Another valuable work is the *Kitábu-t-tasríf* (the book of deri- " vation) by Abú-l-kásim Khalf Ibn 'Abbás Az-zahráwí,[134] whom I knew, and " with whom I was on terms of great intimacy ; and certainly were I to advance " that a more complete work was never written on the medical science, nor one in " a better style, nor one showing better practical remedies against all diseases, I " should not be far from the truth. The works of Ibnu-l-haytham[135] on the " properties of plants, poisonous substances, and aromatic roots, are well known as " works of great merit, and from which readers derive great advantage. Medicine.

" ' In the science of natural philosophy I have seen several treatises and valuable " works by Sa'ad Ibn Fat'hún As-sarakostí,[136] better known by the surname of " Al-jammár, or the match-seller, an adjective derived from that trade.[137] Some " epistles by our master Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibnu-l-hasan Al-mud'hají are Philosophy.

"also well known, and in the hands of every reader,—being works of the greatest "merit, and exceedingly useful and instructive.

"'On arithmetic and geometry I cannot say much myself, these being sciences "which have not fallen to my lot. I have, it is true, met with many works, but as "I am unable to decide upon their respective merits, I shall not dwell upon the "subject; I shall merely state that I have repeatedly heard people versed in these "matters, and in whose veracity and good judgment I have every reason to place "the most implicit confidence, say that there never was a better work written on "the science of astronomy, nor better astronomical tables constructed, than those of "Moslemah[138] and those of Ibnu-s-samah,[139] both of whom are natives of this "country. I might say the same of a work entitled 'the book of geometrical "dimensions' (*Kitábu-l-masáhati-l-majhúlati*), the composition of Ahmed Ibn Nasr, "who occupies a distinguished place among the mathematicians of Andalus.

"'But were I to mention here all the works which are really deserving of notice "in any of the seven liberal arts, of which no prudent man will undertake more "than one at a time, nor excel in more than one, I might protract this my "narrative to an undue length; I have therefore contented myself with noticing "such works as are generally considered the standards of their respective sciences, "works of which it cannot be said that they remain obscure after being commented "upon, or that they are compositions exhibiting errors to be corrected, or epitomes "of larger works in which some of the sense in the original has been lost, or "compilations which are confused. As to the works of middling merit, I have "taken no pains whatever in enumerating them; indeed the task would have been "above my power, they being as numerous as the drops of water in the ocean, or "as the sands of the desert: the names only of Andalusian authors who have "written on various subjects are more than can be put upon paper.

Metaphysics.

"'It remains for me to say something on the science of metaphysics and its "cultivation in this country. Although Andalus has never been made a field for "the dispute or trial of religious controversy, or a repository of various sects and "opinions, as is the case in the East, (a reason why our proficiency in that "science should be smaller,) yet, all things considered, I cannot say that we are "entirely devoid of valuable compositions on the subject, since there have been "among us doctors who not only have professed the religious opinions of the "Mo'tazelites and observed their dogmas, but have written several works in defence "of, and for the propagation of, that sect. Such are Khalíl Ibn Is'hák[140] and Yahya "Ibnu-s-samínah, and the Hájib Músa Ibn Hadíd, and his brother the Wizír, who "was at the same time *Sáhibu-l-muthálimi* (judge in cases of appeal), all of whom "professed it in public, and afforded a proof that their living in it was not con-

" sidered an obstacle for the filling of public offices. As to me, I follow the sect " of Málik Ibn Ans, that, among the four authorized ones, which is general " throughout this country; and I have written on the subject a work, which, " although small in size, and containing but few leaves,—a little more than two " hundred,—is nevertheless a very useful and instructive one, since I have purged it " of many errors which abounded in works of the same kind, and have cut a " piece out of its length and made it shorter by inserting merely arguments drawn " from precedents authenticated, and emanating either from the testimony of the " good or the sayings of the inspired, and which we firmly believe to be true. I " have besides written several other works on the same subject, some which are " already finished, others nearly so, some only begun, and which I trust in God I " shall have leisure to complete; for certainly it is not literary fame nor honours of " any sort that I seek by their publication,—it is not praise and its sweet gales " that I desire to attract by mentioning them here: my sole object and intention " being that of contributing to the honour and glory of our Lord, the Almighty, " the magnificent, whose favour and assistance I implore, and whose mercy I " beseech for such transgressions as I may have been guilty of in the composition " of them. But to return.

" ' I have said that this country was situated far from the fountains of science " and the abode of the learned; and yet, among the works which I have just " enumerated, there are many which thou wilt look for in vain either in Al-ahwáz, " or in Persia, Diyár-Modhar, Diyár-Rabí',[141] Yemen, or Syria, notwithstanding " the proximity of all these countries to 'Irák, which is the cradle of learning and " the shelter of the intelligent,—the abode of science, and the meeting-place of " its masters. So when I mentioned among the poets Abú-l-aj'rab Ja'únah " Ibnu-s-samah Al-kelábí,[142] I only compared him to Jerír[143] and Al-farazdák,[144] in " whose time he flourished. I ought in justice to have quoted some of his verses,— " he followed the old school, and not in any way the rules of the modern. When I " praise Bakí Ibn Mokhlid I make him inferior only to Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl " Al-bokhárí,[145] and to Moslem Ibnu-l-hejjáj An-nisabúrí,[146] and Suleymán Ibn " Al-ash'ath As-sejestání,[147] and Ahmed Ibn Sho'ayb An-nisáyí.[148] In mentioning " Kásim Ibn Mohammed I acknowledge no superiors to him except Al-kaffál[149] " and Mohammed Ibn 'Okayl Al-farayábí,[150] with the latter of whom he not only " lived in great intimacy, but shared the instruction of the Sheikh Al-medaní, " whose disciples they both were. When I name 'Abdullah Ibn Kásim, Ibn Helál, " and Mundhir Ibn Sa'íd, I only mean to compare with them Abú-l-hasan " Ibnu-l-muf'lis[151] and Al-khallál,[152] and Ad-deybájí[153] and Rawáyim Ibn Ah- " med,[154] whose friends and contemporaries they were.

" 'In alluding to Mohammed Ibn 'Omar Ibn Lubábah, and his uncle Mohammed " Ibn 'Isa, and Fadhl Ibn Salemah, I could only match them with Mohammed " Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakem,[155] and Mohammed Ibn Sahnún,[156] and Mo- " hammed Ibn 'Abdús;[157] and in proclaiming the merits of Mohammed Ibn Yahya " Ar-riyáhí,[158] and Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'A'ssem, I did not esteem " them inferior to those of Mohammed Ibn Yezíd Al-mubarrad. In reckoning " the poets I may safely advance that if we had no other to boast of but Mohammed " Ibn Mohammed Ibn Darráj Al-kastalí,[159] although he came after Shá,[160] and " Bashar,[161] and Habíb,[162] and Al-mutennabí, this alone would be sufficient to " do us honour; but what wilt thou say when besides him I mention to thee " such illustrious names as those of Ja'far Ibn 'Othmán Al-hájib,[163] and Ahmed " Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Merwán,[164] and A'ghlab Ibn Sho'ayb,[165] and Mohammed " Ibn Shakhíss,[166] and Ahmed Ibn Faraj, and 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd Almu- " rádí,[167] all of whom were most eminent poets, the imitation of whom in any of " the branches of literature is fraught with difficulties and danger? What wilt " thou say of people like Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Shoheyd,[168] our friend and " companion, who is living at this moment, and has not yet reached old age, " (may God preserve his life!)—a poet who has constantly been roving in the " meadows of literature, and wandering over the mountains of eloquence, in a " manner which it is in vain for me to describe, since language does not afford " adequate words for it, nor is my tongue competent to the task, were it even " to be gifted with all the eloquence of those of 'Amru and Sahl?[169] What of " Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Masarrah,[170] who made himself famous for his " beautiful style, although I do not entirely agree with him as to the school he " followed in his writings?

" 'This is what I thought proper to state in answer to the letter of the African " doctor, (may God forgive him!) and as a proof of what I have advanced; " although it must be observed that I have introduced nothing which was not " absolutely necessary to refute the arguments of the writer; for had I chosen " to expatiate on the subject, I might have swollen this epistle of mine into a " voluminous work. Praise be to God, the imparter of knowledge, him who " shows the path of honour and distinction, and the blessing of God be upon " our Lord Mohammed, his servant and messenger, and peace, honour, and " prosperity, be upon all those of his family, his companions, and followers, and " upon all the true believers! Amen.' "

CHAPTER V.

The same subject continued—Ibnu Sa'íd's addition to Ibn Hazm's epistle—Sciences relative to the Korán—Traditions—Jurisprudence—Dogmas of religion—History—Polite literature—Grammar—Geography—Music—Medicine—Natural philosophy.

After copying the epistle that we have just transcribed, the learned historian Ibnu Sa'íd continues as follows:

Ibnu Sa'íd's addition to Ibn Hazm's epistle.

" In order that this important subject should be properly illustrated, I have " deemed it convenient to add, by way of supplement to the epistle of the Wizír " and Háfedh Abú Mohammed Ibn Hazm in praise of the Andalusians and their " writings, an account of such works as he was not acquainted with in his time, " or which have been written since the learned writer's death, and have either " reached my notice or fallen into my hands. I shall begin with the favour and " will of the Almighty God, whose help I humbly beseech and implore.

Sciences relative to the Korán.

" In the sciences that have the Korán for their object I shall make particular " mention of a commentary on that divine work by the learned and pious Imám " Abú Mohammed Mekkí Ibn Abí Tálib Al-kortobí. This work, which consists " of about ten books, is generally reputed the best of its kind, and is entitled " *Kitábu-l-hedáyati ila balúghi-n-nehâyati*[1] (the book of direction to reach the " end of perfection). Another commentary on the holy book, entitled *Kitábu-* " *l-tafsíri 'árábi-l-koráni* (interpretation of obscure words contained in the Korán), " is also the production of this author, who wrote no less than seventy-seven " different works on various topics. Ibnu Ghálib, who enumerates them all " in his *Forjatu-l-anfús* (contentment of the soul), lavishes great praise on this " Mekkí, whose death he places in the year 374 of the Hijra (A. D. 984-5).

" Another commentary on the Korán, by Abú Mohammed Ibn 'Attiyyah Al- " gharnáttí,[2] is justly celebrated both in the East and the West. The author " flourished in the sixth century of the Hijra.

" On the modes of reading the Korán we have an excellent treatise by the " aforesaid author Mekkí, entitled *Kitábu-t-tebssírati* (the book of perspicuity), and

" another called *At-teysír*[3] (the book of levelling the difficulties, or that renders " reading easy), by Abú 'Amru Ad-dání, both of which are in every body's hands.

Traditions.

" On the science of sacred traditions there was in my days, (that is, in the " seventh century of the Hijra), an Imám of the name of Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibnu-l- " kattán Al-kortobí,[4] who resided at the court of Morocco, and who wrote several " works on the interpretation of marvellous traditional stories, and on the men " mentioned in them. He reached the utmost perfection in his writings, which " are now consulted by every one, and I was told that he was busy compiling a " work on the science of traditions which should embrace all the information " to be found in the great collections, without their numerous repetitions.

" The work of Razín Ibn 'Omar Al-andalusí, which is a very learned com- " pilation from the writings of Moslem Al-bokhárí, An-nisáyí, and Termedhí, as " likewise from the *Mowattá* of Málik, and the *Kitábu-s-sonnan*,[5] is considered " a very learned performance, is well known throughout the East and West, and " is in the hands of every scholar.

" 'Abdu-l-hakk Al-ishbílí[6] is the author of a work on the same subject, " which has acquired the greatest reputation and celebrity. The title is *Kitábu-* " *l-ahkám* (the book of statutes), and he wrote the *Kitábu-l-ahkámi-l-kobrá* (the " great collection of statutes); *Kitábu-l-ahkámi-l-soghrá* (the small collection of " statutes); and some pretend that he wrote another called *Kitábu-l-wásitu* (the " middling collection).

" The *Kitábu-l-jum'i beyna sahíhína* (the book of union of the two *Sahíh*) by " Al-homaydí,[7] is sufficiently known, and needs not my recommendation.

Jurisprudence.

" If I pass on to jurisprudence, I can mention a work which people mostly " consult in these times, and which, during my stay at Alexandria, I found in the " hands of almost every doctor of the sect of Málik, among whom it has become " famous; but the title of the work has escaped my memory. I can also quote " the collection published by Al-baráda'í of Saragossa,[8] under the title of *Kitábu-* " *t-tadh'híb* (the book of gilding). The work entitled *Kitábu-n-niháyati*[9] (the book " of complement and end), by Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd, is a composition of the " greatest merit, held in much estimation, and a book of reference for doctors " professing the rite of Málik Ibn Ans. The *Kitábu-l-muntakí* (the book of the " marrow), by Al-bájí,[10] is also much commended.

Dogmas of religion.

" On the dogmas of religion, and the foundations of law, we have the work " of the Imám Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-'arabí Al-ishbílí,[11] entitled *Kitábu-l-'awássimi* " *wa-l-kawássimi* (the book of pieces and fragments), which is well known and " common among the studious. We have also by the same author several works " on various subjects; and by Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd numerous treatises also on

" the foundation of canon law, the most approved of which bears the title of " *Kitábu-l-mokhtasari-l-mustsafí*,[12] (a commentary on the *Mustsafí*).

" Histories and chronicles abound with us. Besides those already mentioned in History. " Ibn Hazm's epistle, I can recommend the *Kitábu-l-matín*[13] (the book of solidity), " by Ibnu Hayyán, composed of sixty volumes or thereabouts, and the *Kitábu-l-* " *muktabis* (the book of those desirous of information) by the same author, which " Ibn Hazm states to be composed of ten volumes. From the *Matín*—a book " in which Ibnu Hayyán related with great detail all the historical events that " occurred in his time, and of which he himself was an eye-witness—the author " of the *Dhakhírah* (treasure)[14] is said to have borrowed his narrative. This " last-mentioned work has of late been increased by Abú-l-hejáj Al-bayésí (of " Baéza), who is now residing at Túnis, the capital of Africa proper, where he " enjoys the favours and protection of the Sultán.

" The *Kitábu-l-mudhdhaferí*,[15] so called from the name of its author, Al- " mudhdhafer Ibn Al-afttas, King of Badajoz, a work almost equal to the *Matín* " of Ibnu Hayyán in number of volumes, and which embraces the political and " literary history of the times, is justly considered to be one of the most brilliant " productions of the age.

" A history of the Sultáns of the Lamtumní dynasty, by Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát,[16] " and another on the same subject by Ibnu-s-seyrafí,[17] of Granada, which I have " not read, but which is much praised by Ibnu Ghálib, are among our best works " of the kind. The same author (Ibnu Ghálib) says that Abú-l-hasan As-sálimí[18] " wrote a history of the second civil war in Africa and Andalus, disposed chrono- " logically, beginning at five hundred and thirty-nine (A. D. 1144-5), and ending " in five hundred and forty-seven (A. D. 1152-3).

" Abú-l-kásim Ibn Bashkúwál is counted among our most eminent historians. " We have by him a biographical dictionary of illustrious Andalusians since the " times of the conquest down to his own days,[19] to which he added such infor- " mation on the history and topography of Cordova, and other principal cities of " Andalus, as came within the scope of his work. He wrote also a biographical " dictionary of distinguished authors, under the title of *Kitábu-s-silat* (the book " of the gift). Before the days of Ibnu Bashkúwál another eminent historian " named Al-homaydí had written a valuable work on the history of this country, " entitled *Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*[20] (a spark from the *Muktabis*).

" Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-abbár, of Valencia, secretary to the King of Africa " proper, has published in our days a supplement to 'the book of the gift' " by Ibnu Bashkúwál.[21]

" The Faquih Abú Ja'far Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk Al-khazrájí, of Cordova, wrote,

"according to Ibnu Ghálib, a great historical work entitled *Kitábu-l-iktifá fí* "*akhbári-l-kholafá*[22] (the book of sufficiency on the history of the Khalifs), which "begins with the first Khalif, and ends in the reign of 'Abdu-l-múmen. He not "only gave the history of the events which happened in the East, but also of those "of Andalus.

"Abú Mohammed Ibn Hazm, whose epistle I have transcribed, wrote several "works on the history of the Arabs, one of which he entitled *Nok'tatu-l-'arús* "*fí akhbári-l-kholafái-l-andalus*[23] (the embroidery of the bride on the history of the "Khalifs who reigned in Andalus).

"Abú-l-walíd Ibn Zeydún wrote his *Kitábu-t-tebyíni fí Kholafái Beni Umeyyah* "*fí-l-andalusi*[24] (the book of demonstration on the Khalifs of the house of "Umeyyah in Andalus), which he is said to have composed in rivalry of the "famous work on the Eastern Khalifs entitled *Kitábu-t-ta'íni fí Kholafái-l-* "*mash'reki* (the book of conspicuity on the history of Eastern Khalifs).[25]

"The Kádí Abú-l-kásim Sá'id Ibn Ahmed At-toleytolí (of Toledo) has left us "two most valuable compositions,—one entitled *Kitábu-t-ta'rífi biakhbári 'ulemái-* "*l-umámi mina-l-'arabi wa-l-'ajemi* (the book of instruction on the history of the "learned among the Arabs, as well as among foreigners),[26] and the other *Jámi'u* "*akhbári-l-umami* (a general history of nations).

"Abú 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr is the author of another excellent history, which "bears the title of *Kitábu-l-kasdi wa-l-amámi fí mu'arefati akhbári-l-'arabi wa-l-* "*'ajemi* (the object and the end—on the history of the Arabs and other nations).[27]

"Gharíb Ibn Sa'íd, from Cordova, wrote an epitome of Tabari's large historical "work.[28] He executed his task in a manner which met with general approbation "among the learned of this country, and gave him great reputation. Another "circumstance contributes to make his work still more valuable, namely, that he "added to his epitome, by way of supplement, a history of Andalus and Africa.

"Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah, better known by the surname "of Ibnu-l-fayyádh, wrote likewise an historical work under the title of *Kitábu-l-* "*'ibar* (the book of advice).[29]

"There exists also a biographical dictionary of eminent grammarians and "rhetoricians who lived in the eastern provinces of Andalus by Abú Bekr "Al-huseyn Ibn Mohammed Az-zubeydí;[30] and another work of the same kind, "containing the lives of distinguished theologians, poets, and authors, by the "Kádí Abú-l-walíd, generally known by the surname of Ibnu-l-faradhí.

"Yahya Ibn Hakem Al-ghazzál[31] wrote a history of Andalus in verse. The same "was done after him by a poet whose name was Abú Tálib, and who was also known "by the surname of *Al-mutennabí Jezírah-Shukar* (the Mutennabí of Alcira), of

" which place he was a native. Ibn Besám, the author of the *Dhakhírah* (treasure), " from whom the preceding information is taken, borrowed considerably from the " poetical writings of Abú Tálib. But this is not the moment for judging of the " respective merits of these two authors. The book very much resembles the " supplement to the *Kitábu-l-hadáyik* (the book of enclosed gardens) by Ibn Faraj.

" At the same time, and almost in our days,[32] Al-fat'h published his *Kaláyidu-l-* " *'ikiyán* (golden necklaces), a work full of eloquence, and held in great estimation " by the learned. We have likewise by him a work bearing the title of *Matmahu-l-* " *anfus* (place of recreation of the soul),[33] and of which there are three editions, great, " middling, and small. Its contents are the lives of illustrious men contained in his " *Kaláyid*, and others who lived before them. Since the publication of these two " works by Al-fat'h, a work entitled *Súmttu-l-jumáni wa sakittu-l-marjáni* (pearl " necklaces and showers of seed pearls) has appeared, by Abú 'Amru Ibnu-l-imám.[34] " It is a sort of supplement to the *Kaláyid* and to the *Matmah*, wherein the author " has introduced the lives of all those eminent men who either escaped Al-fat'h's " research or lived after him; as likewise of many distinguished authors who " flourished since Al-fat'h's death up to the end of the sixth century of the Hijra. " Lastly, a supplement to the two preceding works, containing a biography of " eminent men who flourished likewise in the seventh century of the Hijra, has " been published of late years by Abú Bahr Sefwán Ibn Idrís, from Murcia, under " the title of *Zádu-l-musáfiri*[35] (provisions for the traveller). It is a small volume, " but precious for its information.

" Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Ibráhím Al-hijárí (from Guadalaxara) wrote the " *Kitábu-l-mas'habi fí fadháyili-l-maghrebi*[36] (the book of the chatterer on the excel- " lences of the West), which appeared after the *Kaláyid* and the *Dhakhírah*. It " embraces the history of Andalus from the earliest times down to his days. The " author, too, followed a new plan in the arrangement of his materials, since, along " with his exquisite historical information, he described at full length some of the " principal cities in that country, enumerated the peculiarities of the soil, and " treated on matters which belong to the science of geography, giving also numerous " extracts from the works of distinguished authors and poets, as the reader must " have remarked by our frequent quotations from the said work. A better history " of Andalus never was written,—a reason why it was so much extolled and " praised by our ancestor 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd,[37] who worked upon it, and " wrote a supplement, which was continued by his two sons Ahmed and Mo- " hammed, afterwards by Músa, son of Mohammed, and lastly by 'Alí, son of " Músa, the writer of this book, and the author of the work entitled *Falaku-l-adabi-* " *l-muheytti biholí lisáni-l-'arabi* (the book of the sphere, embracing the beauties of

"the Arabic language), which consists of two parts,—one relating to the history of "the East, with this title, *Al-mush'rak fí holí-l-mash'reki* (the light of the rising "sun on the beauties of the East),—and the other on the history of the West, called "*Al-mugh'rab fí holí-l-maghrebi* (the eloquent speaker on the beauties of the West). "All the works that I have enumerated, from Al-hijárí's primitive work down to "the supplements written by various members of my family, and completed by the "humble and undeserving writer of these pages, are more than sufficient to instruct "the readers on the history of this country, since they are the work of six different "authors, and embrace a period of one hundred and twenty-five years,[38]—including "my continuation down to the year six hundred and forty-five of the Hijra "(A.D. 1247-8);—a work in which the studious will find a full account of the events "witnessed by the writers, together with numerous selections in prose and verse "from the writings of eminent authors, or the sayings of clever men, collected with "great care and assiduity through the East and West, and of which pertinent "examples are given in the course of this book. The readers will also find a full "notice of people who escaped publicity in their time, and authors who had been "mentioned by previous writers, but who have been placed in a more perspicuous "and orderly manner under the cities or towns whence their patronymics are "derived. So, for instance, Ibn Besám will be found under the head of Shan-"tareyn (Santarem), his birth-place, Al-fat'h under Seville, Ibnu-l-imám under "Ezija, Al-hijárí under Guadalaxara, and so forth.

Polite literature.

"Respecting works on literature, whether in prose or verse, I can mention first of "all the *Serája-l-adab*[39] (torch of polite literature), by Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Abí-l-"khissál, from Segura, who is justly held as the prince of Andalusian authors. "He is said to have written it in rivalry of the *Kitábu-n-nawádir* (the book of "memorable sayings), by Abú 'Alí Al-kálí, and of the *Kitáb zohori-l-adabi* "(flowers of polite literature), by Al-hossrí.[40] Of the same kind is the *Kitábu-l-"wájibi-l-adabi* (manual of literature), by my father Músa Ibn Mohammed Ibn "Sa'íd, whose name alone is a voucher for its contents. Another book very "much consulted on the subject is the *Kitábu-l-luálí*[41] (the book of the pearls), "by 'Obeyd Al-bekrí, written in imitation of the *Kitábu-l-amálí*[42] (the book of "dictations), by Abú 'Alí Al-baghdádí. It is a very learned composition, and "much esteemed among literary people. The same may be said of the work "entitled *Kitábu-l-iktidhábi fí sharhi-l-adabi-l-kottábi*[43] (extempore observations or "commentary on the *Adabu-l-kottáb*), by Abú Mohammed Ibnu-s-síd Al-bathaliósí "(from Badajoz), a work of undisputed merit. We possess also by this author a "commentary on the work entitled *Suktu-z-zendi*[44] (sparkles from the steel), and "which is the best of its kind that can be written. It is in the hands of every

" master in this science, and much praised and commended by all. The commentaries which Abú-l-hejáj[45] has published on the poems of Al-mutennabí, on the *Hamásah*, and other collections of poems equally famous, need not my recommendation; they are sufficiently known and appreciated.

" Commentaries on grammar abound also with us, this science having at all times been assiduously cultivated by Andalusians. Indeed were I merely to mention here the titles of all the good works that exist on the subject I should run the risk of protracting this my narrative to an indefinite length; I shall therefore confine myself to noticing a few only of the most prominent, such as those of Ibn Kharúf,[46] Ar-rondí,[47] and the Sheikh Abú-l-hasan Ibn 'Osfúr,[48] from Seville, who surpassed all his contemporaries in the science of grammar, in which he arrived at the extreme end of knowledge, his works being at the present moment the books of reference and authority in the East as well as in the West. I lately received from Africa proper a book by this author, on syntax, entitled *Al-mukarreb fí-l-nahu* (the book of approximation on the science of syntax), which is to be found in almost every large town in Yemen, and has flown on the wings of fame. **Grammar.**

" The Sheikh Abú 'Alí Ash-shalúbíní has also acquired immense reputation by his commentary on the syntax, entitled *Kitábu-t-tautiyati-l-jazúliyyati* (the treading on the footsteps of Al-jazúlí).[49]

" Ibnu-s-síd Al-bathaliósí, Ibnu-t-taráwah, and As-sohaylí have published several treatises on grammar, which do their authors great honour, and are in the hands of every student. And lastly there is a famous commentary on the works of Síbauyeh by Abú-l-hasan Ibn Kharúf.

" In the science of geography it will be sufficient to mention the *Kitábu-l-mesálek wa-l-memálek* (the book of routes and kingdoms), by Abú 'Obeyd Al-bekrí Al-onóbí (from Onoba), and the *Kitábu-l-mu'ajem*,[50] being a geographical dictionary wherein all names of cities and kingdoms are properly explained. The *Mas'hab*, by Al-hijárí, contains also, as I have remarked elsewhere, much valuable information on the geography of Andalus and the topography of its principal cities. I may add to this the present work, which includes every one of the supplements and additions written by my ancestors, and where the readers will find the cream of whatever has been said by ancient or modern writers on the subject. **Geography.**

" Music was cultivated in Andalus with the greatest success, and works treating fully on the science of tune, as well as on various instruments and the art of making them, are common among us. The principal is that of Abú Bekr Ibn Bájeh, **Music.**

"from Granada, which enjoys in the West the same reputation that those of Abú Nasr "Al-farábí[51] do in the East. Ibn Bájeh has given his name to a collection of "poems set to music, which are most liked and used in this country. Another "Andalusian musician who lived in the sixth century of the Hijra, and whose name "was Yahya Ibnu-l-haddáj Al-a'lem,[52] wrote a collection of songs in imitation of "that of Abú-l-faraj.

Medicine.

"Medicine has always flourished in this country, and among the numerous "treatises on this science written by Andalusian physicians several may be pointed "out which have attained the greatest celebrity not only in the West but in the "East, where they are much used and consulted. Of this number is the *Kitábu-t-"teysír* (introduction to medicine), by 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Abí-l-'olá Ibn Zohr, who "is likewise the author of the *Kitábu-l-agh'diyati* (the book of diet), which has "become famous throughout the East and West.

"Abú-l-'abbás Ibnu-r-rúmiyyah[53] Al-ishbílí (from Seville), our friend and contem-"porary, has written several standard works on this science, among which I must "make particular mention of a treatise on simples used as medicaments (*Kitábu-"l-adwiyati-l-mufridah*).

"Abú Mohammed,[54] from Malaga, who is now residing in Cairo, is the author "of a voluminous work, a sort of dictionary, wherein he has disposed alphabetically "all the names of simples and medicaments that he could collect and analyze "himself, or which were described in the works of Al-gháfekí,[55] Az-zahráwí, and "Sherif Al-idrísí, the Sicilian,[56] with many others. And certainly a better work "on the science cannot easily be imagined.

Natural philosophy.

"Natural philosophy also flourishes with us. The prince of this science among "us is at present Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd, from Cordova, who has written several "treatises on the various branches of that science, notwithstanding the aversion and "dislike which 'Abdu-l-múmen, son of Al-mansúr, always showed towards the "students who practised it, and notwithstanding his having been put in prison by "order of that Sultán for persisting in his favourite studies. The same might be "said of Ibn Habíb,[57] whom the same Sultán caused to be put to death because it "was proved against him that he worked secretly at that science, which is now "a proscribed one in this country; this being the reason why men inclined to it "cultivate and practise it only in secret, and why books on the topic are so very "scarce.

"We have, nevertheless, several astronomical treatises by Ibn Zeyd Al-askaf "(the Bishop) of Cordova,[58] who was a great favourite with the Sultán Al-"mustanser, son of An-nássir Al-merwání. The principal among his works is that

" entitled *Kitábu-t-tafssíli-l-azmáni wa tasslíhi-l-abadáni* (the division of the " times and the benefiting of the bodies), in which he treats at large on the " influence of the moon on terrestrial bodies, and other matters connected with it; " the task being accomplished in a manner which does the author the greatest " credit.

" Mutref,[59] from Seville, is at present occupied in studies on that science, only " that being very much thwarted in it by his countrymen,—who have given him the " epithet of impious (*zindík*), merely because he devotes his hours of leisure to " these studies,—he never dares show his learning in public, but keeps it with the " greatest secrecy, hiding from the sight of all men whatever works he may have " written on that science."

Thus ends Ibn Hazm's epistle on the literature and literary people of Andalus, together with Ibnu Sa'íd's addition to it. We shall now, with the favour of God, whose assistance and protection we most humbly beseech and implore, proceed in the next Book to enumerate in detail the wonders of Cordova, the capital of the Mohammedan Empire in Andalus.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Various descriptions of Cordova—Ancient history of the city—Etymology of its name—Size and extent of the city—Suburbs—Gates—Royal Palace—Pleasure-houses and gardens belonging to the Khalifs—Bridges on the Guadalquivir—Jurisdiction of Cordova—Revenue—Productions of the land round the city—Increase of Cordova during the administration of Al-mansúr.

The present Book will contain, as we announced in our Preface, an account of the famous city of Cordova,—the seat of a mighty empire which subdued all its enemies, —and a description of its blessed mosque, built by the Bení Umeyyah, filled with all sorts of rarities, and ornamented with dazzling magnificence; together with some details on the sumptuous seats of *Medínatu-z-zahrá* and *Medínatu-z-záhirah*, the former the court of the Bení An-nássir, the latter the residence of the Bení Abí 'A'mir. It will likewise describe the pleasure-gardens and luxuriant fields in the neighbourhood, and give a minute account of their natural as well as artificial beauties; and, lastly, embrace the narrative of events which happened within its precincts: all being subjects of the greatest interest, which will fill with delight the hearts of the lovers of information, and remain deeply impressed on the minds of the acute and the intelligent.

Description of Cordova.

Cordova is perhaps of all Mohammedan cities that which has been most fully described by natives as well as by foreign writers. The East and the West abound with accounts, some in prose, others in verse, in which the glories and magnificence of that splendid capital have been so minutely recorded as to expel from the imagination of the antiquarian all fear of their obliteration. An Eastern author, among others, gives us the following picture:—" Cordova," such are his words, " is the capital of Andalus, and the mother of its cities; the court of the Khalifs, " and the seat of their empire. It was in ancient times the court of the infidel " kings of Andalus, and afterwards became the residence of the Mohammedan " sovereigns who succeeded them. It was the abode of science, the place of refuge

" of *Sunnah* and tradition, and the dwelling of several among the *tábi's* (followers) and " disciples of the *tábi's*, some authors even going so far as to state that it was inha- " bited by more than one of the *as'háb* (companions) of the Prophet, (may the Lord's " favour be with them!) a point which has been seriously contested. Cordova is a " populous city, full of primitive buildings, enjoying a good temperature, abounding " with springs of the sweetest water, and surrounded on all sides by gardens, olive " plantations, villages, and castles. Numerous springs and winding brooks irrigate " and fertilize the neighbouring fields and farms, which in point of extent, careful " cultivation, and abundant produce, have nowhere their equal in the world."

Ar-rází calls Cordova the mother of cities, the navel of Andalus, the court of the kingdom in ancient and modern times, during the ages of ignorance as well as during the period of Islám. Its river, he says, is the largest in all Andalus, and over it was thrown a bridge, which not only was the finest in that country, but which for its structure, beautiful design, and colossal dimensions, was reputed one of the wonders of the earth.

Another writer describes it as the largest city in all Andalus, and one which had no rival either in the East or the West in point of size, population, magnificence of buildings, width and cleanliness of the streets, spaciousness of markets, number and beauty of mosques, and quantity of baths and inns. Some of the native authors go so far as to state that in point of magnitude it approached Baghdád. But the report is no doubt exaggerated.

It is, says another, a fortified town, surrounded by massive and lofty stone walls, and has very fine streets. It was in times of old the court and residence of many infidel kings, whose palaces are still visible within the precincts of the walls. The inhabitants are famous for their courteous and polished manners, their superior intelligence, their exquisite taste and magnificence in their meals, drink, dress, and horses. There thou wouldst see doctors shining with all sorts of learning, lords distinguished by their virtues and generosity, warriors renowned for their expeditions into the country of the infidels, and officers experienced in all kinds of warfare. The Cordovans were further celebrated for the elegance and richness of their dress, their attention to religious duties, their strict observance of the hours of prayer, the high respect and veneration in which they held their great mosque, their aversion to wine and their destruction of wine-vases whenever they found any, their abhorrence of every illicit practice, their glory in nobility of descent and military enterprise, and their success in every department of the sciences.

The last-mentioned author says, " Cordova, under the Sultáns of the family of " Umeyyah, became the tent of Islám, the place of refuge for the learned, the foun- " dation of the throne of the Bení Merwán, the place of resort of the noblest families

"among the tribes of Ma'd and Yemen. To it came from all parts of the world "students anxious to cultivate poetry, to study the sciences, or to be instructed "in divinity or the law; so that it became the meeting-place of the eminent in all "matters, the abode of the learned, and the place of resort for the studious: its "interior was always filled with the eminent and the noble of all countries, its "literary men and soldiers were continually vying with each other to gain dis- "tinction,[1] and its precincts never ceased to be the arena of the distinguished, the "hippodrome of the foremost, the halting-place of the noble, and the repository of "the true and virtuous. Cordova was to Andalus what the head is to the body, or "what the breast is to the lion."

A poet has written on Cordova the following distich, which is not altogether devoid of merit:

"Do not talk of the court of Baghdád and its glittering magnificence, do "not praise Persia and China and their manifold advantages,

"For there is no spot on the earth like Cordova, nor in the whole world "men like the Bení Hamdín."[2]

Ibnu Sa'íd calls Cordova the bride of the kingdom of that name; meaning that she was provided with every requisite to make a city famous, and that she had within herself all the beauties and ornaments of a beautiful maid who is being taken to the house of her lord and spouse. Indeed no comparison can be made more adequate than this; since the fact of her having been the residence of so many Sultáns constitutes the diadem on her head; her necklace is strung with the inestimable pearls collected in the Ocean of language by her orators and poets; her robes are made of the banners of science, those learned authors for whom neither prose nor verse had any limits, and whose praises it is not prudent to let loose; and, lastly, the masters in all arts and trades form the skirt of her gown. After this Ibnu Sa'íd gives a sort of argument of his work, from which we shall proceed to quote, taking care to introduce accounts from other writers in order that information may spring from comparison.

Ancient history.

There are various opinions among historians as to who was the founder of Cordova. Some, as Ibnu Hayyán, Ar-rází, Al-hijárí, say that it was built by Octavius, the second Cæsar of Rome, who conquered the whole earth, and lined with copper the bed of the Tiber; the same emperor from whom the Roman Æra, which began thirty-eight years before the birth of the Messiah, is computed. To this monarch, who, in the opinion of the above-mentioned authors, was the builder of the great bridge in Cordova, is the foundation of that city ascribed, together with that of other places equally important; such as Merida, Seville, and Saragossa.[3] Al-hijárí, however, is of opinion that these three cities, as well as Cordova, owed

their foundation to the lieutenants of that king, and not to himself; for having sent to Andalus four of his principal officers, he gave them instructions to divide the country into four provinces, to take the command of the armies stationed in them, and to build each a city which should be the capital of the province placed under his charge; and that the lieutenants, having done what they were ordered to do, each built a city to which he gave his name. Such is the account given by Al-hijárí, who is no doubt mistaken, since the four above-mentioned cities do not derive their names, as he says, from their founders, but from the localities in which they stand, or the quality of the ground on which they were built, and other circumstances quite independent of the names of their governors or founders.

However, towards the end of the Roman empire, Cordova became the capital of the sons of 'Ayssu,[4] son of Is'hák, son of Ibráhím, (on whom be peace!) another nation of Romans, who conquered Andalus and settled in it, keeping possession of the country until they themselves were subdued by the Goths, the sons of Yáfeth, in whose hands was the empire when the Moslems invaded Andalus. During the reign of the monarchs of Gothic descent, Cordova cannot be said to have been the capital of Andalus; for although it served as a place of temporary residence to some of their kings, it was not, properly speaking, the court of the empire. By the establishment of Islám in it, its importance increased; it became the capital of the Mohammedan empire, and the citadel of the family of Merwán, so that Seville and Toledo were soon obliged to acknowledge its pre-eminence. God Almighty does what he pleases, for he is the master of all things, and in his hands are power and command. There is no God but Him, the great! the high!

Respecting the name of Cordova, Abú 'Obeyd Al-bekrí tells us, that according to Gothic pronunciation it ought to be written with a *dha* with a point over it, thus, *Kordhobah*. Al-hijárí writes it with a *tta* and a *dhamma*, *Korttubah;* but Eastern writers in general have corrupted the pronunciation of this word, as they have done with many others, by substituting a *kesrah* for the *dhamma*, and writing it thus, *Korttebah*. As to the etymology of the word *Korttubah*, we find in the *Forjatu-l-anfus*, by Ibnu Ghálib, that it is a Greek word, meaning in that language *Al-kolúbu-l-mashkilah*, that is, doubtful hearts.[5] Ibnu Sa'íd agrees with these authors as to the manner in which the word *Kordhubah* is to be spelt, but he entertains quite a different opinion as to the origin of the city, which he says was founded by the 'Amalekites (Carthaginians), and not by the Romans; he also gives a different etymology to that word, which he pretends means in Arabic *ajaru sákiniha* (reward of its inhabitants).[6]

Etymology of its name.

Ibnu Sa'íd (the mercy of God be upon him!) describes the kingdom of Cordova before all the rest in Andalus; for, says he, it was for many centuries the seat of government. The ancient kings of Andalus fixed in it the seat of their empire, and

never moved from it; then came the Bení Umeyyah, who also held their court in Cordova, although they did not stay in it all the year round, but divided their time between their pleasure-houses Medínatu-z-zahrá and Medínatu-z-záhirah. They chose to reside in Cordova in preference to any other city of Andalus, for its convenient situation and delightful temperature. It became in the course of time the meeting-place of the learned from all countries, and, owing to the power and splendour of the mighty dynasty that ruled over it, it contained more excellences than any other kingdom on the face of the earth.

But before proceeding in our account of Cordova we deem it necessary to acquaint the readers with the titles, divisions, and contents of the various chapters devoted by Ibnu Sa'íd to the description of that city, and forming part of that great historical work which we have so often quoted in the course of our narrative, and to which we shall have still numerous opportunities of referring.

Ibnu Sa'íd (may God show him mercy!) followed a plan of his own, and divided his history into three volumes or sections.[7]

The first bears the title of "the book of variegated leaves on the ornamental beauties of Andalus."

The second, which treats on the history of Sicily, he called "the book of barbarous cacophony on the beauties of the island of Sicily."

The third, which embraces the history of all the infidel nations inhabiting the great continent (of Europe), is entitled "the book of the extreme limit on the beauties of the great land (or continent of Europe)."

Each of these volumes he divided into several books, and these into numerous chapters.[8] For instance, the first, which contained the description of Andalus, was composed of four books; the first entitled "ornaments of the bride on the description of the west of Andalus;" the second, "the lips of the beautiful dusky maid on the description of the central provinces of Andalus;" the third, "the book of familiarity and friendship on the description of eastern Andalus;" and the fourth, "the book of dubious lines on the geography and the history of those provinces which are in the hands of the worshippers of the crucified."

The second volume, which treated on the history of Sicily, he likewise divided into several books; and the same may be said of that which treats on the history of the great land (continent).

The first book of the first volume being that which contains the history of Cordova, and the provinces once subject to it, and likewise that which forms the present object of our narrative, we shall describe it more minutely. Its title is, as we have above stated, "the book of ornaments of the bride on the description of western Andalus." It is divided into seven chapters (each chapter being also divided into several paragraphs), the titles of which are as follow.[9]

1st. The book of the golden robes on the beauties of the kingdom of Cordova.

2nd. The book of the pure golden particles on the description of the kingdom of Seville.

3rd. The book of varnished deceits on the description of the kingdom of Malaga.

4th. The book of the horses on the beauties of the kingdom of Bathaliós (Badajoz).

5th. The book of the fresh new milk on the description of the kingdom of Shilb (Silves).

6th. The book of the illuminated preface on the description of the kingdom of Béjah (Beja).

7th. The book of enclosed gardens on the description of the kingdom of *Ulishibonah* (Lisbon).

In every one of these chapters the author relates all the particulars, whether historical or geographical, which he could collect respecting each province, (may God remunerate him amply for his trouble in illustrating the history of the Moslems!) In that concerning Cordova, for instance, he accumulated the most precious information on the size, extent, and population of that capital, on the magnificence and splendour of its mosques, palaces, and other public buildings, on the fertility and careful cultivation of the fields and lands in the neighbourhood, on the peculiarities and productions of the soil, and the like. He also divided the chapter exclusively consecrated to Cordova into eleven smaller divisions, each treating on one of the districts which acknowledged at one time the jurisdiction of Cordova. The 1st describes Cordova and the country about it;[10] 2nd, *Bolkúnah* (Porcuna); 3rd, *Al-kosseyr* (Alcozer); 4th, *Al-mudowár* (Almodovar del rio); 5th, *Moréd* (Morente?); 6th, *Astíjah* (Ezija); 7th, *Ghâfek*; 8th, *Koznah* (Cuzna); 9th, *Kabrah* (Cabra); 10th, *Astaba* (Estepa); 11th, *Al-yasénah* (Lucena).

Lastly, Ibnu Sa'íd subdivided the chapter treating exclusively on the city of Cordova into four parts. Part 1, the description of Cordova; part 2, that of the city of Az-zahrá; part 3, that of the city of Az-záhirah; part 4, the description of the suburb called Shakandah, and the district of Waza'h.[11]

Size and extent of the city.

The dimensions of Cordova have been differently stated, owing, no doubt, to the rapid increase of its population and buildings under the various Sultáns of the dynasty of Merwán, and to the heart-rending calamities and disasters by which it was afflicted under the reign of the last sovereigns of that house. Ibnu Sa'íd, quoting Ash-shakandí's epistle, says that the city of Cordova, with the adjoining cities of Az-zahrá and Az-záhirah, covered at one time an extent of ground measuring ten miles in length, all which distance, adds that author, might be traversed at night by the light of lamps. The circumference of the walls of the

city is stated at thirty thousand cubits,[12] and the extent, exclusive of the suburbs, is said to have been sixteen thousand cubits in length from south to north; it is, moreover, said that the buildings of Córdova in the time of the Bení Umeyyah were continued to a distance of eight farsangs in length and of two in breadth, which makes twenty-four miles by six; all this space being covered with palaces, mosques, gardens, and houses built along the banks of the Guadalquivir, the only river in Andalus to which the Arabs gave a name.[13] Cordova is further described as a city which never ceased augmenting in size and increasing in splendour and importance from the occupation of it by the Moslems until the year four hundred of the Hijra (A. D. 1009-10), when, civil war breaking out in it, that mighty capital fell from its ancient splendour, went on gradually decaying and losing its former magnificence, until the moment of its final destruction in the month of Shawwál of the year six hundred and thirty-three of the Hijra (Sept. A. D. 1236), when it fell into the hands of the Christians.[14]

Another historian states the circumference of Cordova, namely, of that part only comprised within the walls, exclusive of the suburbs, at thirty-three thousand cubits, of which one thousand one hundred were covered by the royal palaces. Another says that Cordova was divided into five large districts or cities, separated one from another by a high and well fortified wall, and that all these put together measured three miles in length and one in width.

Number of suburbs it contained.

The suburbs are said to have been twenty-one in number, each of them provided with mosques, markets, and baths for the use of its inhabitants; so that the people of one had no occasion to repair to the other, either for religious purposes or to buy the necessaries of life. Ibnu Bashkúwál, who has given us a description of Cordova during its greatest prosperity, and when the influx of population was at its height, has preserved the names of the suburbs which once were joined to Cordova. Two lay to the south, on the opposite bank of the river, and their names were *Shakandah* and *Munyat-'A'jab* (the garden of the wonders). Nine to the west, namely, *Hawánítu-r-ríhán* (the shops of the sellers of sweet basil),[15] *Rabadh-ar-rakkákín* (the suburb of the bakers), *Mesjidu-l-kahfi* (the mosque of the cave), *Balátt Mugheythi* (the palace of Mugheyth), *Mesjidu-sh-shakái* (the mosque of misfortune), *Hamámu-l-anbírí* (the baths of Al-anbírí),[16] *Mesjidu-s-sorrúr* (the mosque of rejoicings), *Mesjidu-r-raudhah*[17] (the mosque of the garden), and *As-sojunu-l-kadím* (the old prison). Three to the north, *Bábu-l-yahúd* (the gate of the Jews), *Mesjid Umm-moslemah* (the mosque of Umm Moslemah), and the *Rissáfah*. The seven remaining lay to the east; their names were *Salár*,[18] *Farán Barbal*, *Al-borj*, *Munyat-'Abdillah* (the garden of 'Abdallah), *Munyatu-l-mugheyrah* (the garden of Mugheyrah), *Az-záhirah*, and *Medínatu-l-'atíkah* (the old city).

In the midst of the city, and surrounded by these suburbs, stood the *Kassábah* (citadel) of Cordova, which was fortified and defended by high walls, although the suburbs were not so; but during the civil wars a ditch was dug round the suburbs, and the whole enclosed within high and strong walls raised at the same time. The circumference of this wall, according to Ibnu Sa'íd, was twenty-four miles, including Shakandah, which, being an ancient walled town, was also comprised within the limits of the fortifications of Cordova.

The gates of Cordova were seven in number, according to Ibnu Bashkúwál. Gates. 1st. The gate of the bridge (*Bábu-l-kantarah*), also called *Bábu-l-wádí*, or gate of the river. 2nd. *Bábu-l-jezírati-l-khadhrá* (the gate of Algesiras), also leading to the river. Both these gates looked to the south. 3rdly. *Bábu-l-hadíd* (the iron gate), named also *Báb Sarakosta* (gate of Saragossa), *Báb Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár* (the gate of the son of 'Abdi-l-jabbár); also called gate of Toledo, and gate of the Christian (*Bábu-r-rúmiyyah*). At the latter-mentioned gate was the junction of the causeways built by the Romans, to which we have alluded in another part of this work, and which we have said made the circuit of the earth, coming from Cadiz, Carmona, passing by Cordova, and then going to Rome through Saragossa, Tarragona, Narbonne, and the great continent.[19] 4th. The gate of Talavera, which was also called gate of Leon. 5th. The gate of 'A'mir the Korayshite, opposite to the cemetery of that name. 6th. *Bábu-l-júz* (or the gate of the walnuts), also known by the name of gate of Badajoz. 7th, and last, *Bábu-l-'áttarín* (the gate of the druggists), commonly called the gate of Seville. There was still another gate, formerly called *Bábu-l-yahúd* (the gate of the Jews), but good Moslems having objected to the name, it was named *Bábu-l-hodí* (the gate of direction). The poet Abú 'A'mir Ibn Shohayd wrote on this gate the following distich:

> " They saw near to the gate of the Jews the star of Abú-l-hasan darken
> " and vanish.
> " When the Jews saw him commanding over their gate, they took him for
> " Joseph."[20]

The same historian, describing the royal palace of Cordova, says that it was an The Royal Palace. ancient building inhabited in former days by the infidel Sultáns who had ruled over the country since the time of Moses.[21] The interior of it, as well as the adjoining buildings, was full of primeval constructions, and wonderful remains of the Greeks, Romans, and Goths,[22] and other nations now extinct, and the interior apartments were so magnificently decorated as to dazzle with the beauty of their ornaments the eyes of the beholders. This palace the Khalifs of the house of Merwán chose for their residence, and tried to ornament and embellish by all possible means, adding new rooms, and filling them with elegant rarities. But this was not the only

improvement which the sovereigns of that family made in their capital, for, as we shall observe hereafter, they left every where in Cordova traces of their wise administration,—planting delicious gardens, supplying the city with water brought from the distant mountains, called the mountains of Cordova,[23] and furnishing their capital with abundance of provisions of all sorts. The water thus brought from the mountains was conveyed to this palace, and thence distributed into every corner and quarter of the city by means of leaden pipes, from which it flowed into basins of different shapes, made of the purest gold, the finest silver, or plated brass, as well as into vast lakes, curious tanks, and amazing reservoirs,[24] and fountains of Grecian marble beautifully carved. In this palace, too, was an astonishing *jet d'eau* which raised the water to a considerable height, and the like of which was nowhere to be seen in the East or West.

The palace here described by Ibnu Bashkúwál must be the same which some early writers designate under the name of *Balátt Rudherik*, (the palace of Roderic;) not that this king built it, but when the Arabs defeated him, and conquered his kingdom, knowing that whenever he came to Cordova he took up his abode in it, they called it by his name. By whom it was built is not ascertained; the most current opinion among the natives was that one of their ancient kings[25] who resided in the fortress of Almodovar, below Cordova, was the builder of it, and this they relate in the following manner. They say that as this king was one day hunting, he came to the spot where Cordova was afterwards built, which was then a dreary desert, the site now occupied by the palace being covered by an impervious thicket of brambles. Near this spot the king let fly a favourite hawk of his at a partridge, which, rising in the field afterwards called *Kudyat Abí 'Obeydah* (the hillock of Abú 'Obeydah), passed him, and alighted on the thicket. Thither the hawk flew in chase of the partridge, and the king followed in quest of his hawk, until, not seeing him appear, and fearing lest he should be entangled among the branches and unable to move, the king ordered the thicket to be cleared away that his hawk might be released. While his people were employed in cutting the underwood, behold! the top of a large and magnificent building was discovered by the workmen, a most amazing structure, all built with large blocks of stone joined together with molten lead. The king, who was an intelligent and enterprising man, immediately ordered an excavation to be made, and the building was speedily laid open in all its length and breadth; proceeding in their work they came to the foundations, which they found lying in the water, and resting upon a stratum of small pebbles, there introduced by art of old. When the king saw this, he exclaimed, "This is no doubt the work of some famous monarch, and I must "have it rebuilt." Upon which he issued orders that the building should be

restored to its primitive state, which being done, and the place made habitable, he visited it as often as any of his royal castles; for whenever he made the tour of his province, or passed near it on his way to some military expedition, he always resided in it for some length of time. This induced many of his subjects to settle in the neighbourhood, and little by little the city of Cordova was built, and the palace which stood in the middle of it became the abode of the kings, his successors.

But to return to Ibnu Bashkúwál's description. "Among the gates of the "palace,—those gates," says that historian, "which God Almighty opened for the "redress of injuries, the help of the oppressed, and the dispensing of impartial judg- "ments in all cases of law,—the principal is one which has a projecting balcony,[26] "without its equal in the world. This gate, which gave entrance to the palace, "was furnished with folding-doors covered with iron plates, to which was affixed a "brass ring of exquisite workmanship, and representing a man with his mouth wide "open. This extraordinary work of art, which took its rise at the lower part of the "gate, and served at the same time as a bar to the gate and as a knocker, had in "former times belonged to one of the gates of the city of Narbonne, in the country "of the Franks; but when the Amír Mohammed[27] took that city from the Chris- "tians he had it removed and brought to Cordova, and placed on the principal "gate of his palace. On a line with this, and looking to the south, there was "another gate, called *Bábu-l-jennán* (the gate of the gardens); and opposite to it, "on a platform overlooking the Guadalquivir, two mosques famous for their "sanctity and the numerous miracles wrought in them, in either of which the "Sultán Mohammed Ar-rádhí[28] used to sit to administer justice to his subjects, "anxious to gain thereby the abundant rewards of the Almighty. A third, called "*Bábu-l-wádí* (the gate of the river), and a fourth, called *Báb Koriah* (the gate of "Coria), opened to the north. There was a fifth and last gate, known by the name "of *Bábu-l-jámi'* (the gate of the great mosque), because the Khalifs used in "ancient times to go out of it whenever they visited the great mosque on Fridays, "carpets being spread under their feet the whole of the way." However, most of these gates, Ibnu Bashkúwál tells us, were either destroyed or blocked up during the civil war under the reign of 'Abdu-l-jabbár.[29]

Pleasure-houses and gardens belonging to the Khalifs.

Besides the royal palace here alluded to there were in and out of Cordova various houses and gardens, also built by the Sultáns and Khalifs of the house of Merwán for their habitation or their pleasure. We shall describe some of the most celebrated. Ibnu Sa'íd says, "I shall now proceed to the description of the "pleasure-gardens and public promenades where the people of Cordova passed "their leisure hours, or which they visited for the sake of recreation and amuse- "ment. Of these some belonged to the Sultán, others to wealthy citizens. Among

" the former are counted to the north the palace of the Rissáfah, which 'Abdu-r-" rahmán Ibn Mu'awiyeh built for himself in the beginning of his reign, and in " which he used to reside most of his time. He also planted a most beautiful " garden, to which he brought all kinds of rare and exotic plants and fine trees " from every country, taking care to supply it with sufficient water for irrigation. " His passion for flowers and plants went even so far as to induce him to send " agents to Syria and other countries, with a commission to procure him all sorts " of seeds and plants; and, when brought to Andalus, these productions of distant " regions and various climates failed not to take root, blossom, and bear fruit " in the royal gardens, whence they afterwards spread all over the country. " From this garden originates the pomegranate, called *Safarí*,[30] which in point of " flavour, smallness of seed, and abundance of juice, has not its equal in the " world, and is superior to any other fruit growing in Andalus. The manner in " which this fruit was introduced into the country, and the origin of its name, are " thus related. They say that one of the agents sent by 'Abdu-r-rahmán to Syria, " for the purpose of providing him with every exotic plant he could procure, sent " him from Damascus, among other rarities, a sort of pomegranate, which being " originally from the garden called *Rissáfat-Hishám* was, when planted in Andalus, " known by the name of *Rissáfí*. Being proud of them, 'Abdu-r-rahmán boasted " of the acquisition before his favourites, and proceeded to describe the nature " and qualities of the tree, the flavour and colour of the fruit, and the manner " in which it had been procured and sent to him. There happened to be among " the company a man of the name of Safar Ibn 'Obeyd Al-kal'aí, one of the " settlers from Al-urdán,[31] and who is further represented as belonging to the " Ansárís who bore the colours of the Prophet in battle, as well as those of the " Khalifs of the house of Umeyyah. To this Safar the Sultán gave some of the " fruit, and he, keeping the seed, sowed it some time afterwards in a village " of the district of Raya, where he resided; he nursed the tree, took care of it, " lopped its branches, and when the tree came to bear fruit he selected the best " pomegranate and repaired with it to court, where he presented himself to " 'Abdu-r-rahmán. No sooner did the Sultán see the fruit, which so much " resembled that of his gardens in colour and appearance, and the flavour of " which was equally fine, than he was greatly astonished, and inquired from Safar " how he had procured it. Safar then acquainted him with the circumstance, " and 'Abdu-r-rahmán was so much pleased that he praised highly his industry, " thanked him for his zeal, made him a considerable present, and ordered that " more trees of the same kind should be planted in the Rissáfah as well as in " other of his pleasure-gardens. Safar on his side augmented also his plantation,

" distributed the seed among his friends, and the Andalusian gardeners began " every where to cultivate this fruit, which is to this day the best kind of " pomegranate that exists, and is still known by the name of its introducer, " *Safarí*." [32]

But to return to the palace of the Rissáfah, which 'Abdu-r-rahmán ornamented with costly magnificence, and to which he conveyed water from the distant mountains. We find that it was situate to the north of Cordova, and that when 'Abdu-r-rahmán built it he called it *Munyatu-r-rissáfah* (the pleasure-gardens of the Rissáfah,)[33] after a palace of a similar name which his grandfather Hishám had built in Damascus. 'Abdu-r-rahmán was moreover exceedingly fond of it, and he used to dwell in it for the greatest part of the year, an inclination in which his grandfather Hishám had likewise considerably indulged. Nor was this the only palace built by 'Abdu-r-rahmán or his successors; there were besides in Cordova several royal villas remarkable either for the magnificence of their structure or their delightful situation. Of this number were "the palace of the confluent" (*Kasru-l-hájiri*);[34] "the palace of the garden" (*Kasru-r-raudhat*); "the palace of the flowers" (*Kasru-z-záhiru*); "the palace of the lovers" (*Kasru-l-ma'shúk*); "the palace of the fortunate" (*Kasru-l-mubárik*); "the palace of Rustak" (*Kasru-r-rustak*); "the palace of contentment" (*Kasru-s-sorrúr*); "the palace of the diadem" (*Kasru-t-táj*); and "the palace of the novelties" (*Kasru-l-badiyi'*).

Without the city was the palace of Sídí Abú Yahya Ibn Abí Ya'kúb Ibn 'Abdi-l-múmen,[35] built on arches on the Guadalquivir. Its founder being once asked how he, who had such an aversion to the people of Cordova, could take delight in building this palace, replied, that knowing how soon a governor was forgotten by them after his removal unless he showed them proofs of power and authority, having their heads full of the splendour of the Khalifate during the dynasty of Merwán, he wished to leave behind him some memorial of his stay which would make the inhabitants remember him in spite of themselves.

Another palace called *Dimashk* is mentioned by Al-fat'h in his *Kaláyid*, when writing the life of the Wizír Ibn 'Ammár.[36] He describes it as a pleasure-house belonging to the Sultáns of the house of Merwán, the roofs of which were supported by beautiful marble columns, and the floors paved with mosaic of a thousand hues.

> " All palaces in the world are nothing when compared to that of Dimashk,
> " for not only it has gardens filled with the most delicious fruits and sweet-
> " smelling flowers,
>
> " Beautiful prospects, and limpid running waters, clouds pregnant with
> " aromatic dew, and lofty buildings;

"But its earth is always perfumed, for morning pours on it her grey amber "and night her black musk."[37]

Another pleasure-house in Cordova was *Al-mus'hafiyyah*, so called from its proprietor the Wizír and Hájib Abú 'Othmán Ja'far Ibn 'Othmán Al-mus'hafí,[38] who held the situation of prime minister under the Sultán Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah.

Munyat-Zubeyr was the name of another pleasure-house in the outskirts of Cordova, which Zubeyr Ibn 'Omar Al-mulaththam[39] built for himself during his government of that city. There were besides several other gardens and pleasure-houses in Cordova called *Munyat;* as, for instance, *Munyatu-sorrúr* (the garden of contentment), of which mention has already been made, *Munyatu-l-'ámiriyyah* (the garden of the Bení 'Ámir), and *Munyatu-n-na'úrah*[40] (the garden of the water-wheel).

The poet Al-walíd Ibn Zeydún, in a poetical composition in which he enumerates the palaces, gardens, and places of recreation which existed in Cordova in his time, has preserved us the names of some, such as the *Kasru-l-fárisí* (the palace of the Persian),[41] and *Merju-n-nadhír* (the golden meadow),[42] a pleasure-garden in the outskirts of Cordova. There were, besides, various other villas, promenades, and plantations, for the use and recreation of the inhabitants. Of this number seem to have been *Merju-l-khor* (the meadow of the murmuring waters),[43] *Fahssu-s-sorrák* (the field of the thieves),[44] and *Fahssu-s-sudd* (the field of the dam),[45] all places which Ibnu Sa'íd mentions on the authority of his father. The latter, that author says, was the same as that known by the name of *Fahssu-l-aráhí* (the field of the mills), which is mentioned by Kásim Ibn 'Abúd Ar-riyáhí.[46]

Bridges on the Guadalquivir.

The river Guadalquivir is less at Cordova than at Seville, this being the reason why stone bridges were thrown over it at the former place, while the latter had none. This river has its origin in the mountains of Segura,[47] whence, dividing itself into two streams, one flows eastwards to Murcia, the other to Cordova and Seville. Ar-rází, describing this river, says that it flows as placidly as a stream of milk, and that even when its waters are increased by rain it is, at Cordova, a most harmless river; not so at Seville, where it has often threatened destruction to the city, and death to the inhabitants. The same author describes the bridge at Cordova as one of the most magnificent structures in all Andalus. It consisted of seventeen arches, each arch being fifty spans in width, and the intermediate space between the arches being also fifty spans. According to Ibnu Hayyán it was built by As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khaulání, governor of Andalus; or, as the author of the *Minhúju-l-fakr* says, by his successor 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Obeydillah Al-gháfekí, at the instance of the Khalif 'Omar, son of 'Abdu-l-'azíz.[48] It was afterwards rebuilt and beautified by the Khalifs of the house of Merwán. However, the

opinion given by Ibnu Hayyán seems the most probable, namely, that there was an old bridge at the same place, built about two hundred years before the invasion of the Arabs; but its arches being broken down and its upper works demolished by time, only the foundations remaining, the governor As-samh ordered a new bridge to be built in the year one hundred and one of the Hijra (A. D. 719-20), on the still remaining piers of the former one. The length of this bridge is stated by Ibnu Hayyán at eight hundred cubits, and the breadth at twenty; the elevation was sixty cubits; it stood upon eighteen arches (one more than Ar-rází gave), and had besides sixteen turrets. The old bridge is said by Ibnu Hayyán, Ar-rází, and Al-hijárí, to have been built by Octavius, the second Cæsar of Rome, as we have remarked elsewhere.

Jurisdiction of Cordova.

The number of villages and towns appertaining to Cordova was almost innumerable, for at one time the jurisdiction of the capital extended over many populous and wealthy districts. Some cities of the first rank likewise acknowledged her authority; as Almodovar, distant sixteen miles; Mored, twenty-five; Alcozer, eighteen; Gháfek, two days' march; Ezija, thirty-six miles; Baena, two days' march; Estepa, thirty-six miles: the city of Ronda belonged also to Cordova, but it was afterwards annexed to that of Seville, to which city it stands nearer. There were, moreover, in the neighbourhood of Cordova no less than three thousand villages, provided with mosques, and having, besides, a divine (*mukallass*)[49] of known erudition, whose duty was to pronounce judgments on canon and civil law. Among the Andalusian Arabs none could aspire to wear the *kalass* who could not recite by heart most of the *Mowattá*, or who knew not ten thousand traditions respecting the Prophet, or were not perfectly conversant with the theological work entitled *Al-madúnah*.[50] It was the duty of the Kádís of villages in the neighbourhood of Cordova to come to town every Friday, and assist at public prayers with the Khalif in the great mosque; and when the prayers were over they all approached the Sultán, saluted him, and reported on the state of their respective towns.

Revenue.

The revenues arising from Cordova and its district have been differently stated. They are said by an eastern writer to have amounted, in the days of Al-hakem, son of Hishám, to one hundred and ten thousand and twenty dinárs, in specie, four thousand and seven hundred *mudd* of wheat and seven thousand seven hundred and forty-seven of barley, in kind; another writer estimates them at three million of dinárs at a medium, under the administration of Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir. But this latter computation is undoubtedly erroneous,—the revenues collected from Cordova and its neighbourhood never rose to such a sum; the author must mean the total amount of taxes collected in the dominions of the Khalifs; but again he

is wrong, for these, as we have already remarked elsewhere, amounted to a more considerable sum. But God only is all-knowing.

Productions of the soil.

One thing is certain, namely, that trade and agriculture flourished in this place during the reigns of the sons of Umeyyah in a degree which has scarcely been witnessed in any other city in the world; its market was always overstocked with the fruits of the land, the productions of every district, and the best of every country. No robe, however costly,—no drug, however scarce,—no jewel, however precious,—no rarity of distant and unknown lands, but was to be procured in the bazaars of Cordova, and found hundreds of purchasers. Situate as Cordova was in the midst of fertile lands watered by the Guadalquivir, and which yielded abundant crops, its inhabitants were at all times provided with the best food of all kinds, and that, too, at the cheapest possible rate. Ibnu Sa'íd calls the land about Cordova a favoured land, and mentions several minerals in which its territory abounded, such as pure silver in the district of *Kartash*,[51] quicksilver and cinnabar in that of *Sittálisah*,[52] and a great many other precious minerals. Another writer mentions a sort of stone called *sharankh*,[53] which is well known to possess the property of stopping the blood when applied to a wound, and which is said to have abounded in the territory of that city. Our author observes that mule-loads of it were annually exported to other countries, where it often fetched as high a price as five hundred dinárs the load, on account of its wonderful properties, which made it very much prized.

Limits of Cordova under Al-mansúr.

We have already said something elsewhere on the probable size and extent of Cordova during the times of its greatest prosperity; indeed it is ascertained that during the administration of the Hájib Al-mansúr such was the influx of population, that, what with the innumerable foreigners who came from all parts of the Mohammedan world to reside in it under the shade of his justice, and what with the motley tribes of Berbers which he called from Africa, and with whom he reduced to the last extremity the miserable relics of the Christian nations, the limits of Cordova were found insufficient to contain them all, and many had to live encamped under tents in the outskirts of the city. A trustworthy writer who was residing in Cordova at the time tells us,—"I once counted all the houses[54] in the city and "its suburbs, and found they amounted to two hundred thousand and seventy-"seven, including only in this number those of the common people, artisans, and "labourers; for the palaces of the nobles, Wizírs, officers of the royal household, "commanders of the troops, and other wealthy citizens, and the barracks, hos-"pitals, colleges, and other public buildings, amounted to sixty thousand and three "hundred, exclusive of wooden cabins,[55] inns, baths, and taverns." The number of shops[56] at this time is computed by the same author at eighty thousand four hundred and fifty-five. Another writer states the number of markets to have been

four thousand and three hundred, and says that within the walls of the citadel there were upwards of four hundred and thirty houses belonging to officers of the royal household and public functionaries. The number of houses in the city and the suburbs belonging either to the common people or to respectable and wealthy citizens is computed by the same writer at one hundred and thirteen thousand, exclusive of the palaces inhabited by Wizírs, noblemen, and military commanders. But we have read somewhere else that the said number must only be applied to the times of the Sultáns of the Bení Lamtumnah (Almoravides) and the Almohades their successors, under whose reign the importance and splendour of Cordova were very much diminished, owing to the disastrous civil wars which raged through its territory; for, as we have remarked elsewhere, the number of houses occupied by officers of the state and noble and distinguished citizens amounted to sixty thousand and three hundred. The number of mosques in and without the capital is likewise stated with great discrepancy. An ancient writer states those that existed under 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. at four hundred and ninety; it is true that this number was prodigiously[57] increased in the course of time. The author of the *Kitábu-l-mesálek wa-l-memálek* states them likewise at four hundred and seventy-one. We have seen their number estimated even as high as eight hundred and thirty-seven,[58] but this must be an exaggeration; the baths in and without the city are by some said to have amounted to three hundred, by others they are computed at seven hundred. The suburbs also are said to have been twenty-eight in number,—others reduce them to twenty; but the number given by Ibnu Bashkúwál, that is, twenty-one, occurs more frequently in the writings of the time.

However, the numbers as given by Ibnu Sa'íd, a writer on whom we place the most implicit trust and reliance, and who borrowed his information from Ibnu Hayyán and other historians who lived in the prosperous times of the Cordovan Khalifate, are the following: one hundred and thirteen thousand houses for the common people, besides half that number, or perhaps more, for the officers of the state, favourites of the court, military commanders, and the like.[59] The number of mosques at the period of its greatest splendour, namely, during the administration of the Wizír Ibn Abí 'A'mir, never exceeded seven hundred, nor the baths nine hundred;[60] but he owns having read in an ancient history that under 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. the city of Cordova was reported to contain three hundred thousand houses, and eight hundred and eighty-seven mosques, eighteen of which were within the limits of Shakandah; yet the number given by Al-bekrí (that is, four hundred and seventy-seven mosques,) is still far from any of those before stated. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that during the civil wars which broke out at the beginning of the fourth century of the Hijra, not only was a great part of these

buildings demolished, and whole streets deserted, but some of the suburbs were razed to the ground, and all traces of them disappeared for ever.

But it is full time that we should treat of the great mosque of Cordova, that magnificent building which has not its equal in the whole world, either in point of size, beauty of design, tasteful arrangement of its ornaments, or boldness of execution. This superb building has been so often and so elegantly described that we shall merely select, among the written accounts that exist of it, that which we deem indispensable for our narrative.

CHAPTER II.

The great mosque of Cordova—Built on the site of a Christian temple—Begun by 'Abdu-r-rahmán—Continued by his successors—Its dimensions—Makssúrah—Mihráb—Copy of the Korán written by 'Othmán—Tower—Al-hakem's addition—Alms-houses—Al-mansúr's addition—Number of chandeliers in the mosque—Attendants.

The great mosque of Cordova.

THE great mosque of Cordova, as is well known, owes its erection to 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel, the first sovereign of the house of Umeyyah who reigned independently over Andalus. All historians agree in saying that the moment 'Abdu-r-rahmán saw himself free from rivals, and firmly established on his throne, he began the building of the royal palace,—that of the pleasure-house called Rissáfah, which we have before described,—and that of the great mosque. He died, however, without seeing the building completed, and bequeathed to his son and heir, Hishám, the care of the undertaking. Under this Sultán the building was, properly speaking, finished according to the original plan, but during the reign of the succeeding Sultáns and Khalifs, eight in number, who ruled over Andalus, it was considerably augmented and embellished.

Built on the site of a Christian temple.

The causes which led to the erection of this magnificent temple are thus related by the historian Ar-rází. "The conquerors of Andalus imitated the conduct of "'Obeyd Ibnu-l-jerráh and Kháled Ibnu-l-walíd [1] in dividing with the Christians "the churches of the subdued cities, agreeably to the advice of the Khalif 'Omar "Ibnu-l-khattáb. So when Damascus was taken the principal temple of that "city was divided, half of it remaining in the hands of the inhabitants for all pur-"poses of their worship, while the other half was appropriated for the use of the "Moslems, who converted it into a mosque; the same being done in every city which "surrendered by capitulation. According to this maxim, when the Arabs took "Cordova they divided with the Christians their principal church, which was "within the city and close to the walls, and was known among them as the church "of St. Vincent.[2] In the moiety allotted to them the Moslems built themselves a "mosque for the prayers of the Friday, whilst the other half remained in the hands

"of the Christians as the only place of worship allowed to them, since all other "churches in and out of the city were immediately pulled down. The Moslems "remained for a long time satisfied with what they possessed, until their number "increasing daily, and Cordova becoming a very populous city, owing to the "Arabian Amírs having taken up their abode in it and made it the seat of the "government, the mosque proved to be too small to contain them all, and roof "after roof[3] was built in order to make it more roomy and spacious, until from the "contiguity of these roofs one to another, the narrowness of the doors leading to it, "and the great number of wooden pillars supporting each addition, which barred "the passage, it became a matter of the greatest difficulty to penetrate into the "interior of the mosque; besides, the roof of each successive addition being inferior "to the preceding, that of the last was in fact so low as almost to touch the ground "and to prevent the people from standing at ease under it.

Begun by 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

"The mosque, however, continued for a long time in this state, until the arrival "of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Mu'awiyeh, surnamed Ad-dákhel, who, having gained "possession of Andalus, and made Cordova his capital, began seriously to think of "enlarging the limits of the mosque. Accordingly he sent for the chiefs of the "Christians, and proposed to purchase from them that part of the mosque which "remained still in their hands, in order that he might add it to the Mohammedan "place of worship. But notwithstanding the liberality of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who "offered them a very considerable sum of money, the Christians, relying on the "capitulations of peace signed to them by the conquerors, would not agree to sell "their part. However, after much negotiation, they agreed to relinquish their own "half, on condition of being allowed to rebuild or repair another church outside the "walls, which had been destroyed, and of holding it independently of the Moslems, and "entirely consecrated to the worship of their God. This being granted by 'Abdu-r-"rahmán, and the Christians having received the sum agreed upon, which a certain "historian has stated at one hundred thousand dinárs, the Sultán proceeded in the "year one hundred and sixty-eight[4] of the Hijra (A. D. 784-5) to demolish the old "place of worship, and to lay on it the foundations of the great mosque,[5] which "became one of the wonders of the world. In this building, which was carried "on with incredible activity during his reign, 'Abdu-r-rahmán is said to have "spent the sum of eighty thousand dinárs, derived from the fifth of the spoil." However, as we have remarked elsewhere, the building was not completed until the days of his son Hishám, in the year one hundred and seventy-seven of the Hijra (A. D. 793-4).

The poet Dihyah Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Al-balúní[6] has alluded to this in an excellent composition, of which we quote the following verses:

" 'Abdu-r-rahmán has spent, for the sake of his God and the honour of
" religion, of silver and gold eighty thousand dinárs.

" He has employed them in building a temple for the use of this devout
" nation, and the better observance of the religion of the Prophet Mohammed.

" There thou wilt see the gold which covers its ceilings in profusion glitter
" as brightly as the lightning crossing the clouds."

Once completed by Hishám, the mosque of Cordova received considerable improvement at the hands of his successors; indeed, it can be safely advanced that none of the Sultáns of the illustrious family of Umeyyah who reigned in Cordova died without making some considerable addition, or contributing in some way to the ornament of that sumptuous building. Hishám, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, surnamed Ar-rádhí, the same monarch who saw it completed, added considerably to it, the expenses of the work being entirely defrayed out of the fifth of the spoils taken from the infidels of Narbonne. His son, 'Abdu-r-rahmán *al-ausatt* (the second), ordered the gilding of the columns and part of the walls,[7] but died before its termination. Mohammed, his successor, continued the work begun by his father, and brought it to a close. His son, Al-mundhir, repaired several rents in the walls, and made other material improvements in the building. The Khalif An-nássir caused the old minaret to be pulled down, and another magnificent one to be erected in its stead. Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, son of An-nássir, made also important additions; seeing, on his coming to power, that Cordova was every day increasing in size and extent, and the population rapidly augmenting, and that notwithstanding the great additions made on various occasions to the mosque it was still insufficient to hold the faithful that flocked to it on Fridays, he directed all his attention to the enlargement of it, and succeeded after great labour and expense in carrying his plan into execution and completing the additional building known by his name;—the expenses incurred by it having amounted, according to the historian Ibnu Hayyán, to one hundred and sixty-one thousand gold dinárs, taken from the fifth of the spoils made from the infidels:—by which the mosque reached the highest pitch of perfection, all these works being executed in a manner which baffles all description. Lastly, in the reign of his successor, Hishám II., and under the administration of his famous Hájib Ibn Abí 'A'mir Al-mansúr, a most important addition, built on a scale which left all those of the Sultáns, his predecessors, far behind in point of solidity, beauty of design,[8] and boldness of execution, was made to the body of the mosque. But as it is our intention to treat at length and in detail of each of these additional works, we shall not dwell any longer on the subject, and shall proceed to give the dimensions

Continued by his successors.

of the mosque, and to describe the works of art and precious objects amassed in it by the commendable piety of so many sovereigns.

Its dimensions. The author of the *Majmu'-l-muftarik* [8] says that the roof of the aisles [9] before the addition made by Al-hakem measured two hundred and twenty-five cubits in length from *jauf* to *kiblah*,[10] and that the breadth from east to west was likewise before the addition one hundred and five cubits. Al-hakem then added one hundred and five cubits, thus making the entire length of the mosque three hundred and thirty cubits. After this, Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, better known by the surname of Al-mansúr, added to it by order of the Khalif Hishám, son of Al-hakem, eighty cubits in breadth on the eastern side. The number of aisles was at first eleven; the breadth of the central one being sixteen cubits; that of each of the two next, east and west, fourteen cubits; and that of each of the remaining six, eleven cubits. To this number Al-mansúr added eight aisles of ten cubits in breadth each, the addition being completed in the space of two years and a half, during which time Al-mansúr himself occasionally worked in person. The length of the court [11] from east to west was one hundred and twenty-eight cubits, and the breadth from *kiblah* to *jauf* one hundred and five; the width of the porticos of the colonnade surrounding the court was ten cubits; and the area of the whole building measured thirty-three thousand one hundred and fifty square cubits.

Ibnu Sa'íd, quoting Ibnu Bashkúwál, agrees in some particulars with the above account. He states the length of the great mosque within the city at the same number of cubits, that is, three hundred and thirty from *jauf* to *kiblah;* the court or open space he only makes eighty cubits in length, the remainder being occupied by porticos tiled over. He estimates the breadth of the mosque from east to west at two hundred and fifty cubits, in which he is at variance with the preceding statement.[12] He says also that the total number of aisles, comprising the addition made by Al-mansúr, was nineteen, and that they were called *al-balátát*. The number of doors, great and small, was twenty-one; namely, nine on the west side, including in the number a large one by which women entered into the part of the mosque allotted to them; nine on the east, eight of which were for the men and one for the women; three to the north, of which two large ones were for the use of the men, and the other for the women to enter into their recesses. No doors were visible on the south side, with the exception of one in the south side of the *makssúrah*, and leading through a covered way to the palace of the Khalif. It was through this secret passage that the Sultán passed on a Friday into the mosque to join in the public worship. All these doors were covered with the finest brass, in the most beautiful manner.[13]

Another author describes the doors as being only nine; namely, three opening into the court,—one to the east, another to the west, and a third to the north; four opening into the aisles, namely, two on the east and two on the west side; the two remaining leading into the recesses for women under the aisles: and lastly, an anonymous writer[14] whom we consulted in Cairo says that each of these doors was ornamented with a ring of exquisite workmanship, and covered with sheets of yellow brass so bright and polished as to dazzle the eyes of the beholders.

According to the author of the *Majmu'-l-muftarik* the number of columns, all of marble, is said to have been one thousand two hundred and ninety-three; according to another writer the total number of columns which either supported the roof of the mosque, or were embodied in the walls, or formed the domes, or entered into the building of the minaret, amounted between large and small to one thousand four hundred and seventeen; others say that the large columns in the interior of the mosque amounted to one thousand, exclusive of others of smaller size in the court and offices of the mosque; but there are not wanting authors who make their number still more considerable. Ibnu Bashkúwál, quoted by Ibnu Sa'íd, states them to be in all fourteen hundred and nine,[15] of which one hundred and nineteen were comprised within the *makssúrah*, built by Al-mansúr. This the above-mentioned author describes as one of the most magnificent and bold structures ever raised by man. It extended across five aisles of the eleven composing the addition built by Al-hakem, and its wings passed through the remaining six, leaving three on each side;[16] its length from east to west was seventy-five cubits; its breadth from the wooden partition to the columns of the *kiblah* twenty-two cubits; the height, counting from the floor to the cornices,[17] eight cubits; and that of the cornices three spans.

This *makssúrah* was further provided with three doors of exquisite workmanship **Makssúrah.** and beautifully carved, and leading by the east, west, and north, into the body of the mosque. It is stated elsewhere that one of these doors was made of pure gold, as well as the walls of the *mihráb*;[18] that the floor of the *makssúrah* was paved with silver, and that all the parts adjacent to it were covered with *sofeysafá*[19] (rich mosaic work intermixed with gold); and lastly, that most of the columns, which are described as being placed in clusters of four, and having only one capital, were most beautifully carved and inlaid from top to bottom with gold and lapis-lazuli; but God only is all-knowing. It is also asserted that in the open space[20] occupied by the *mihráb* there were seven arches supported by columns, and rising to a considerable height; and such was the beauty of their proportions and the boldness of the execution that both Christians and Moslems repeatedly expressed their admiration at the manner in which they were achieved: there were besides in the two

jambs[21] forming the door of the *mihráb* four columns of inestimable value,—two were made of green marble, the other two of lapis-lazuli.

Mihráb.

We learn from Ibnu Bashkúwál that the length of the *mihráb* was eight cubits and a half from *kiblah* to *jauf*, and its breadth from east to west seven cubits and a half; the height of the dome thirteen cubits and a half. There stood against one of its sides a pulpit,[22] also constructed by Al-hakem, and equalled by none other in the world for workmanship and materials. It was built of ivory, and of the most exquisite woods, such as ebony, sandal, *bakam*,[23] Indian plantain, citron wood, aloe, and so forth, at the expense of thirty-five thousand seven hundred and five dinárs, three dirhems and one third; and the steps by which it was ascended were nine in number. Another writer says that it was formed of thirty-six thousand small pieces of wood, which were fastened together with gold and silver nails, and occasionally incrusted with precious stones, and that the original cost of each piece was seven dirhems of silver; that its construction lasted for seven years, eight artists being daily employed in it, with an allowance of half a mithkál Mohammedí[24] a day.

Copy of the Korán written by 'Othmán.

This pulpit was once the repository of a copy of the Korán written, as it is generally supposed, by the Khalif 'Othmán. It was preserved in a case of gold tissue set with pearls and rubies, over which was a bag of the richest coloured silk, the whole being placed on a stand of aloe wood, joined with gold nails. It was taken to Africa by one of the Sultáns of the Bení 'Abdi-l-múmen, and lost and recovered several times, until it was finally deposited in the great mosque called *Jámi'-Karawayin*[25] (the mosque of the people of Cairwán), at Fez. But this being an interesting subject, and one which has given rise to much debate among the learned, some of whom have expressed doubts of this book being so ancient as it was supposed, we deem it proper to transcribe here the words of a very intelligent author who has fully investigated the case. The Khattíb Ibn Marzúk[26] says in his work entitled *Al-masnadu-s-sahíhu-l-hasan*, (or collection of authenticated traditions,) as follows:—"The copy of the Korán called 'Othmání, and "which, according to Ibnu Bashkúwál, is one of the four copies which the Khalif "'Othmán (may God show him His favours!) sent to Mekka, Basrah, Kúfah, and "Damascus, is too well known all over Andalus and Africa to need description. "It was kept in the great mosque of Cordova, until on a Saturday, the eleventh of "Shawwál of the year five hundred and fifty-six of the Hijra (A. D. 1161), it was "taken away, as it is believed, by order of Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-múmen Ibn "'Alí,[27] and taken to Africa, where it remained in the hands of that Sultán and his "successors, who not only took the greatest care of it, but carried it always in their "travels and military expeditions, expecting that it would prove for them a source "of prosperity. Thus it passed from one Sultán to another among the Almohades

" until it came to 'Alí Ibnu-l-mámún Abí-l-'olá Idrís Ibnu-l-mansúr, surnamed " Al-mu'atadhedh and Sa'íd,[28] who took it with him in his expedition against " Telemsán, towards the end of the year six hundred and forty-five of the Hijra " (A. D. 1247-8). By the death of this Sultán, who perished in a skirmish before " that city, the sacred volume went to his son Ibráhím,[29] who, having given battle " to the enemy, was also defeated and lost his life, the enemy getting possession of " all the baggage of his army, and the greatest part of his treasures; among which " was this Korán, which fell into the hands of the Arabs. What its final desti- " nation was I could not learn; some say that it was acquired by the Sultán of " Telemsán, whose successor preserves it now in his treasure.

" As to the supposition that some spots of the blood of 'Othmán are to be seen " on it, it is a very gratuitous one, and rests on no foundation whatever. That of " its being one of the copies presented by the Khalif to the cities of Mekka, Basrah, " Kúfah, and Damascus, requires some consideration. Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik says, 'In " case of its being one of the above-mentioned copies, it cannot be any other than " the Syrian one.' But Abú-l-kásim An-najíbí[30] As-sebttí tells us that the Syrian " copy, that is, the identical one presented by 'Othmán to the city of Damascus, is " still preserved in the *makssúrah* of the mosque of the Bení Umeyyah in that " city, where he saw it himself in the year six hundred and fifty-seven of the " Hijra.[31] It cannot either be that of Mekka, for the same Abú-l-kásim informs us " that having in the said year of six hundred and fifty-seven (A. D. 1259) made his " pilgrimage to the holy places, he saw and read in it, and found it lying as before " under the dome of the Jews, otherwise called *Kubbatu-t-tarab* (the dome of the " dust), and that he likewise saw the ancient copy preserved at Medína, and read in " it. Perhaps it is the one of Kúfah, or that of Basrah; but it is well known that " the latter is preserved at Medína, where Abú-l-kásim found it. Besides, An- " najaghí,[32] who in the year seven hundred and five (A. D. 1305-6) had an oppor- " tunity of seeing and comparing both copies, namely, that which is preserved in " Medína, and that which came to this country and was previously in the great " mosque of Cordova, declares positively that he examined them both with the " greatest attention and care, and saw nothing which could lead him to suppose " that the Cordovan one was of the same antiquity. The hand-writing was totally " distinct, the copy at Medína being written in the hand-writing generally used in " Yemen, while that of Cordova was not. As to its being written by the Khalif " 'Othmán himself, it is a supposition which scarcely needs refutation, for it is " known to every body that he wrote none himself; what he did was merely to " intrust some of the companions of the Prophet with the revision and arrangement " of a copy which should serve as a standard for all others,—this being proved by

" the note at the end of the copy deposited now at Medína, and which reads thus: " 'The present book was collected by some of the companions of the Prophet (on " whom be benediction and salutation!) by the injunctions of the Khalif 'Othmán,' " &c. Then follow the names of the companions who assisted in the collection, as " Zeyd Ibn Thábit, 'Abdullah Ibn Zubeyr, Sa'íd Al-'assí, and so forth.[33]

" However, be this as it may, one thing is certain, namely, that the copy of the " Korán which was preserved at Cordova, and held in so great veneration by the " people of Andalus, passed through many hands, until it was lost before Telemsán " by the Sultán Ibráhím; its present destination being totally unknown to me, " unless, I repeat, it be preserved in the treasure of the Sultán of Telemsán, as it " has been reported."

Such is Ibn Marzúk's account, which we have copied almost literally from his work. Now it remains for us to say that what Ibn Marzúk conjectures is a fact; the sacred volume here alluded to remained in the possession of the Sultáns of Telemsán, who transmitted it as an inheritance from father to son, until that city was taken by our Imám Abú-l-hasan[34] towards the end of Ramadhán of the year seven hundred and thirty-seven of the Hijra (A. D. 1336). That prince, having seized upon all the treasures contained in the royal palace, found among other valuable objects the famous Korán, which he kept in his possession until it was again lost by him in the disastrous battle of Tarifa;[35] thus becoming the prey of the infidel monarchs of Andalus. From that country it went to Portugal, whence it was again recovered in the year seven hundred and forty-five (A. D. 1344-5) by one of the merchants of Azamor, who employed a *ruse* to gain possession of it. It then was acquired by the Sultán of Fez, at which city Ibn Rashíd saw it, as he himself informs us in his travels.[36]

Tower. But to return to our description of the mosque of Cordova. " The height of the " tower[37] now existing," says Ibnu Bashkúwál, " which was built by the Sultán " 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of the Sultán Mohammed, is seventy-two cubits, namely, " fifty-four to the top of the open dome, towards which the crier turns his back " when proclaiming the hour of prayers, and eighteen more to the very end of the " spar. On the summit of this dome are the three celebrated apples, two of which " are made of pure gold, and the middle one of silver. Each of them measures " three spans and a half in circumference, and they are encompassed within two six- " petalled lilies in a most elegant manner, the whole being surmounted by a small " pomegranate made of pure gold, rising about a cubit above the top of the dome, " which is considered one of the wonders of the world."

The building of this tower is thus related by the above-mentioned writer. " In " the year three hundred and thirty-four[38] (A. D. 945-6) the Amír 'Abdu-r-rahmán

" ordered the old tower of the mosque to be pulled down, and the present mag-" nificent structure to be erected in its stead. The first thing done was to dig the " foundations, a work which lasted forty-three days, the excavation being carried so " deep that the workmen were stopped by water; the building was then begun, and " completed in the space of thirteen months, the material being free-stone cemented " with mortar. When the whole building was completed, An-nássir rode to the " spot from his palace in the city of Az-zahrá, where he was residing at the time, " ascended to the top of the tower by one of its staircases, and came down by " the other; for unlike the old tower, which had only one staircase, the present one " is provided with two, separated by a wall of masonry, and so contrived that two " people starting at the same time may arrive at the top without meeting or seeing " each other. After carefully inspecting the edifice, An-nássir went into the " *makssúrah* of the mosque, prayed two *reka's*, and retired."

The number of steps in each staircase was one hundred and seven; and Ibnu Bashkúwál adds, that it was firmly believed in his time that the tower had not its equal in point of height and beauty in any other of the countries subject to the rule of Islám. But, as Ibnu Sa'íd has very properly remarked, had Ibnu Bashkúwál seen those of Seville and Morocco, both built by the Sultán Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, one of the Bení 'Abdi-l-múmen, he would not have said so, since it is well known that their dimensions considerably exceed those of the tower of Cordova. The height of this, measured from below to the balcony or balustrade where the crier stands, is fifty-four cubits, and to the very extremity of the spar, where the gold pomegranate is, seventy-three cubits; the width of each of the square sides, eighteen cubits;—thus making seventy-two cubits in circuit. The height of the tower at Morocco is well known to be one hundred and ten cubits, and the width in proportion.

The expenses incurred by An-nássir in his addition to the mosque, as well as in the construction of this tower, are stated by Ibnu Bashkúwál, who borrowed his information from an account in the hand-writing of the Khalif himself,[39] at two hundred and sixty-one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven dinárs, and two dirhems and a half.

Al-hakem's addition.

His son, Al-hakem, was no less fond of building, and his improvements and additions to the mosque rank as high as those of any of his predecessors. As we have related elsewhere, Al-hakem, soon after his accession to the throne, thought of enlarging the mosque of Cordova, which had become too small to contain the crowds of people that flocked to it on Fridays. While the addition was being built, a dispute arose among his architects respecting the part of the horizon towards which the *kiblah* was to be turned; some pretending that it ought to be built facing the south, as it was formerly, and as his father, An-nássir, had done with that

of the mosque of Az-zahrá, while mathematicians and astronomers contended that it ought to be built inclining a little towards the east. While the people were thus disputing the point among themselves, the Faquih Abú Ibráhím came up to Al-hakem, and said to him, "O Prince of the believers! all the people of this "nation have constantly turned their faces to the south while making their prayers; "it was to the south that the Imáms who preceded thee, the doctors, the Kádís, and "all Moslems, directed their looks, from the times of the conquest up to the present "day; and it was to the south that the *tábi's*, like Músa Ibn Nosseyr and Hansh "As-san'ání, (may God show them mercy!) inclined the *kiblahs* of all the mosques "which they erected in this country. Remember that proverb which says, 'It is "preferable to follow the example of others and be saved, than to perish by "separating from the track.'" Upon which the Khalif exclaimed, "By Allah, "thou sayst right! I am for following the example of the *tábi's*, whose opinion on "the subject is of great weight:"—and he ordered that it should be executed as proposed.

Nor was this the only improvement which the Khalif Al-hakem made to the great mosque; he ordered, besides, some works of the greatest utility and importance. Instead of the old reservoir[40] for purification, in the court of the mosque, which was supplied with water drawn by beasts[41] from a neighbouring well, he built four others at the two sides of the mosque, viz., two large ones for men at the eastern angle, and two small ones for women at the western; and these he filled by means of a canal,[42] which, taking the water from the foot of the mountains of Cordova, poured it into an immense reservoir lined with marble. The water ran night and day, and what remained after supplying the wants of the mosque, being very sweet and of excellent quality, was distributed into three canals,[43] parting from three different sides of the mosque, east, north, and west, and flowed into two immense fountains,[44] which Al-hakem caused to be hewn out of the solid rock at the foot of the mountains of Cordova at an enormous expense, owing to the number of workmen employed in them, and the difficulty of transport.

The work was executed in the following manner:—Two immense blocks of stone were first selected from the quarries in the mountains of Cordova; they were then hewn out with pickaxes, an operation which took up considerable time, and when every thing was completed both fountains appeared suddenly to the eyes of the astonished multitude in the shape which they were destined to have. However, the general satisfaction expressed by the inhabitants on this occasion was very much damped by the obstacles, to all appearance insurmountable, which the distance of the quarry and the size of the blocks presented to the transport and conveyance of them by an inclined plane to the corners of the mosque prepared for their recep-

tion. This, however, was soon remedied, through the assistance of Almighty God, and the following expedient was suggested. A cart was built with large beams of oak wood placed upon a circular frame, the whole being strengthened with iron hoops; a road was levelled from the quarry to the mosque, and after every preparation had been made seventy of the strongest draught oxen were yoked to it by means of strong ropes, and with God's favour and assistance the two huge blocks reached their destination one after the other, and were placed in the vaulted recesses prepared for them,[45]—twelve consecutive days being the time spent in their transport.

Alms-houses.

On the west side of this mosque Al-hakem built a house for the distribution of alms, in which such poor travellers and people as lost their way in the city, or did not know whither to go, or were devoid of sufficient means to provide for their wants during their residence in the capital, met always with a charitable reception, and were hospitably entertained and furnished with every necessary, owing to the vast sums with which the establishment was endowed by the Khalif. Several houses for the poor were likewise erected by Al-hakem over against the great western gate of the mosque.[46] The sum spent by Al-hakem in the building of these houses, as well as in his addition to the mosque, &c., amounted, according to Ibnu Hayyán, to one hundred and sixty-one thousand gold dinárs, all derived from the fifths of the spoil.

Al-mansúr's addition.

But the greatest addition that ever was made to the mosque is undoubtedly that undertaken and completed in the days of Hishám II., and under the administration of his famous Hájib, Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir. It is thus described by Ibnu Sa'íd, who quotes Ibnu Bashkúwál and Ibnu-l-faradhí as his authorities.—" The popula-" tion of Cordova had so much increased,—owing to the great influx of people who " came from all parts of Asia and Africa to settle in it, and to the tribes of Berbers " which Al-mansúr drew from the opposite land and kept in his pay;—the city " itself had reached to such a pitch of magnificence and splendour,[47] that the " suburbs and outskirts teemed with inhabitants, and the great mosque was found " incapable of holding the faithful who flocked to it from all sides. As the " Khalif's palace adjoined the mosque on the west side, Al-mansúr could not " extend the building except on the east. The first step he took was to indemnify, " preparatory to the building, the proprietors of such houses as were to be pulled " down with such sums as they chose to fix for their property. He called together " the owners of the houses, and addressing each of them in private he spoke thus: " ' Friend, I want that house of thine; I must buy it from thee, that I may add " its site to that of the great mosque: it is a work of great utility, and intended " for the convenience of the public. Thou mayst ask whatever price thou choosest

"to have for it, and it shall be paid to thee out of the royal coffers.' Every one "of the proprietors having agreed to sell his house, not without putting the highest "possible price on it, Al-mansúr gave immediate orders for the payment, and com-"manded besides that a suitable residence should be built for each of the pro-"prietors in another quarter of the city. Al-mansúr addressed himself at length to "an old woman, who, being the proprietor of a house with a palm tree within the "court of the mosque,[48] obstinately refused to part with it for any sum, unless she "were provided with another house having also a palm tree; upon which Al-"mansúr issued immediate orders that the old woman's wish should be fulfilled, "should it cost a *beyt-mál*;[49] and, accordingly, another house with a palm tree was "procured for a most exorbitant price.

"All these difficulties being speedily removed, Al-mansúr began to build "his addition, in aisles extending all along the mosque, as we have remarked "elsewhere,[50] and the whole, when finished, presented a front of the greatest "solidity and elegance, the interior being decorated with gold in the most mag-"nificent manner; so that in the opinion of all the intelligent in these matters "the addition built by Al-mansúr fell nowise short of those of any of his pre-"decessors, that of Al-hakem even not excepted:—the action being rendered still "more meritorious by the circumstance of Christian slaves[51] from Castile and other "infidel countries working in chains at the building instead of the Moslems, thus "exalting the true religion and trampling down polytheism. Al-mansúr built also "the great cistern under the court of the mosque,[52] and it was he who first caused "wax to be burnt in the interior in addition to oil, thus combining the effect of "both lights."

Number of chandeliers in the mosque.

The number of brazen chandeliers, of different sizes, in the mosque, is computed by some at two hundred and eighty, and by others at two hundred and twenty-four, without counting those over the gates; and the number of cups containing the oil at seven thousand four hundred and twenty-five, or according to other accounts at ten thousand eight hundred and five. The leaden supporters[53] for the cups weighed four *arrobes*, and three-fourths of a *kintar*[54] of cotton for the wicks of the lamps were consumed each month of Ramadhán. The annual consumption of oil amounted to one hundred and twenty-five *kintars*, half of which was used during the Ramadhán; and in this holy month three *kintars* of wax, and three-quarters of a *kintar* of cotton thread used in preparing the wax, were requisite over and above the usual allowance. The great wax taper which burned by the side of the Imám weighed from fifty to sixty pounds; it burned night and day throughout the month of Ramadhán, and its materials both of wax and wick were so contrived that the whole might be consumed on the last night of Ramadhán. The chandeliers were

all made of brass and of different patterns, with the exception of three which were of silver. Four greater than the rest were suspended in the central aisle; the largest, which was of enormous dimensions, hung from the ceiling of the dome over that part of the mosque where the Koráns were kept, and consisted, according to a certain writer, of one thousand four hundred and fifty-four cups for lights. However, these large chandeliers, each of which consumed nightly seven *arrobes* or quarters of a *kintar* of oil, were only lighted in the last ten days of the month of Ramadhán. The total expenditure of oil in all the lamps[55] about the mosque, including the addition built by Al-mansúr, is by another writer estimated at one thousand *arrobes*, or two hundred and fifty *kintars*, of which seven hundred and fifty were consumed in the month of Ramadhán.

Ibnu Sa'íd, who borrowed most of his information from Ibnu Bashkúwál, gives an estimate somewhat different from that of the former writers we have quoted, although it nearly agrees with that of the latter. He says that the annual expenditure was one thousand and thirty *arrobes* of oil, (two hundred and fifty-one *kintars* and one quarter,) five hundred of which were spent during Ramadhán, and that the three silver chandeliers required seventy-two pounds weight of oil nightly, that is to say, twenty-four each; that the largest of all the lamps measured fifty spans in circumference, and held one thousand four hundred and eighty cups, the whole of which were washed over with gold. Ibnu Sa'íd being an author more deserving of credit than any other of those who have written on the subject, not only on account of the sources from which he derived his information, but also on account of his veracity as an historian, we do not hesitate to adopt his computation. But God only knows.[56]

The number of people employed in or about the mosque, as the Imám, the readers of the Korán, wardens, door-keepers, proclaimers of the hours of prayer, lamp-lighters, and the like, is said to have been, in the days of Al-mansúr, one hundred and fifty-nine; but Ibnu Bashkúwál, whose account is entitled to more credit, says that the attendants of all classes amounted to three hundred in the times of the Khalifs,[57] as well as under the administration of the Hájib Al-mansúr. He adds likewise that four ounces of ambergris, and eight of fresh aloe wood, were burnt by way of incense on the last day of the month of Ramadhán, although Ibnu-l-faradhí, an author also entitled to great credit, states that one pound of wood of aloes, and a quarter of a pound of amber, were allowed every Friday for a similar purpose. Attendants.

Our readers must have observed some discrepancy in the dimensions of this mosque, as well as in the number of columns, pillars, and chandeliers which it is said to have contained, but this is owing either to the inequality of the measure

employed, the *dhara'* cubit not being the same every where, or to the circumstance that some authors only counted the detached columns, while others reckoned them all, large and small, entire and half;—that some described it before the great addition made by Al-mansúr, while others, as Ibnu Sa'íd, visited it as late as the sixth century. In abridging the accounts of the various authors who have treated on this mosque, we may have been guilty of repetition, yet, as we consider that information may have been increased by it, and that we have been useful, this will easily atone for our faults. God is great! in Him we place our trust!

We cannot leave the description of this sumptuous building, and the enumeration of the wonders of art contained in it, without taking notice of two or three circumstances which we have seen mentioned in Eastern authors, and which it may be important to know, although no good authority is given for them. It is a current opinion in Damascus, as well as in other cities of the East, that the mosque of Cordova had three hundred and sixty arches, according to the number of days in the year, and that the sun passed every day by one of the arches until it went round the whole number, when it returned in the inverse direction.[58] Among the authors that we have quoted none has alluded to this; nay, we will say more, among the almost innumerable Andalusian as well as African writers who have treated on this mosque, none, that we know of, has made the least allusion to it; therefore the account, from whoever it comes, is entitled to no credit; for, we ask, is it probable that so extraordinary a circumstance should have been passed in silence by writers who have recorded facts of much less importance with the most scrupulous details?

The author of the *Nashaku-l-azhár*[59] (sweet odour of the flowers) says that among the manifold objects which by their exquisite workmanship or their costly materials attracted the eyes of the beholder in the mosque of Cordova, there were three red marble pillars, on which were engraved,—on one the name of Mohammed, on the other Moses' rod and the sleepers of the cave, and on the third Noah's crow; and that the columns were not the work of man, but made by God, just as they were. We again confess that we have looked in vain for information respecting this wonderful production of nature; in vain have we perused and consulted the best authenticated accounts of the time, and the most detailed description of the mosque; we have nowhere found the least mention made of it: we must therefore pronounce it improbable; for is it natural that the best and most diligent among ancient writers should have omitted the fact, and that if the name of our holy Prophet had been found impressed by the hand of the Almighty on one of the columns of the temple this miraculous circumstance should have been left unnoticed? But God is all-knowing.

There is still another circumstance told of the mosque of Cordova which we must

mention. It is recorded by that eminent writer, Ibnu Bashkúwál, whose narrative we have used so often; but, being as devoid of foundation as the preceding, no great reliance can be placed on it. That author introduces among his traditional stories respecting Cordova the following:—" And they say that the site occupied by the " great mosque was formerly a great hollow, wherein the inhabitants used to throw " their offal, but that when Suleymán, son of Dáúd, (on whom be peace!) came to " Cordova and saw the spot, he said to the Jinn, ' Clear away this place for me, " and transform it into a suitable ground, that you may afterwards build on it a " temple for the worship of the Almighty God;' and that the orders were obeyed, " and the mosque built." But this is contradictory of what we have stated elsewhere respecting the Christian church, which, in the opinion of all writers, and of Ibnu Bashkúwál himself, stood on the site now occupied by the great mosque. The same writer states that all the uniform ovals which are engraved on the ceiling of the great mosque bore inscriptions appropriate to the spot, and calling the mind of the faithful to contemplation and devotion.[60]

But let us proceed to the description of other magnificent buildings which embellished the court of the Khalifs; and first of all to that of the city of Az-zahrá, built by 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir lidín-illah, the seventh Sultán of the dynasty of Bení Umeyyah in Andalus.

CHAPTER III.

City and palace of Az-zahrá—Cause of its foundation—Expenditure—Materials used in its erection—The two fountains—The hall of the Khalifs—Mosque in Az-zahrá.

City and palace of Az-zahrá.

The cause of the building of the city of Az-zahrá is thus related by a certain doctor, a native of Cordova. One of An-nássir's concubines happening to die possessed of considerable wealth, the Sultán ordered that the whole of her property should be spent in the redemption of captives. A search was accordingly made in the country of the Franks, but not one Moslem captive could be found; upon which An-nássir was greatly delighted, and thanked God for it. His mistress Az-zahrá, whom he loved passionately, then said to him,—"Build with that money a city that may "take my name and be mine:" and in compliance with her wish An-nássir, who surpassed his ancestors 'Abdu-r-rahmán *al-ausatt* and Al-hakem I. in fondness for building, began building at the foot of the mountain called *Jebalu-l-'arús* (the mountain of the bride), south of the mountain and north of Cordova, the palace and city which he called Medínatu-z-zahrá after his mistress. This city, which at first was only intended as a spot of recreation for his mistress, An-nássir soon took for his residence, making it also the abode of his guards and the officers of his household; he built the palace of solid materials and beautiful design, and ornamented the interior with costly magnificence, and he ordered also that a statue of his mistress should be carved in relief over the gate. They say that when Az-zahrá sat for the first time in the great hall of the palace, and, looking out of the windows, gazed with admiration on the beautiful snow-white buildings of the city, contrasting with the black and dismal appearance of the mountain at the foot of which it stood, she said to her royal spouse, "See, O master! how beautiful this "girl looks in the arms of yonder Ethiopian;" on hearing which An-nássir gave immediate orders for the removal of the mountain, but one of his counsellors happening to be present when the order was issued said to him, "O Prince of "the believers! God forbid that thou shouldst undertake a task the mere idea "of which is sufficient to make a man lose his wit, for were all the men upon

Cause of its foundation.

" the face of the earth to be employed in cutting away its trees and excavating " its sides, no human force could move it from where it now stands. He only can " do it who is the creator of all things." This reason convinced An-nássir of the impossibility of the task, and he ordered instead that all the oak and other mountain trees which grew on it should be rooted up, and that fig and almond trees should be planted in their place; by which change the landscape was so much improved that the mountain became one of its finest ornaments, principally in the spring, when the trees, being in full blossom, spread in the atmosphere a fragrance and freshness that were quite delightful.

Medínatu-z-zahrá was thus situate between the foot of the mountain and the plain which extends to Cordova, at the distance of about three miles from the furthest limits of the city. Ibn Khallekán, in his biography of illustrious men, under the article of Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville, has given the dimensions of this wonderful city: his words are as follow. "The city of Az-zahrá " was one of the most splendid, most renowned, and most magnificent structures " ever raised by man. It stood at the distance of four miles and a third from " Cordova; it measured two thousand seven hundred cubits in length from east " to west, and the breadth from north to south was one thousand seven hundred " cubits. The number of columns in the building amounted to four thousand " three hundred, and that of the doors to fifteen thousand.[1] In the raising of " this sumptuous building An-nássir lavished countless treasures, since it is " reported that the revenues of Andalus, in the days of this Sultán, amounted " to five millions four hundred and eighty thousand gold dinárs, collected from " taxes; besides seven hundred and sixty-five thousand derived from markets: " exclusive also of the fifth of the spoil taken from the enemy, and the capitation " tax levied on Christians and Jews living in the Moslem dominions, the amount " of which is said to have equalled all the rest. Of this vast income An-nássir " appropriated one-third to the payment of the army, one-third was deposited in " the royal coffers to cover the expenses of his household, and the remainder was " spent yearly in the construction of Az-zahrá and such other buildings as were " erected under his reign."[2] Such are the words of Ibn Khallekán, who derived his information from Ibnu Bashkúwál and other Andalusian historians.

Others assert that the expenditure was as follows. The number of workmen **Expenditure.** and slaves daily labouring at the building was ten thousand;—the number of mules and other beasts of burden[3] constantly employed in the transport of the materials fifteen hundred, or, according to others, fourteen hundred mules and four hundred camels belonging to the Khalif, and one thousand mules hired for the occasion, at the rate of three mithkals a month each. Eleven hundred burdens

of lime and gypsum were conveyed every third day for the use of the building. The daily pay of one part of the men was one dirhem and a half each, others received two dirhems and one-third. Six thousand blocks of stone made completely even and smooth were used every day, without including in this number the uncut stones, bricks, and the like.

Materials used in its erection.

But as we are indebted to the historian Ibnu Hayyán for a minute description of this magnificent construction, as also for an account of the materials used in the building and the expenditure incurred by it, we shall extract its contents. It is but proper to observe that this excellent historian held his information from the mouth of Ibn Dahín, who had it from Moslemah Ibn 'Abdillah the architect and geometrician, who lived in the reign of An-nássir. " An-nássir began the " construction of the palace and city of Az-zahrá in the year three hundred and " twenty-five of the Hijra (A. D. 936-7), and the building was continued for " forty consecutive years, that is to say, twenty-five years of the life of An-nássir " and fifteen of that of his son and successor, Al-hakem; for although the palace " was completed long before the death of An-nássir, considerable additions were " made to it by his son, and the buildings for the reception of the court, the " barracks for the troops, the pleasure-gardens, baths, fountains, and so forth, " were never completed until the days of Al-hakem. During the reign of 'Ab- " du-r-rahmán six thousand blocks of stone, great and small, cut into various " shapes, and either polished or smoothed, were used every day, exclusive of the " uncut stones used for paving[4] and the like. The number of beasts of burden " daily employed to convey the materials of construction was fourteen hundred, " some say more, besides four hundred camels belonging to the Sultán, and one " thousand mules hired for the occasion at the rate of three mithkals a month, " making the total expense of hiring amount to three thousand mithkals monthly. " In the building eleven hundred burdens of lime and gypsum were used every " third day. The number of columns, great and small, supporters or supported, " employed in the building amounted to four thousand; others exceed that " number by three hundred and sixteen. Of these some came from Rome, " nineteen from the country of the Franks,[5] one hundred and forty were pre- " sented by the emperor of Constantinople, one thousand and thirteen, mostly " of green and rose coloured marble, were brought from Carthage, Túnis, Isfákis " (Sfax), and other places in Africa; the remainder were extracted from quarries in " his Andalusian dominions, as for instance the white marble from Tarragona and " Almeria, the streaked marble[6] from Raya, and so forth. I was told by Ibn " Dahín, who had it from the son of one of the architects employed by An-nássir, " that the persons commissioned to transport the marbles from Africa were three,

" namely, 'Abdullah the inspector of the works, Hasan Ibn Mohammed, and 'Alí " Ibn Ja'far, a native of Alexandria, besides Ibn Yúnis the sailor, and that An-nássir " paid them for every block or pillar of marble, whether great or small, which " they transported to Cordova, ten gold dinárs. I have likewise from good " authority that the cost of each block of marble, whether great or small, found " in the mountains of Andalus was also nearly the above-mentioned sum; and, " lastly, it has been repeated on the authority of one of the servants of the " palace that the total amount of the expenses in the erection of Az-zahrá " amounted yearly to three hundred thousand dinárs during the twenty-five " years it was building under An-nássir, namely, from the year three hundred and " twenty-five, the epoch of its commencement, till that of three hundred and fifty, " the time of the death of that Khalif; and that having made the computation " of the total expenditure which that Sultán underwent he found it amount to " fifteen *beyt-mál.*[7] The number of doors in the palace of Az-zahrá amounted " to fifteen thousand, counting each flap or fold as one, and all were covered " either with plates of iron or sheets of polished brass." So far Ibnu Hayyán.

Another well informed writer says that the cost of every block of marble brought to Cordova, either from the Khalif's dominions in Andalus as well as in Africa, or from various distant countries in the hands of the infidels, was ten gold dinárs each, exclusive of the expenses of detachment from the quarry and carving, and exclusive also of the cost of the men and beasts employed in the transport. And another writer asserts that the total amount of expenses in building the city of Az-zahrá was one hundred *mudd* full of dirhems of the measure used at Cordova; others say eighty *mudd* and seven *kafíz* of the same measure.[8] But as these authors do not state whether this is to be understood merely of the constructions raised in An-nássir's time, or also of those continued by his son Al-hakem, no great reliance can be placed on the calculations, especially when we consider the authenticity of the sources whence Ibnu Hayyán borrowed the preceding narrative.

But before proceeding any further we deem it necessary again to remind the reader of the system of composition we have adopted for the present work, and which renders it necessary that we should quote literally from the writings of authors from every country and of every age, thereby falling at every step into fastidious repetitions and unavoidable contradictions; for since it is not given to every author to see things in their true light, or to select the best information, some have themselves been led into error, and made hundreds fall after them, while others are to this day like a bright lamp which guides the studious through the intricate maze of antiquity. We, therefore, who have neither the talents required for the task of historian, nor the books sufficient to select and compare

our information, have preferred this method of writing history; sometimes quoting the very words, and at other times extracting the narrative, of authors, but seldom introducing observations of our own, unless the contradiction be so glaring, or the statement so uncommon, as to require it. We hope therefore that our reasons for doing so will be justly appreciated, and that our readers will excuse us whenever we happen to fall into the above-mentioned errors.

The two fountains.

Among the wonders of Az-zahrá, says Ibnu Hayyán, were two fountains, with their basins, so extraordinary in their shape, and so valuable for their exquisite workmanship, that, in the opinion of that writer, they constituted the principal ornament of the palace. The larger of the two, which was of gilt bronze, and most beautifully carved with basso-relievo representing human figures, was brought to the Khalif from Constantinople by Ahmed Al-yúnání (the Greek),[9] and Rabi' the Bishop.[10] As to the small one, which was of green marble, it was brought from Syria by the said Ahmed, although others assert that it came likewise from Constantinople with Rabi'. However, all agree in saying that such were the taste of the designs on these fountains, and the magnificence of the materials, as to make their value almost beyond estimation. The smaller one, above all, appears to have been a real wonder of art. It was brought from place to place until it reached the sea shore,[11] when it was put on board a vessel and conveyed to Andalus. When the Khalif received it he ordered it to be placed in the dormitory of the eastern hall called *Al-múnis*,[12] and he fixed on it twelve figures made of red gold, and set with pearls and other precious stones. The figures, which were all made in the arsenal[13] of Cordova, represented various animals; as for instance one was the likeness of a lion, having on one side an antelope, and on the other a crocodile; opposite to these stood an eagle and a dragon; and on the two wings of the group a pigeon, a falcon,[14] a peacock, a hen, a cock, a kite,[15] and a vulture. They, moreover, were all ornamented with jewels, and the water poured out from their mouths.

The hall of the Khalifs.

Another of the wonders of Az-zahrá was the hall called *Kasru-l-kholafá* (the hall of the Khalifs), the roof of which was of gold and solid but transparent blocks of marble of various colours, the walls being likewise of the same materials. In the centre of this hall, or, according to some, on the top of the above-described fountain, which is by them placed in this hall, was fixed the unique pearl presented to An-nássir by the Greek emperor Leo,[16] among other valuable objects. The tiles that covered the roof of this magnificent hall were made of pure gold and silver, and, according to Ibnu Bashkúwál, there was in the centre of the room a large basin filled with quicksilver; on each side of it eight doors fixed on arches[17] of ivory and ebony, ornamented with gold and precious stones of various kinds, resting

upon pillars of variegated marble and transparent crystal. When the sun penetrated through these doors into the apartment, so strong was the action of its rays upon the roof and walls of this hall that the reflection only was sufficient to deprive the beholders of sight. And when An-nássir wished to frighten any of the courtiers that sat with him, he had only to make a sign to one of his Sclavonians to set the quicksilver in motion,[18] and the whole room would look in an instant as if it were traversed by flashes of lightning; and the company would begin to tremble, thinking that the room was moving away,—this sensation and their fears continuing as long as the quicksilver was in motion. The abundance of quicksilver in Spain made An-nássir conceive the idea of employing it in the manner above described; and it was perhaps the effect produced by that mineral which led to the belief that this hall was perpetually turning round and followed the course of the sun, or, as others have it, that it moved round on the reservoir as on a pivot;[19] and such was An-nássir's care for this building that he would commit the superintendence of it to none other but to his son and successor, Al-hakem. In one thing, however, we find all authors agree, namely, that there never was built a more splendid hall than this, either in the times preceding Islám or afterwards.

The mosque of Az-zahrá did not fall short of the rest of the building. Although matchless in design and faultless in proportion, the whole structure was raised and its interior arrangements completed in the space of forty-eight days, for An-nássir kept continually employed on it one thousand skilful workmen; of which three hundred were masons, two hundred carpenters, and the remaining five hundred bricklayers and mechanics of different kinds. It was a stupendous structure, most beautifully finished in all its parts, and consisted of five aisles of wonderful fabric, measuring thirty cubits[20] in length from *kiblah* to *jauf*, without the *makssúrah*; the breadth of the central aisle was thirteen cubits from east to west, and that of each of the remaining ones was twelve cubits. The whole building measured in length from *kiblah* to *jauf*, exclusive of the *makssúrah*, thirty cubits. The length of the open court, from *kiblah* to *jauf*, was forty-three cubits, the whole of this space being paved with marble flags of a reddish hue, very much resembling the colour of wine. In the centre of this court stood a fountain which poured out limpid water for the use of the mosque. The entire length of the mosque from *kiblah* to *jauf*, exclusive of the *mihráb*, was ninety-seven cubits, and the breadth from east to west fifty-nine. To this mosque was added a square tower, measuring ten cubits at the base, and rising to the height of forty cubits. In the *makssúrah*, which was of wonderful construction and ornamented with costly magnificence, a pulpit of extraordinary beauty and design was placed by the orders of An-nássir on the very day that the mosque was completed, that is to say, on the twenty-third

Mosque in Az-zahrá.

day of Sha'bán of the year three hundred and twenty-nine of the Hijra (23rd January, 941). On this day, which according to other writers was on the twenty-second of the said month, and which happened to be a Friday, public prayers were for the first time performed with great solemnity in this mosque. The Kádí who officiated as Imám on this occasion was Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Abí 'Isa, An-nássir being present, as also the principal officers of the court. On the ensuing day the Khalif attended a sermon which was preached by the same Kádí.

There were besides in Az-zahrá two baths, one destined for the use of the officers of the Sultán's household and other servants attached to the palace, and the other for the public; and it was likewise provided with markets, inns, colleges, and other public and private establishments.

We might go to a great length were we only to enumerate all the beauties, natural as well as artificial, contained within the precincts of Az-zahrá;—the running streams, the limpid waters, the luxuriant gardens, the stately buildings for the accommodation of the household guards, the magnificent palaces for the reception of all the high functionaries of the state; the throng of soldiers, pages, eunuchs, and slaves, of all nations and religions, sumptuously attired in robes of silk and brocade, moving to and fro through its broad streets; or the crowds of judges, Kátibs, theologians, and poets, walking with becoming gravity through the magnificent halls, spacious ante-rooms, and ample courts of the palace. The number of male servants in the palace has been estimated at thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifty, to whom the daily allowance of flesh meat, exclusive of fowls and fish, was thirteen thousand pounds; the number of women of various classes, comprising the harem of the Khalif, or waiting upon them, is said to have amounted to six thousand three hundred and fourteen. The Sclavonian pages and eunuchs were three thousand three hundred and fifty,—some say three thousand three hundred and eighty-seven;—to whom thirteen thousand pounds of flesh meat were distributed daily, some receiving ten pounds each and some less, according to their rank and station, exclusive of fowls, partridges, and birds of other sorts, game, and fish; although there are not wanting authors who have computed the number of Sclavonian servants employed in or about the palace at six thousand and eighty-seven.[21] The daily allowance of bread for the fish in the ponds of Az-zahrá was twelve thousand loaves, besides six *kafíz* of black pulse[22] which were every day macerated in the waters. These and other particulars may be found at full length in the histories of the time, and recorded by orators and poets who have exhausted the mines of eloquence in their description: all agree that when this most beautiful and magnificent palace was completed in the days of Al-hakem, all who saw it owned that nothing similar to it could be found in the territories of Islám.

Travellers from distant lands, men of all ranks and professions in life, following various religions, princes, ambassadors, merchants, pilgrims, theologians, and poets, who were conversant with edifices of this kind and had surveyed this, all agreed that they had never seen in the course of their travels any thing that could be compared to it; they said more, they confessed that they had never heard or imagined in all the course of their lives of any building similar to this; and all the Andalusian writers bear testimony that it was in their time the chief wonder which travellers to Andalus in those ages desired to behold. Indeed, had this palace possessed nothing more than the terrace of polished marble[23] overhanging the matchless gardens, with the golden hall and the circular pavilion, and the works of art of every sort and description;—had it had nothing else to boast of but the masterly workmanship of the structure, the solidity of its foundations, the boldness of the design, the beauty of the proportions, the elegance of the ornaments, hangings, and decorations, whether of transparent marble or glittering gold, the columns that seemed from their symmetry and smoothness as if they had been turned by turning-machines,[24] the paintings that equalled the choicest gardens, the artificial lake so solidly constructed, the cistern perpetually filled with clear and limpid water, and the amazing fountains, with figures of living beings;—no imagination, however rich and fertile, could have formed an idea of it. Praise be ascribed to the Almighty God, who allowed those contemptible creatures to design and build such enchanting palaces as these, and who permitted them to inhabit them as a sort of recompense in this world, and in order that the faithful might be stimulated to follow the path of virtue by the reflection that, charming and delightful as the pleasures enjoyed by their owners were, they were still very far from giving even a remote idea of those reserved for the true believer in the celestial paradise! We shall further see how this abode of contentment and mirth, how this splendid and magnificent city, how these renowned bowers and gardens, were afterwards converted by the Berbers into places of desolation and ruin. There is no God but God! the great! the Almighty!

This naturally brings to our recollection the great palace which Al-mansúr Ibn Dhí-n-nún,[25] King of Toledo, built in that city, and in the construction of which he is said to have lavished countless treasures. He not only employed all the best artists of his age, but he sent also for architects, geometricians, and painters, from distant lands; made them execute the most fantastic and wonderful works, and rewarded their labours with the greatest munificence. Adjoining to his palace he planted a most luxuriant garden, in which he made an artificial lake, and in the centre of this he built a kiosk of stained glass, adorned with gold. His architect so contrived this, that by certain geometrical rules the water of the lake was made to ascend to

the top of the dome over the kiosk, and then, dropping at both sides, join the waters of the lake. In this room the Sultán could sit, untouched by the water, which fell every where round him, and refreshed the air in the hot season; sometimes, too, wax tapers were lighted within the room, producing an admirable effect upon the transparent walls of the kiosk. But of this more when we come to the narrative of the Kings of Toledo.

CHAPTER IV.

Aqueduct of Cordova—Built by 'Abdu-r-rahmán III.—The palace and city of Az-záhirah—Christian churches in Cordova—Tribunal of appeal.

Aqueduct of Cordova.

An Andalusian historian has said that such were An-nássir's passion and taste for building that besides the erection of the magnificent palace that we have just described, and the considerable additions made to the great mosque, he also undertook and completed during his reign several public works for the improvement and ornament of his capital. Of this number was a most magnificent aqueduct, which conveyed excellent water from the mountains of Cordova to the palace of *An-na'úrah* (the water-wheel), in the western part of the city, by means of tubes geometrically arranged over arches connected one with another. The waters thus conveyed, in admirable order, and by dint of extraordinary science, were discharged into a vast reservoir, on which was a colossal lion of wonderful workmanship, and so beautifully imitated that the sight of it only was sufficient to cast fear into the hearts of the beholders, and that none devised by the Sultáns of former times had been seen equal to it, either in likeness or in magnificence. It was covered with the purest gold, and its two eyes were two jewels of inestimable value, which sent forth torrents of light. The waters of the aqueduct entered into the hind part of this monster, and then poured out from his mouth into the aforesaid basin, which circumstance, united to the beautiful appearance of the animal, to its terrible and overawing aspect, to the two eyes which shone forth as if they belonged to a human creature, never failed altogether to produce the most extraordinary effect in the minds of those who beheld it for the first time. After supplying this palace, and irrigating with profusion every corner of its gardens, notwithstanding their great extent, the superabundant water went to augment the Guadalquivir. Every author we have consulted on the subject agrees in saying that this aqueduct, with the reservoir, and the figure pouring the water into it, must be considered as one of the most amazing structures ever raised by man; for if we attend to the length of

it, to the unfavourable nature of the ground through which it was conducted, the magnitude and solidity of the construction, the height of the piers over which the water was made to flow, sometimes ascending, sometimes descending, we shall scarcely find among the works of ancient kings which have reached us any thing to be compared to it.[1]

Built by 'Abdu-r-rahmán III.

The building of this aqueduct lasted fourteen months, counting from the day on which the preparatory works in the mountains were commenced to that on which the water began to flow over the arches, go into the lion, and then pour down into the reservoir. This took place on a Thursday, the third of Jumádí-l-akhar; on the same day the Khalif An-nássir invited to his palace of An-na'úrah a large party of the most illustrious citizens of Cordova, and gave them a most splendid entertainment; after which he distributed considerable largesses among his guests, and lavished all sorts of rich presents on the architects and geometricians who had directed the work, although they had already been most munificently remunerated from the royal treasury.[2]

Az-záhirah.

We have to mention another palace and city built by the famous Hájib, Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, commonly called Al-mansúr, although information respecting it is by no means so abundant with us as we should wish. We know that it existed at some distance from Cordova on the banks of the Guadalquivir, and that it was a most splendid structure, second to none but the palace of Az-zahrá, built by 'Abdu-r-rahmán; but, owing to the circumstance of its being destroyed by the Berbers, soon after the death of its founder,[3] during the disastrous civil wars which brought to the ground the tottering throne of the Khalifs, the memory of it was soon effaced, and such particulars as have been handed down to us give but few details. Indeed, there are not wanting authors who suppose that it also was built by 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir, confounding it no doubt with Az-zahrá, and being led into error by the similarity of the names;[4] but, as Ibnu Khaldún has clearly shown, they were two distinct and separate cities; and the fact is further proved by the testimony of contemporary writers, as Ibnu Hayyán and others: they all agree that when Al-mansúr usurped the Khalifate, during the minority of Hishám, son of Al-hakem, he built for his own security and residence a palace, whither he transferred his treasures, stores, and arms. The edifice, which stood on the banks of the Guadalquivir, not far from Az-zahrá, was begun in the year three hundred and sixty-eight of the Hijra (A. D. 978-9), the greatest part of it being completed in the short space of two years. Al-mansúr betook himself to it, with his family, servants, guards, and adherents, in the year three hundred and seventy (A. D. 980-1). He, moreover, established in it the offices of the state, built magazines for grain, and erected mills; he also granted the adjoining lands to

his Wizírs, Kátibs, Generals, and favourites, who lost no time in building magnificent houses and palaces, and planting gardens in the neighbourhood; people of all ranks and professions, anxious to fix their abodes near the ruler of the state, imitated their example, and built all round, so that in a very short time the suburbs of Az-záhirah joined those of Cordova.

I recollect having read in an historical work, the composition of the author of the *Kitábu-l-azhár wa-l-anwár*,[5] which I saw in the library of Fez, the following anecdote respecting Al-mansúr, and the splendour and magnificence with which he used to surround his person while residing in his palace of Az-záhirah. There came once to the court of Al-mansúr ambassadors from the most powerful of the Christian kings of Andalus; their object was to ascertain the real strength of the Moslems, and gain, if possible, a knowledge of their internal affairs. No sooner did Al-mansúr hear of their arrival than he issued orders for their suitable entertainment, and began to make preparations previous to their admission to his presence. He ordered that a vast lake, several miles in length, which was in the gardens of Az-záhirah, should be planted entirely with water-lilies;[6] he then caused four *kintars* of gold, and four *kintars* of silver, to be cast into as many small pieces as there were water-lilies in the lake, and ordered that one of those pieces should be introduced into the cavity of each water-lily. All this having been executed agreeably to his instructions, Al-mansúr dispatched a messenger to the Christian ambassadors, and bade them appear in his presence the next morning at dawn. The Christians did as they were desired, and found Al-mansúr sitting in the great hall of his palace, in a balcony overlooking the lake; at sunrise one thousand Sclavonians dressed in silken robes embroidered with silver and gold, their waists being girt by sashes of gold tissue, and carrying in their hands gold and silver trays, made their appearance, and the ambassadors were very much struck to see the beauty of their personal appearance, the magnificence of their dresses and ornaments, and the admirable order in which they drew themselves up on each side of Al-mansúr's throne,—the five hundred with robes of gold tissue and gold trays to the right, and the five hundred with robes of silver tissue and silver trays to the left. The Christians, in the meanwhile, not knowing what was meant, were dumb with amazement; but when the first sunbeams shone upon the water-lilies in the lake, all the Sclavonians left their ranks at a signal from their chief, hastened to the spot, and began plucking the flowers, placing those that had the silver pieces inside in the gold trays, and those that had the gold pieces in the silver trays, and when every water-lily on the lake had thus been plucked and placed in the silver and gold trays, they appeared again in the presence of Al-mansúr, and deposited their gatherings at his feet, thus raising a mountain of silver and gold before his throne. When the Christian

ambassadors saw this, they were seized with astonishment, and remained deeply convinced of Al-mansúr's immense resources and countless treasures; they addressed him in the most humble terms, asked for a truce, which was granted, and returned to their country, where they said to their king, "Do not make war "upon these people, for, by the Lord, we have seen the earth yielding them its "hidden treasures."

It is related by Abú Idrís Al-khauláni that as Al-mansúr was one day sitting in his palace of Az-záhirah, reflecting on its beauties, listening to the murmur of the running waters and to the songs of rare birds, inhaling the perfumes of the scented flowers, and regaling his eyes with the emerald green of the bowers and meadows,—as his whole soul in short was absorbed in the contemplation of the manifold beauties surrounding him on every side,—suddenly tears rolled down his cheeks, and he exclaimed, in deep sorrow, "O Az-záhirah! may the "Almighty Lord save thee from the hands of the demon of war, who will ere "long accomplish thy destruction!" and Al-mansúr, after saying this, wept bitterly and hid his face with both his hands. Then one of his favourites who was present said to him, "What ails thee, O Al-mansúr? What words are these? "What is the meaning of expressions which thy lips never uttered before; and "how comest thou to be assailed by thoughts so melancholy and sad as these, "when the like of them never before entered thy mind?" "God grant," said Al-mansúr, "that my prediction be not fulfilled; for if my presentiments tell me "truth, the fire of civil discord will soon rage within the precincts of this palace, "and all the beauties of Az-záhirah will ere long be effaced,—all traces of it will "disappear from the face of the earth, this splendid mansion will be pulled down "and converted into a heap of ruins, the gardens transformed into a dreary desert, "my treasures will be squandered and scattered, and what was formerly the scene "of pleasure and mirth will be changed into a spot of desolation and ruin."

Al-khauláni continues: "Alas! this prophecy of Al-mansúr's was speedily ful-"filled, as is well known; for his son Al-mudhfer, who after his death succeeded "him in the command of the army and the management of public affairs, had "neither the abilities nor the popularity of his father, and the power of the "Khalifs began to decline. However, after the death of Al-mudhfer, whose "administration did not last long, the reins of government were taken by his "brother 'Abdu-r-rahmán, surnamed *Sanjiúl*,[7] who was soon afterwards deposed and "put to death by a successful rebel, a prince of the royal blood, named Mohammed "Ibn Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár, who afterwards assumed the honourable appella-"tion of Al-muhdí-billah[8] (the directed by God). This Mohammed collected an "army in the provinces, marched against the capital, which he entered, and having

"succeeded in securing the persons of 'Abdu-r-rahmán and of his principal partisans, put them all to death. The rebels then repaired to Az-záhirah, which they levelled with the ground, as being the residence of the usurpers against whom the war was raised. So this Al-muhdí, whom Al-mansúr had not thought worthy his notice while he lived, not only cut off his lineage and snatched away the empire from the hands of his posterity, but demolished the very edifices which he had erected. The power of the Bení 'A'mir vanished for ever, and as a poet has remarked,—

'Hajún will no longer be As-safá's faithful companion, the pilgrims will no longer meet in Mekka to hold nightly confabulations.

'Indeed, we ourselves shall perish, like the course of time and the passing away of successive generations.'"[9]

Nor was the havoc and ruin confined to Az-záhirah only. The same fate befel Az-zahrá and other palaces raised by the Bení Umeyyah, for during the civil commotions which disturbed the capital, and the struggles of the contending parties to secure the empire, that splendid palace and city, where so many treasures had been spent by 'Abdu-r-rahmán and by his son Al-hakem, was completely destroyed, and vanished like evening; the royal chambers were plundered of their costly furniture and tapestry, every object of art was scattered, and the whole building transformed into a heap of ruins; it is even asserted that many of the precious articles which these palaces contained, such as arms, vases, jewels, and the like, were sold in Baghdád and other cities of the East.[10]

Abú Nasr Al-fat'h says in his *Matmah* that the Wizír Hazm Ibn Jehwar[11] happening once to pass with a friend of his by the palace of Az-zahrá, which in his time had already been converted into a haunt of wild beasts, he pointed to it and exclaimed,—

"I once asked that house, whose inhabitants have now exterminated one another,—where are thy owners, the eminent lords who ruled over us?

"And she answered me,—here they lived for a while, but they are now gone; they have vanished without my knowing where."[12]

They say also that a holy man who lived in those days, one of those austere and pious Moslems whose thoughts are entirely consecrated to God, having once directed his steps towards Az-záhirah, when he came in sight of it was so much struck by the magnificence and size of the building, the luxuriance and excellent arrangement of the gardens, and the profusion of costly ornament and gilding lavished on it, that he could not help exclaiming,—

"O palace of the kings! every house in this country has contributed to thy

"ornament and perfection: thou shalt also (when in ruins) afford materials for "every house."[13]

Few days had elapsed since that pious and holy man had made his prayer when all the treasures of Az-záhirah were plundered and scattered over the country, and the building itself was levelled with the ground, as we have previously stated, in consequence of the horrid and disastrous civil war which soon arose in Andalus, and from which no family or tribe escaped without contributing some victim. Praise be ascribed to God, whose decrees are infallibly executed upon his creatures! There is no God but Him! the high! the great!

Christian Churches.

The Christians, it appears, had likewise in Cordova a church to which pilgrims came from distant lands. It was called Santa Maria,[14] and was held by them in great veneration and respect. They had besides, as Ibnu Hayyán relates, other churches and chapels within and out of the city, and some monasteries in the recesses of the neighbouring mountains, wherein their impious and abominable rites were performed in the very faces of the Moslems. But their principal church was the above-mentioned. The poet Ibn Shoheyd[15] has preserved us the following anecdote respecting this church. "I once entered at night," says he, "into the "principal Christian church; I found it all strewed with green branches of myrtle, "and planted with cypress trees.[16] The noise of the thundering bells resounded in "my ears, the glare of the innumerable lamps dazzled my eyes; the priests, decked "in rich silken robes of gay and fanciful colours, girt by girdle cords,[17] advanced "to adore Jesus. Every one of those present had banished mirth from their "countenances, and expelled from their minds all agreeable ideas; and if they "directed their steps towards the marble font it was merely to take sips of water "with the hollow of their hands. A priest then rose and stood among them, and "taking the wine-cup in his hands prepared to consecrate it; he applied to the "liquor his parched lips, as dark as the dusky lips of a beautiful maid;[18] the "fragrancy of its contents captivated his senses, but when he had tasted the "delicious liquor, its sweetness and flavour seemed to overpower him." On leaving the church Ibn Shoheyd said extempore the following verses:

"By the Lord of mercy! This mansion of God is pervaded with the smell
"of the fermented red liquor, so pleasant to the youth.

"It was to a girl[19] that their prayers were addressed, it was for her that
"they put on their gay tunics instead of humiliating themselves before the
"Almighty.

"The priests, wishing us to stay long among them, began to sing round us
"with their books[20] in their hands;

"Every wretch presented us the palm of his withered hand (with the holy
"water), but they were like the bat whose safety consists in his hatred for
"light;

"Offering us every attraction that their drinking of new wine or their eating
"of swine's flesh can afford."[21]

Tribunal of appeal.

It has been said that one of the great privileges enjoyed by this illustrious city was that its jurisdiction in certain legal and religious matters was long acknowledged in the tribunals of Maghreb; so much so that judges used to abstain from pronouncing upon some legal points, saying—this belongs to the jurisdiction of Cordova. As this subject, however, has been one of great dispute among the learned, we deem it convenient to state here a few of the arguments produced in favour of or against the proposition.

The Imám Ibn 'Orfah, (the mercy of God be upon him!) treating about the conditions required from an Imám who is to pronounce judgment in conformity with one of the approved sects, says, "And if both the parties concerned should "resist the judge's sentence there are three ways of remedying it, namely, to have "recourse to the decisions of Al-bájí,[22] or to the jurisdictional tribunals of Cordova, "or to the civil law of Sahnún,[23] the judge still deciding in conformity with the sect "he may follow from among the sects professed by the people of Medína."

Al-márazí disputes the opinion delivered by Ibn 'Orfah; he agrees as to the first appeal being right, but he denies the second, and declares that it is one of the errors propagated by At-tortoshí[24] in his work treating on the legal regulations of the people of Cordova, and adds that it is a gross mistake, exhibiting great ignorance on the part of the author; the third however he admits.

Ibn Ghází entertains the same opinion as Al-márazí, and says that the whole error originated in a mistake made by At-tortoshí and copied by Ibn 'Orfah. Another author, Ibn Shás,[25] has also discussed this subject at full length; but let us hear what our lord and ancestor Sídí Abú 'Abdillah Al-makkarí At-telemsání, who was Kádí-l-kodá (chief of the Kádís) at Fez, says in his work entitled "foundations of civil law among the people of Cordova,"[26] after treating this subject at large. "These were the "duties incumbent upon the office of Kádí in Andalus, whence they were introduced "and generally adopted in this country (Africa), for while we were disputing with "each other for the jurisdiction of Medína, and decided for that of Kúfah, owing to "its having been the residence of a greater number of the companions of the Prophet "and heads of the law, such as 'Alí, Ibn Mes'úd, and others, the people of Cordova "refused to acknowledge it, and decided in all matters without the assistance of the "lawyers in those cities; but God has spared my life and I have seen wonderful "changes of fortune.

"Alas! at the time I am writing Cordova and its inhabitants have been lost "to the Moslems, and the vices of that capital have cast their ominous influence "over the rest of Andalus. And why?—because Satan resolved to accomplish the "ruin of truth, and he obtained his purpose; for the Deceiver ceased not tempting "and enticing its inhabitants until he succeeded in implanting in it some of the "appendages of idolatry, such as lamentations for the dead,[27] false pride, arrogance, "incredulity, slander, vanity, divination, astrology, chiromancy, the art of drawing "omens from accidental causes,[28] and similar impious practices; besides the "swearing of oaths, the telling of lies, and the committing every description of sins, "the calling each other by opprobrious nicknames, and various other abominable "practices which we are taught to avoid. Nor did the evil, when once it raged, "stop at Cordova, for it spread widely among the people of other cities as soon as "the power of the Sultáns of Cordova passed into the hands of the kings of small "states.[29] The evil increased so much that they even neglected to appoint a head "of the law,[30] but took as a foundation the old customs, and in this manner the "love of poetry, eloquence, intonation, genealogy, and other sciences cultivated by "the ancients, lost every charm for their hearts, and instead they gave all their "attention to studies condemned by the heads of the law."

The Hafedh Ibn Ghází, after quoting the preceding passage from the work of our illustrious ancestor, says as follows. "I was told by a trustworthy person whom "I once met, that when the very learned doctor, Abú Yahya Ash-sheríf At-telem-"sání, came to the court of Fez, and began to give public lectures in the new city[31] "upon the art of commenting upon and explaining the Korán, the reigning Sultán, "whose name was Abú Sa'íd Al-meríní Al-hafíd, convoked the principal theolo-"gians of the place to a meeting in his palace, to discuss various points of law "about which Al-makkarí entertained a different opinion from the rest of the pro-"fession; and that, although the doctors had almost agreed among themselves to "repudiate and condemn his doctrines, they could not help saying when they heard "him express his opinion that he had not gone further in his doubts than other "famous theologians, as Ibn Roshd and his disciples, Al-mateytí, and others among "the people of Cordova."

This is what we have thought fit to say about Cordova in the present Book. We shall, however, occasionally return to the subject when we treat about the Khalifs of the house of Umeyyah, who resided in it, making it the capital of their empire, ornamenting it with splendid buildings, magnificent palaces, and stupendous works of public utility. In this, as well as in the other Books, our narrative has been borrowed from the best Andalusian as well as Eastern authors, sometimes tran-scribing literally from their works, but mostly abridging and extracting their

accounts. In so doing we have endeavoured to select the most interesting as well as the most faithful records, by choosing among the descriptions of Cordova, which are to be met with in almost every book upon the history or topography of Andalus, those that appeared to us most interesting and true.

We shall now proceed to write the narrative of the occupation of that country by the Moslems, from the year ninety-two of the Hijra (A. D. 711), when it was first subdued by the Berbers, commanded by Músa's freedmen, until the moment when it pleased the Almighty God to chastise the sins of the Moslems, and to permit that the impious Christian should put his foot upon their necks. There is no strength, nor power, but in God! the high! the great!

The ensuing Book will therefore contain the narrative of the conquest of Andalus by the Moslems, together with a detailed account of the principal causes which led to it, and a sketch of the Arabian chiefs who took part in the invasion.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Causes of the conquest—Appointment of Músa—Takes possession of the government of Africa—Severe drought and famine—His conquests—Takes Tangiers—General submission of the Berbers—Músa meditates the conquest of Andalus—Siege of Ceuta by Tárik—King Wittiza sends reinforcements to the besieged—His death—Usurpation of Roderic—Ilyán, Lord of Ceuta—His discontent—His daughter's dishonour—Spells constructed by the Greeks for the preservation of their country.

THIS Book contains an account of the conquest of Andalus by the Moslems, commanded by Músa Ibn Nosseyr and his freedman Tárik Ibn Zeyád, and how that country became the arena wherein their noble steeds raced, and the halting-place wherein their camels laid down their burden and grazed, together with much useful and well selected information, drawn from various sources, and the accounts of historians compared together.[1]

And, first, be it known that when God Almighty decreed that those words of his Messenger should be fulfilled which stand thus—" I have seen before my eyes the " East and the West, and every one of the regions comprised in them shall be " subdued by my people,"[2]—an enmity broke out between Ludherick (Roderic), King of the Goths, and the Lord[3] of Ceuta, a city situate at the mouth of the Bahru-z-zokák (strait of Gibraltar), and became the cause of the conquest of Andalus by the arms of Taríf and Tárik, and their master Músa Ibn Nosseyr, (the mercy of God be upon them all!)

Al-hijárí, Ibnu Hayyán, and other writers, agree in saying that the first man who entered Andalus with hostile intentions and deeds was Taríf, the Berber, a freedman of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, the same who afterwards gave his name to the Island of Tarifa, situate on the strait. He was helped in that expedition by Ilyán[4] the Christian, Lord of Ceuta, who had conceived some animosity towards Roderic,[5] King of Andalus. The number of troops engaged in this first expedition amounted only to one hundred horsemen and four hundred foot. They crossed the strait in four vessels, landed on the opposite shore in the month of Ramadhán of the year

ninety-one (July, A. D. 710), overran the country, and returned loaded with spoil.

No sooner was Músa Ibn Nosseyr, then governor of Africa, apprised of the success of this first expedition, which, as we have already observed, took place in the month of Ramadhán of the year ninety-one (July, A. D. 710), than he appointed his freedman, Tárik Ibn Zeyád, to command another expedition against Andalus, and sent him over in company with Ilyán, King of Ceuta. The landing of Taríf and Tárik has been differently related; but as it is our intention to recount in detail every one of these events, and we shall therefore have many opportunities to return to the subject, we shall now proceed to examine the causes which are generally believed to have given rise to the conquest.

Causes of the conquest.

Ibnu Hayyán says, "One of the principal causes of the conquest of Andalus was "the appointment of Músa Ibn Nosseyr to the government of Africa and more "remote lands: this took place in the year seventy-eight of the Hijra (beginning "March, A. D. 697),[6] by the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán. Músa, whose "father, Nosseyr, had been a liberated slave of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, the Khalif's brother, "left the court of Damascus, followed only by a few volunteers, and arrived in "Egypt; while there he collected together the Moslem troops which garrisoned "that province, and marched to take possession of his government."

Appointment of Músa.

But this event is differently related by other historians. They say that Músa was not directly appointed by 'Abdu-l-malek, as before stated, but by 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán,[7] who then governed Egypt and Africa in the name of his brother 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán. Having received orders from the Khalif to send an army to Africa, 'Abdu-l-'azíz, who knew Músa's talents and ability, gave him the command of it, and dispatched him to make war on the Berbers, and other nations which had not yet been subdued. This, Al-homaydi states, took place in the year seventy-nine (beginning March, A. D. 698), namely, one year after the date assigned by Ibnu Hayyán.

Takes possession of the government of Africa.

No sooner had Músa arrived in Africa proper, than hearing that some of the nations inhabiting the frontiers of *Sús al-adání* (the nearest province of Sús)[8] had shaken off the yoke of Islám, he sent against them his own son 'Abdullah, who soon returned with one hundred thousand captives. He sent Merwán, another of his sons, against the enemy in another quarter, and he also returned with one hundred thousand captives. According to Al-leyth Ibn Sa'd the number of captives taken in these two expeditions, commanded by the two sons of Músa, must have been still greater, since he asserts that the share of the Khalif amounted to sixty thousand.[9] But this is no doubt exaggerated, for we have read elsewhere that the share belonging to the Khalif, being the fifth of the whole number, amounted only to twenty thousand, although Músa is said to have sent him soon afterwards twenty

thousand more, from new victories. But be this as it may, certain it is that the Khalif Al-walíd received from his general a prodigious number of Berber captives taken in war, and that the historian As-sadfí states that the captives (remaining) in the hands of Músa amounted to a number never before heard of in any of the countries subject to the rule of Islám.[10]

Severe drought and famine.

Owing to this cause, adds the historian last mentioned, most of the African cities were depopulated, the fields remained without cultivation, and, a general drought ensuing, the Moslems were exposed to a most dreadful famine, as well as to most raging thirst. In this extremity Músa ordered a general fast throughout his dominions, and enjoined that public prayers should be said by all the Moslems. He also recommended alms-giving, and the practice of good and charitable actions, to appease the wrath of heaven. He then ordered a general procession, and placing himself at the head of his people, followed by their cattle and beasts of burden, he entered far into the desert.[11] There he separated the mothers from the young ones, and the cries and lamentations began, and he remained in the desert until noon-time, when he ordered a general prayer; and this being done, he preached the usual sermon (*khotbah*);[12] and some of the auditory having remarked that he had made no mention whatever of the Khalif Al-walíd, one man got up and said, "Why "didst thou not, O Músa! mention the Khalif in thy sermon?" To which Músa replied, "Because this is neither the moment nor the place to invoke any one but "Allah (may his name be exalted!)" No sooner did Músa speak these last words than the rain began to fall in torrents, numerous streams oozed up through the sands of the desert, and the men drank until their thirst was quenched.

His conquests.

After this, Músa went out against the Berbers, and pursued them far into their native deserts, leaving wherever he went traces of his passage, killing numbers of them, taking thousands of prisoners, and carrying on the work of havoc and destruction. He next penetrated into *Sús al-adání*, where he met with no resistance on the part of the inhabitants, who humbly besought him to grant them peace, and embraced Islám. Those, however, who still persisted in their hostility against the Moslems, Músa attacked in person, or by the various divisions of his army, defeated them in the field, and stormed their towns; and never ceased pushing his conquests until he arrived before Tangiers,[13] the citadel of their country and the mother of their cities, which he also besieged and took, obliging its inhabitants to embrace Islám.

Takes Tangiers.

They say that Tangiers had never been taken by an enemy before the days of Músa; and, once in the hands of the Moslems, it became one of their strongest citadels.[14]

The same historian from whom we have borrowed the preceding particulars adds

that Músa next directed his arms against Ceuta, but that he had the greatest difficulty in gaining possession of it, owing to its Lord, Ilyán the Christian, being a shrewd and brave man.

General submission of the Berbers.

When the nations inhabiting the dreary plains of Africa saw what had befallen the Berbers of the coast and of the interior, they hastened to ask for peace and place themselves under the obedience of Músa, whom they solicited to enlist them in the ranks of his army. Músa lent a favourable ear to their petitions, and gave them generals to command them. He also appointed his freedman Tárik Ibn Zeyád, the Berber, (whom some authors make of the tribe of Sadf,) to be governor of Tangiers and the neighbouring districts, and placed under his orders nineteen thousand Berbers, well provided with arms, and every requisite store to carry on the war. In order to instruct these Berbers in the duties of true religion, for they had all been previously converted to Islám, and their conversion had been sincere, Músa further left with them a few learned Arabs and theologians, to read and explain to them the sacred words of the Korán, and instruct them in all and every one of the duties enjoined by their new religion.[15]

Músa meditates the conquest of Andalus.

This arrangement being made, Músa returned to Africa proper, and when on looking round him he saw no more enemies to attack, no more nations to subdue, either among the Berbers or among the Greeks,[16]—when he perceived that the principal cities along the coast had all been taken,—he wrote to his freedman Tárik, who was governor of Tangiers, and ordered him to get himself and troops ready to make an incursion into the opposite land of Andalus. In compliance with this order from his master, Tárik put to sail from the port of Tangiers with twelve thousand of the new converts, and landed at the foot of the mountain which afterwards took his name on Monday, the fifth day of Rejeb, of the year ninety-two of the Hijra (A. D. April 28th, 711).

Siege of Ceuta by Tárik.

We have said that Músa in person took the cities of Tangiers and Ceuta;—the contrary appears from the narrative of Al-khozeyní[17] and other historians, who attribute the conquest to Tárik. They say that, having given to this general the command of an army, he directed him against the nations inhabiting the northern coast of Africa. Tárik marched first against Tangiers, which he took; he then directed his arms against certain districts which acknowledged the sway of the Kings of Andalus, and the capital of which was Ceuta, a strongly fortified city.[18] A barbarian chief, named Ilyán, ruled as sovereign in it: he was a man of great resolution and courage; having been on a former occasion attacked by Músa, he not only bravely withstood the attack, but made a sally at the head of his best troops and obliged that general to raise the siege. Músa then retreated to Tangiers,[19] whence he made frequent incursions into Ilyán's territory, laying waste

King Wittiza sends reinforcements to the besieged.

the country and destroying the fields, thinking that he would thus reduce them by famine; but this also proved unavailing, for Ghittíshah (Wittiza),[20] who then reigned in Andalus, sent them reinforcements and provided them by means of his fleet with all sorts of provisions and military stores. As long as Wittiza occupied the throne of Andalus the garrison of Ceuta defended itself with the greatest courage and perseverance, and fought valiantly for the preservation of their families and liberty; but on the death of that monarch the state of affairs was entirely changed, and, owing to the civil dissensions which soon arose among the Goths, the Moslems were enabled not only to reduce such cities as still acknowledged their sway in Africa, but to push their conquests into the very heart of Andalus.

Death of Wittiza.

Wittiza left sons[21] behind him, but the Goths not being satisfied with them this gave rise to much tumult and agitation, until they decided upon giving the crown to a chief named Roderic, who, although he was not of the royal blood, belonged to one of the principal families of the land, and was moreover known to be a brave and gallant soldier, and one much experienced in the affairs of the kingdom.

Usurpation of Roderic.

Ibnu Hayyán, in his *Muktabis*,[22] gives some account of this Roderic. He agrees that he was not a descendant from the kings who occupied the throne of Andalus before him, but that he was a powerful and noble lord, much respected for his talents and his courage, and that having formed a considerable party among the people he succeeded in snatching the sceptre from the sons of King Wittiza.

Another writer says that when Wittiza died he left three sons, who being of tender years were not deemed fit to govern the country, upon which their mother[23] assumed the royal power, and, holding the reins of government, administered the kingdom in their name,—Toledo continuing to be her residence as well as the court of the empire. However, Roderic, who under the reign of her husband Wittiza had commanded the cavalry, refused to acknowledge the authority of the widow-queen, and, having created a rebellion in Cordova,[24] seized on the empire.

...án, Lord of ...nta.

But let us hear the account of Abú Zeyd Ibn Khaldún, who, after saying that Andalus was in the hands of the Goths, and that their king at the time was called Roderic, expresses himself in the following terms:—"Besides their kingdom of "Andalus the Goths had settlements beyond the sea, so that when Músa arrived "in Africa they were in possession of large tracts of land along its northern shore.[25] "These they were at first enabled to defend on account of their holding Tangiers, "which was the key of the straits, and owing also to the narrowness of the sea "which separates Andalus from Africa, and which enabled them to send reinforce-"ments wherever they were required, so as to keep those countries in obedience "and defend them against the Arabs. A great many of the tribes inhabiting the "coast were therefore subject to them. Now in that part of the country which is

"now called *Jebál Ghomárah* (the mountains of Gomera)[26] there was a king of "the Berbers[27] named Ilyán, who acknowledged himself a subject of the Gothic "monarchs, obeyed their sway, and followed their religion.[28] Africa was governed "at the time by Músa Ibn Nosseyr, a lieutenant of the Khalif Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-"malek, who resided at Cairwán, then the seat of the African governors. Under "that general the Moslem armies subdued the greatest part of Africa and carried "the war to the extreme western frontiers, after which they penetrated into the "mountain districts about Tangiers, and opened themselves a passage until they "reached the mouth of the straits, when King Ilyán, unable to withstand their "attacks, surrendered, and submitted himself to the sway of Islám. Músa Ibn "Nosseyr then appointed his freedman Tárik Ibn Zeyád Al-leythí to the govern-"ment of his new conquests, as well as to the command of all the troops encamped "in those districts." So far Ibnu Khaldún, whose account does not materially differ from that of the preceding writers.

Ilyán's discontent.

We have said that one of the principal causes of the conquest of Andalus was the appointment of Músa Ibn Nosseyr to the government of Africa; the second in order is the enmity that broke out between Ilyán and Roderic. Every historian that we have consulted alludes more or less explicitly to a certain quarrel between those two individuals, which led to the invasion of the Arabs.[29] The author before quoted, Abú Zeyd Ibn Khaldún, attributes it to a desire on the part of Ilyán of revenging certain injuries he had received in the person of his daughter, who was then staying in the royal palace; since, adds that historian, it was a custom among the Gothic nobles to send their daughters to be brought up and educated at the royal palace, along with the king's daughters. They say that when Ilyán heard of the outrage committed on the person of his daughter he repaired immediately to court, took her away, and brought her back to Africa. Not satisfied with this, he went to see Tárik, acquainted him with his desire of revenge, engaged him to invade Andalus, and offered to conduct his army through the enemy's country. Tárik, who wished nothing so much as an occasion of trying the fortune of arms against the neighbouring kingdom, immediately seized on Ilyán's offer, and, having previously obtained his master's leave, prepared for the intended expedition. But as the doings between Ilyán and Roderic, and the application made by the former to the Arabian general, are recounted more at length by other writers, we shall borrow from them what we deem necessary to make this our history both agreeable and instructive.

Ilyán's daughter is dishonoured by Roderic.

"It was then the custom among the Goths," says Al-khozeyní,[30] "for the "princes of the royal blood, the great noblemen of the kingdom, and the governors "of the provinces, to send to the supreme court at Toledo such among their sons

" as they chose to be promoted and advanced, and at the same time distinguished " by the favour of their sovereign, under whose eye they were trained to all " military exercises, and were afterwards appointed to commands in the army. In " the same manner the daughters were sent to the king's palace, and educated with " his daughters, and when grown up the king would marry them to the young " noblemen at his court, according to their fathers' dignity, and bestow upon them " marriage portions.

" It happened that in compliance with this custom Ilyán, the Lord of Ceuta,[31] " a city then under the sway of King Roderic, and the inhabitants of which also " professed the Christian religion, having a daughter, a beautiful and innocent " creature, crossed the straits and took her to Toledo, then the court and capital " of the kingdom. When Roderic beheld her, he was so much struck with her " beauty that he fell desperately in love, and did not hesitate, when persuasion " had failed, to obtain by violence the gratification of his wishes. Some time " afterwards the girl found the means of secretly acquainting her father with the " treatment she had suffered at the hands of Roderic; and it is related that when " Ilyán read his daughter's message he fell into a most violent rage, and swore " to revenge the injury inflicted by Roderic, exclaiming,—'By the faith of the " Messiah! I will undermine his throne and disturb his dominions, until the whole " is overturned and annihilated.' So there can be no doubt that the injury done to " Ilyán's daughter was one of the causes of the conquest of Andalus, subordinate " to what God Almighty had decreed about it. Ilyán embarked immediately for " Andalus, although the inclement season was far advanced,—it being then the month " of January[32] and the depth of winter,—and hastening to Toledo presented himself " before the king, who, not expecting him at so unseasonable a time, upbraided " him for leaving his post, and addressed him in the following words: 'What " brought thee here? Thou knowest very well that this is neither the time nor the " occasion for thy coming to court.' To which Ilyán answered, excusing himself by " saying that his wife was dangerously ill, and desired greatly to see her daughter " once more before she died, and had begged and entreated him to fetch her. He " then asked Roderic to issue orders that his daughter should be delivered to " him, and all her baggage prepared for immediate departure. Roderic granted " his request, not without having previously made the daughter promise that she " would keep their intercourse a secret from her father, but the girl preferred her " father to the king, and informed the former of his conduct towards her. They " say, on the authority of Ilyán himself, that when about to take leave of the king " the latter addressed him as follows: 'O Ilyán! I hope that I shall soon hear of " thee, and that thou wilt endeavour to procure for me some of those very swift

" *shadhankah*[33] (hawks) which are such a source of pleasure and amusement to " me, since they chase and hunt the birds and bring them to me;' to which " Ilyán answered, 'Doubt not, O King! but that I will soon be back, and, by the " faith of the Messiah! I will never feel satisfied until I bring thee such *sha-* " *dhankah* as thou never sawest in thy life;' meaning by this the Arabs, whom he " already thought of bringing against his country. But Roderic did not understand " the meaning of his words."

No sooner did Ilyán find himself safe in Africa than he repaired to the city of Cairwán, where the Arabian governor then held his court, and by his glowing descriptions of the fertility, wealth, and extent of the island of Andalus, by representing his countrymen as divided and weakened by internal divisions, and enervated by their luxurious habits and a long peace, prevailed upon Músa, as we shall presently relate, to send with him some troops under the command of one of his Berber freedmen, who, with the rapidity of the hawk pouncing upon his prey, subdued the whole kingdom, and added new and extensive dominions to those already subject to the sway of Islám.

Some historians assign a third cause for the conquest of Andalus; they say that there was at Toledo a palace built in times of old by a sage king, who, having predicted that Andalus would in times to come be invaded by people from Africa, had placed in one of its rooms a certain magic spell, by means of which the country was to be for ever preserved from foreign invasion. As long as the spell remained untouched Andalus was safe, but when broken (and it was so by Roderic) the ruin of that country became inevitable. This event is thus related by various historians.

Spell constructed by the Greeks for the preservation of their country.

It is well known that the Greeks[34] were a nation famous for their knowledge in the sciences, as well as for their talent and acuteness in availing themselves of the secrets of nature. Before the times of Alexander they inhabited the East, but when the Persians predominated in those quarters, and subdued every one of the realms possessed by the Greeks, they decided upon emigrating and taking to a distant land their knowledge and their science. They fixed upon the island of Andalus, owing to its being placed at the extremity of the inhabited world, on which account it was scarcely known at the time, had never been possessed by any of the sage monarchs of olden times, and, finally, was then without inhabitants; for although Andalus, son of Yáfeth, son of Núh, had settled in it soon after the deluge, taken it for his residence, given it his name, and left besides various traces of his domination, yet his generation had since perished, and the country was then a desert.[35]

It has been said that when the earth was first peopled after the deluge it appeared

in the shape of a bird,—the east being the head,—the north and south, the right and left feet,—the countries between, the stomach,—and the west, the tail,[36]—and that when the Greeks fixed upon Andalus as the country in which they were to settle in preference to all others, it was owing to its relation to that despicable part of the body (the tail), according to the picture we have drawn of the earth at the time; for the Greeks of ancient days were more inclined to study than to war, making the former supply on every occasion the place of the latter: they were therefore a cowardly set, meeting their enemies with artifice rather than force, and, instead of being ashamed of this, they boasted of it on every opportunity, knowing very well that the cause of the decay and ruin of mighty empires was only to be looked for in war. In order, therefore, not to be hindered and disturbed in the study and cultivation of science, which made the principal business of their lives, they fled before the Persians, their enemies, and migrated to Andalus, where they had no sooner arrived than they began to dig canals, and to make cuts from the rivers for the purpose of irrigation; to erect bridges and aqueducts, to construct fortresses and castles, to plant gardens and vines, and to build cities and towns; ploughing and sowing the land, and raising whatever buildings were deemed necessary for the pleasure and comfort of the people. In fine, the country soon became so thickly peopled, and so studded with cities and towns, that one of their wise men, who knew well that the country they inhabited had been called "the bird's tail," owing to the supposed resemblance of the earth to a bird with extended wings, is said to have remarked that that bird was the peacock, the principal beauty of which is well known to be in the tail. This brings to our recollection a witty answer once made by a Western Arab to the Prince of believers, Hárún Ar-rashíd (the mercy of God be upon him!) That Khalif happened on a certain day to address a native of Africa in the following manner: "I am told, O man! that the world resembles "a bird in shape; and that the west is the tail." "Thou hast been told right, O "Prince of the believers!" replied the Maghrebí, "but thy informer ought to have "added that that bird was the peacock;" hearing which, Ar-rashíd laughed and wondered much at the man's quickness at repartee in defending his native country. But to proceed with our account of the spell.[37]

The Greeks continued in possession of Andalus, leading a life of security and pleasure. They took for a capital the city of Toledo, owing to its being situate in the heart of Andalus, and their principal care consisted in strengthening it against their enemies and maintaining themselves in their possessions, and concealing from other nations the knowledge of the comforts they were enjoying. In order better to gain their object they began consulting the stars, and found that by two nations only were they to be disturbed in their enjoyments, and to be hated

on account of them, and these were represented to them as people unaccustomed to the luxuries of life, hardened by privation and fatigue, in short—the Arabs and Berbers. When the Greeks heard of this prognostic they were struck with fear, and trembled for their populated island; they agreed upon constructing immediately a talisman that should avert their impending ruin, and by its power keep off the two nations mentioned in the prophecy, to which effect they began consulting the stars for a time and place fit for their undertaking. In the meanwhile, whenever some of the scattered tribes of Berbers inhabiting along the northern coast of Africa happened to approach the sea shore, being thus separated only from Andalus by a narrow channel, the fears and consternation of the Greeks would increase, they would fly in all directions for fear of the threatened invasion, and their dread of the Berbers waxed so great that it was instilled into their nature, and became in after times a prominent feature in their character. On the other side, the Berbers having been made acquainted with this ill-will and hatred of the people of Andalus towards them, hated and envied them the more, this being in a certain measure the reason why even a long time afterwards a Berber could scarcely be found who did not most cordially hate an Andalusian, and *vice versa*, only that Berbers being more in want of Andalusians than these are of them, owing to certain necessaries not to be procured in Africa, and which are imported from Andalus, a communication has necessarily existed between the people of both countries. But to return.

There was in the west of Andalus a Grecian king, who reigned over an island called the island of Kádis (Cadiz). This king had a daughter of incomparable beauty, whom the other kings of Andalus,—for that country was then ruled by several kings, each having estates not extending over more than one or two cities,—sought in marriage. Each of these kings sent accordingly his messengers to Cadiz, and asked for the hand of the beautiful daughter. Her father, however, unwilling to choose among so many pretenders, lest by favouring one he should offend the others, was very much perplexed, and sent for his daughter to acquaint her with the state of his mind. Now it happened that the daughter of this king was possessed of much wisdom as well as beauty, for among the Greeks both men and women were born with a natural instinct for science; this having led to that common saying, that "science came down from heaven and lodged itself in three different parts of man's "body; in the brains amongst the Greeks, in the hands amongst the Chinese, "and in the tongue among the Arabs." This daughter, then, having heard the whole of the case, said to her father, "Only do what I will tell thee, and do not "trouble thyself any more about this matter."—"What is thy advice then?"—"That to those who solicit my hand thou shouldst answer, that I will give the

"preference to him only who proves himself a sage king;" and her father accordingly dispatched messengers to the neighbouring kingdoms to acquaint the royal suitors with his daughter's determination. When the lovers read the letters containing the princess's intentions, many who could not lay any claim to science immediately desisted from their courtship; two kings only being found among her numerous admirers who professed themselves sages, and who immediately answered his letters, each saying of himself, "I am a sage king." When the father got these letters, he sent for his daughter, and, informing her of their contents, "See," said he, "we are still in the same difficulty as before; for here are two kings who "both call themselves sages, and if I choose one I shall make an enemy of the "other. What dost thou propose to do in such a difficulty?" The daughter replied, "I will impose a task upon both kings, and whichsoever of the two executes "it best, he shall be my husband."—"And pray, what is it?"—"We want in "this town a wheel to draw up water; I will ask one of them to make me one that "shall be moved by fresh running water coming from yonder land; and I will "intrust the other with the construction of a talisman or charm to preserve this "island from the invasions of the Berbers."

The king was delighted with the plan suggested by his daughter, and, without bestowing any more consideration on the subject, wrote to both the princes, making them acquainted with his daughter's ultimate determination; and each having agreed to undergo the intended trial, they set to work as soon as possible. The king to whose lot it had fallen to construct the hydraulic machine [38] erected an immense building, with large stones placed one upon the top of another, in that part of the salt sea which separates the island of Andalus from the continent, and in the spot known by the name of Strait of Ceuta.[39] This arched building, which was built entirely of free-stone, the interstices of which were filled by the architect with some cement of his own composition, connected the island of Cadiz with the main land. Traces of this work are still visible in that part of the sea which divides Ceuta from Algesiras,[40] but the greatest part of the inhabitants of Andalus assign it another origin, as I have already explained elsewhere; they suppose it to be the remains of a bridge which Alexander ordered to be constructed between Ceuta and Algesiras: but God only knows which of the two reports is the true one, although I find the last of the two more generally believed. However, when the architect had finished his work of stone, he conducted fresh water from the top of a high mountain on the continent to the island, and making it afterwards all fall into a basin, he caused it to rise again in Andalus by means of a wheel.[41]

As to the other king, whose task was the construction of the magic spell, he first consulted the skies in quest of a proper and fit time to commence its fabrication;

"preference to him only who proves himself a sage king;" and her father accordingly dispatched messengers to the neighbouring kingdoms to acquaint the royal suitors with his daughter's determination. When the lovers read the letters containing the princess's intentions, many who could not lay any claim to science immediately desisted from their courtship; two kings only being found among her numerous admirers who professed themselves sages, and who immediately answered his letters, each saying of himself, "I am a sage king." When the father got these letters, he sent for his daughter, and, informing her of their contents, "See," said he, "we are still in the same difficulty as before; for here are two kings who "both call themselves sages, and if I choose one I shall make an enemy of the "other. What dost thou propose to do in such a difficulty?" The daughter replied, "I will impose a task upon both kings, and whichsoever of the two executes "it best, he shall be my husband."—"And pray, what is it?"—"We want in "this town a wheel to draw up water; I will ask one of them to make me one that "shall be moved by fresh running water coming from yonder land; and I will "intrust the other with the construction of a talisman or charm to preserve this "island from the invasions of the Berbers."

The king was delighted with the plan suggested by his daughter, and, without bestowing any more consideration on the subject, wrote to both the princes, making them acquainted with his daughter's ultimate determination; and each having agreed to undergo the intended trial, they set to work as soon as possible. The king to whose lot it had fallen to construct the hydraulic machine [38] erected an immense building, with large stones placed one upon the top of another, in that part of the salt sea which separates the island of Andalus from the continent, and in the spot known by the name of Strait of Ceuta.[39] This arched building, which was built entirely of free-stone, the interstices of which were filled by the architect with some cement of his own composition, connected the island of Cadiz with the main land. Traces of this work are still visible in that part of the sea which divides Ceuta from Algesiras,[40] but the greatest part of the inhabitants of Andalus assign it another origin, as I have already explained elsewhere; they suppose it to be the remains of a bridge which Alexander ordered to be constructed between Ceuta and Algesiras: but God only knows which of the two reports is the true one, although I find the last of the two more generally believed. However, when the architect had finished his work of stone, he conducted fresh water from the top of a high mountain on the continent to the island, and making it afterwards all fall into a basin, he caused it to rise again in Andalus by means of a wheel.[41]

As to the other king, whose task was the construction of the magic spell, he first consulted the skies in quest of a proper and fit time to commence its fabrication;

and when he had discovered it, he began to build a square edifice. The materials were of white stone, and the place chosen for its erection a sandy desert on the sea shore. In order to give sufficient solidity to the building, the architect sunk the foundations as deep into the earth as the building itself rose above the surface; and when he had completed it, he placed on the top a statue of melted copper and iron, mixed together by dint of his science, to which he further gave the look and appearance of a Berber, with a long beard; his hair, which was exceedingly coarse, stood upright on his head, and he had besides a tuft hanging over his forehead.[42] His garment consisted of a tunic, the ends of which he held on the left arm; he wore sandals on his feet, and the most extraordinary thing about him was that, although the dimensions of the figure were excessive, and he stood up in the air at a distance of more than sixty or seventy cubits, no other support was seen but the natural one at his feet, which were at most one cubit in circumference. He had his right arm extended, and in his hand were visible some keys with a padlock;[43] with his right hand he pointed towards the sea, as if he were saying, "No one is to pass "this way;" and such was the magic virtue contained in this figure, that as long as it kept its place, and held the keys in its hand, no ship from Barbary could ever sail into the strait, on account of its stormy and fearful waters.[44]

However, each of the kings worked with uncommon activity at his task, hoping that whichsoever of the two accomplished his first stood a good chance of gaining the heart of the princess. The constructor of the aqueduct was the first to finish his, for he contrived so as to keep it secret from the other, in hopes that if he did his work first, the talisman would not be completed, and the victory would remain to him: and so it happened, for he measured his time so well, that on the very same day on which his rival's work was to be accomplished water began to run in the island, and the wheel to move; and when the news of his success reached his competitor, who was then on the top of the monument giving the last polish to the face of the figure, which was gilt, he took it so much to heart that he threw himself down, and fell dead at the foot of the tower; by which means the other prince, freed from his rival, became the master of the lady, of the wheel, and of the charm.

The author from whom the preceding narrative is borrowed does not acquaint us in what manner the spell acted against Africans, nor how its virtue came to be impaired, but we here subjoin another writer's version of this story.

In times of old the Greek kings who reigned in Andalus were terribly afraid of an invasion on the part of the Berbers, on account of the prophecy that we have recorded. To avoid this they constructed different spells, and, among others, one which they put inside a marble urn and placed in a palace at Toledo: in order

to ensure its custody and preservation they placed a padlock on the gate of the palace, leaving instructions for every succeeding king to do the same. This injunction having been faithfully complied with, it came to pass that after the lapse of a great many years twenty-seven padlocks were appended to the gate of the building, —that number of kings having reigned in Andalus, each of whom had put his padlock as ordained. Some time previous to the invasion of the Arabs, which, as is well known, was the cause of the overthrow of the Gothic dynasty and of the entire conquest of Andalus, a king of the Goths, Roderic by name,[45] ascended the throne. Now this king, being young and fond of adventure, once assembled his Wizírs, great officers of the state, and members of his council, and spoke to them thus:— "I have been thinking a long time about this house with its seven-and-twenty "padlocks, and I am determined to have it opened, that I may see what it contains, "for I am sure it is a mere jest." "It may be so, O King!" answered one of the Wizírs; "but honesty, prudence, and policy demand that thou shouldst not do it; "and that, following the example of thy father, of thy grandfather, and of thy "ancestors,—none of whom ever wished to dive into this mystery,—thou shouldst "add a new padlock to the gate." When the Wizír had done speaking, Roderic replied,—"No: I am led by an irresistible impulse, and nothing shall make me "change my resolution. I have an ardent wish to penetrate this mystery, and my "curiosity must be satisfied." "O King! answered the Wizírs, "if thou doest it "under a belief that treasures are concealed in it, let us hear thy estimation of "them, and we will collect the sum among ourselves and deposit it in thy royal "treasure, rather than see ourselves and thee exposed to frightful calamities and "misery." But Roderic being a man of undaunted spirit, stout of heart, and strong of determination, was not easily persuaded. He remained deaf to the entreaties of his counsellors and proceeded immediately towards the palace, and when he arrived at the gate, which, as we have already observed, was furnished with several locks, each of them having its key hanging to it, the gate was thrown open, and nothing else was to be seen but a large table made of gold and silver and set with precious stones, upon which was to be read the following inscription:—"This is the table of Suleymán, son of Dáúd, (upon whom be "peace!)" Another object, besides the table, was to be seen in another apartment of the palace, provided also with a very strong padlock, which being removed allowed Roderic to look into it. But what was his astonishment on entering the apartment when nothing was to be seen but the urn, and inside it a roll of parchment and a picture representing in the brightest colours several horsemen looking like Arabs, dressed in skins of animals, and having, instead of turbans, locks of coarse hair; they were mounted on fleet Arabian steeds, bright scimitars

hung by their sides, and their right hands were armed with spears. Roderic ordered his attendants to unroll the parchment, when lo! what did he see but the following inscription written in large letters upon it:—"Whenever this asylum is violated, and "the spell contained in this urn broken, the people painted on this urn shall invade "Andalus, overturn the throne of its kings, and subdue the whole country."[46] They say that when Roderic read this fatal prognostic he repented of what he had done, and was impressed with a strong belief of his impending ruin. He was not mistaken, for tidings soon reached him of an army of Arabs, which the emperor of the East sent against him.

This is the enchanted palace and the picture to which Roderic is said to have alluded afterwards, on the day of the battle of Guadalete, when, as he was advancing upon the Moslems, he saw for the first time before his eyes the very men whose representations were upon the parchment. Of this more will be said hereafter. But whether this account is a true one or not, God only knows, for we find it related in various ways by the historians, as we shall have further occasion to observe when we come to treat about the famous table of Suleymán and other particulars connected with this case, and that we shall do by taking our information from the best and purest sources. As to the other story, namely, that of the sage king making a contrivance to bring sweet water from Africa into Andalus, it is scarcely credible, for Andalus happens just to be one of the countries most abounding in waters and rivers; and therefore we do not see the necessity of bringing water from the opposite shore, unless, as some pretend, the princess only did it to puzzle her admirer and try his skill by imposing upon him this extraordinary and most difficult task. But I again repeat, God only knows; for he is the creator and master of all science!

CHAPTER II.

Ilyán goes to see Músa—Makes a successful incursion—Músa acquaints Al-walíd with the victory—Sends Taríf Abú Zar'ah—His landing at Tarifa—Músa sends Tárik Ibn Zeyád—He lands at Gibraltar—Is attacked by Theodomir—Roderic hastens to the defence of his kingdom—Arrives in Cordova—Writes to the sons of Wittiza—Tárik sends to Africa for reinforcements—Discontent of the Gothic nobles—Treason of the sons of Wittiza—Roderic encamps on the banks of the Guadalete—Tárik addresses his men—Battle of Guadalete—Roderic's fate—Taking of Sidonia, Carmona, and Ezija.

Ilyán goes to see Músa.

No sooner did Ilyán, the Lord of Ceuta, arrive safely in his dominions, than he went to see the Amír Músa Ibn Nosseyr, and proposed to him the conquest of Andalus, which he described as a country of great excellence and blessings; he told him that it was a land abounding in productions of all kinds, rich in grain of all sorts, plentiful in waters renowned for their sweetness and clearness; he proceeded afterwards to draw the picture of the inhabitants, whom he affirmed to be enervated by long peace, and destitute of arms.[1] This account awakened the ambition of the Amír, who, after a mature deliberation on the proposition made to him, came to the following agreement with Ilyán,—that he should desert the cause which he was then defending[2] and pass over to the Moslems, and that by way of proving his enmity towards his own countrymen, professing the same religion as himself, he should first of all make an incursion into their country. This Ilyán immediately put into execution, and, collecting some troops in the districts subject to his rule, he embarked in two vessels and landed on the coast of Algesiras,[3] whence he overran the country, and after killing and making a number of captives he and his companions returned safe to Africa, loaded with spoil, on the following day.

Makes a successful incursion.

No sooner did the news of this first expedition, which took place at the close of the year ninety,[4] become known in Africa, than a great many Moslems flocked under the banners of Ilyán and trusted him. As for the Amír Músa, he wrote immediately to the Khalif Al-walíd, informing him of what Ilyán proposed to him to undertake against Andalus, and asking his leave to try the conquest,[5] and the answer of the Khalif was conceived in the following terms:—"Let

Músa acquaints Al-walíd with the victory.

"the country be first explored by light troops, to overrun it and bring thee "news of what it contains; be prudent, and do not allow the Moslems to be "lost in an ocean of dangers and horrors." To which Músa replied, "It is "not an ocean, but only a narrow channel, whose shores are every where distinct "to the eye." "Never mind," answered Al-walíd; "even if it be so, let the "country be first explored."[6]

Accordingly Músa sent a freedman of his, a Berber, whose name was Taríf Abú Zar'ah,[7] with four hundred foot and one hundred horsemen,[8] with instructions to make an incursion into Andalus. Taríf and his small army embarked in four vessels, and landed on an island situated opposite to another island[9] close to Andalus, and known by the name of *Jezírah Al-khadhrá* (the green island), where the Arabs of the present days keep their ships and their naval stores,[10] it being their principal port to cross over to Africa. In this island, which has since taken the name of Taríf, on account of his landing on it,[11] the Berber general stayed a whole day, until all his men were with him;[12] he then moved on and made several inroads into the main land, which produced a rich spoil and several captives, who were so handsome that Músa and his companions had never seen the like of them.[13] This took place in the month of Ramadhán of the year ninety-one (Aug.-Sept. A.D. 710),[14] and when it was made known every one wished to go to Andalus. **Sends Taríf Abú Zar'ah.**

The number of troops that accompanied Taríf in this expedition is not satisfactorily ascertained. Some authors make it amount to one thousand men; others give him only half that number, as above stated. But we must observe that the whole of these accounts are very doubtful, since there are not wanting historians who make Taríf a different person from Abú Zar'ah, as these words of one of them seem to purport. "Taríf returned from this expedition loaded with spoil, and "bringing a great number of captives; another incursion was made by a Sheikh "of the Berbers, whose name was Abú Zar'ah,[15] who landed with one thousand "men of his nation on the island of Algesiras, and finding that the inhabitants "had deserted the island he set fire to their houses and fields, and burnt also "a church[16] very much venerated amongst them. He then put to the sword such "of its inhabitants as he met, and, making a few prisoners, returned safe to "Africa." **Landing of Taríf.**

But we believe the former account to be the most credible, since it is confirmed by Ar-rází[17] and other historians, who make these two captains to be one and the same person, and call him Abú Zar'ah Taríf Ibn Málik Al-mugháferí,[18] for such were his name and patronymic.

But to proceed. Ilyán went a second time to Músa Ibn Nosseyr, and apprised him of the happy result of the inroad he had made in Andalus, as well as

that of Taríf Abú Zar'ah,[19] and how they had both been crowned with success. He at the same time instigated him to undertake the conquest of the country more at large: he told him what captives they had brought him, and the good tidings about the fertility and wealth of the land. When Músa heard of it he praised God for the victory he had granted his servants, and strengthened himself in his intention of invading Andalus; to this effect he called a freed slave of his, to whom he had on different occasions intrusted important commands in his armies, and whose name was Tárik Ibn Zeyád Ibn 'Abdillah, a native of Hamdán, in Persia, although some pretend that he was not a freedman of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, but a free-born man of the tribe of Sadf,[20] while others make him a *mauli*[21] of Lahm. It is even asserted that some of his posterity who lived in Andalus rejected with indignation the supposition of their ancestor having ever been a liberated slave of Músa Ibn Nosseyr. Some authors, and they are the greatest number, say that he was a Berber, but, as we intend to form a separate article about Tárik, we shall leave the discussion of this and other points for another place, confining ourselves at present to the relation of the historical events as we find them recorded by the best Andalusian writers.

Músa sends Tárik.

To this Tárik, therefore, whether a liberated slave of Músa, or a freeman of the tribe of Sadf, the Arabian governor of Africa committed the important trust of conquering the kingdom of Andalus, for which end he gave him the command of an army of seven thousand men, chiefly Berbers and slaves, very few only being genuine Arabs. To accompany and guide Tárik in this expedition Músa again sent Ilyán, who provided four vessels from the ports under his command, the only places on the coast where vessels were at that time built. Every thing being got ready, a division of the army crossed that arm of the sea which divides Andalus from Africa, and landed with Tárik at the foot of the mountain which afterwards received his name, on a Saturday, in the month of Sha'bán of the year ninety-two (July, 711), answering to the month of *Agosht* (August),[22] and the four vessels were sent back, and crossed and recrossed until the rest of Tárik's men were safely put on shore.

He lands at Gibraltar.

It is otherwise said that Tárik landed on the twenty-fourth of Rejeb (19th June, 711), in the same year. Another account makes the number of men embarked on this occasion amount to twelve thousand, all but sixteen, a number consisting almost entirely of Berbers, there being but few Arabs amongst them; but the same writer agrees that Ilyán transported this force at various times[23] to the coast of Andalus in merchant vessels, (whence collected it is not known,) and that Tárik was the last man on board.[24]

Various historians have recorded two circumstances concerning Tárik's passage and his landing on the coast of Andalus, which we consider worthy of being transcribed. They say that while he was sailing across that arm of the sea which

separates Africa from Andalus he saw in a dream[25] the prophet Mohammed, surrounded by Arabs of the *Muhajirín*[26] and *Anssár*, who with unsheathed swords and bended bows stood close by him, and that he heard the Prophet say, "Take "courage, O Tárik! and accomplish what thou art destined to perform;" and that having looked round him he saw the messenger of God, (upon whom be the peace and salutation of his Lord!) who with his companions was entering Andalus. Tárik then awoke from his sleep, and, delighted with this good omen, hastened to communicate the miraculous circumstance to his followers, who were much pleased and strengthened. Tárik himself was so much struck by the apparition that from that moment he never doubted of victory.

The same writers have preserved another anecdote, which sufficiently proves the mediation of the Almighty in permitting that the conquest of Andalus should be achieved by Tárik. Directly after his landing on the rock Músa's freedman brought his forces upon the plain, and began to overrun and lay waste the neighbouring country. While he was thus employed, an old woman from Algesiras[27] presented herself to him, and among other things told him what follows: "Thou "must know, O stranger! that I had once a husband who had the knowledge of "future events; and I have repeatedly heard him say to the people of this country "that a foreign general would come to this island and subject it to his arms. He "described him to me as a man of prominent forehead, and such, I see, is thine; he "told me also that the individual designated by the prophecy would have a black "mole covered with hair on his left shoulder. Now, if thou hast such a mark on "thy body, thou art undoubtedly the person intended." When Tárik heard the old woman's reasoning, he immediately laid his shoulder bare, and the mark being found, as predicted, upon the left one, both he and his companions were filled with delight at the good omen.[28]

Ibnu Hayyán's account does not materially differ from those of the historians from whom we have quoted. He agrees in saying that Ilyán, Lord of Ceuta, incited Músa Ibn Nosseyr to make the conquest of Andalus; and that this he did out of revenge, and moved by the personal enmity and hatred he had conceived against Roderic. He makes Tárik's army amount only to seven thousand,[29] mostly Berbers, which, he says, crossed in four vessels provided by Ilyán. According to his account Tárik landed on a Saturday, in the month of Sha'bán of the year ninety-two,[30] and the vessels that brought him and his men on shore were immediately sent back to Africa, and never ceased going backwards and forwards until the whole of the army was safely landed on the shores of Andalus.

On the other side, Ibnu Khaldún[31] reckons the army under the orders of Tárik

at three hundred Arabs, and ten thousand Berbers. He says that before starting on his expedition Tárik divided his army into two corps, he himself taking the command of one, and placing the other under the immediate orders of Taríf An-naja'í.[32] Tárik, with his men, landed at the foot of the rock now called *Jebalu-l-fatah* (the mountain of the entrance), and which then received his name, and was called *Jebal-Tárik* (the mountain of Tárik); while his companion Taríf landed on the island afterwards called after him *Jezírah-Taríf* (the island of Taríf). In order to provide for the security of their respective armies, both generals selected, soon after their landing, a good encampment, which they surrounded with walls and trenches,[33] for no sooner had the news of their landing spread than the armies of the Goths began to march against them from all quarters.

The precise date of Tárik's invasion has been differently stated. Some historians, as Ibnu Khaldún, content themselves with giving the year, viz., ninety-two (beginning 28th October, 710); others have fixed the month and the day in which this memorable event is supposed to have taken place. Ibnu-l-khattíb places it on Monday, five days before the end of Rejeb (25th Rejeb) of the year ninety-two (20th June, 711); Ibnu Hayyán on a Saturday of the month of Sha'bán: others say on the twenty-fourth of Rejeb; Adh-dhobí on the eighth day of the same month. There are not wanting authors who place it at the beginning of the year ninety-three; but those who fix it in ninety-two are most in number. God only knows the truth of the case.[34]

[I]s attacked by [T]heodomir.

But, to continue our narrative, no sooner did Tárik set his foot in Andalus than he was attacked by a Goth named Tudmír (Theodomir), to whom Roderic had intrusted the defence of that frontier. Theodomir, who is the same general who afterwards gave his name to a province of Andalus, called *Belád Tudmír*[35] (the country of Theodomir), having tried, although in vain,[36] to stop the impetuous career of Tárik's men, dispatched immediately a messenger to his master, apprising him how Tárik and his followers had landed in Andalus. He also wrote him a letter, thus conceived:—"This our land has been invaded by people whose name, "country, and origin are unknown to me. I cannot even tell thee whence they "came,—whether they fell from the skies, or sprang from the earth."

[R]oderic hastens [t]o the defence [o]f his kingdom.

When this news reached Roderic, who was then in the country of the Bashkans (Basques), making war in the territory of Banbilónah (Pamplona),[37] where serious disturbances had occurred, he guessed directly that the blow came from Ilyán. Sensible, however, of the importance of this attack made upon his dominions, he left what he had in hand, and, moving towards the south with the whole of his powerful army, arrived in Cordova, which is placed in the centre of Andalus. There he took up his abode in the royal castle, which the Arabs called after him Roderic's

[A]rrives in Cor[d]ova.

castle, and which we have already described in another part of this book.[38] In this palace Roderic took up his residence for a few days, to await the arrival of the numerous troops which he had summoned from the different provinces of his kingdom.

They say that while he was staying in Cordova he wrote to the sons of Wittiza to come and join him against the common enemy; for although it is true, as we have already related, that Roderic had usurped the throne of their father and persecuted the sons, yet he had spared their lives;—since these two sons of Wittiza are the same who, when Tárik attacked the forces of King Roderic on the plains of Guadalete, near the sea, turned back and deserted their ranks, owing to a promise made them by Tárik to restore them to the throne of their father if they helped him against Roderic. However, when Roderic arrived in Cordova, the sons of Wittiza were busily engaged in some distant province collecting troops to march against the invaders, and he wrote to them to come and join him with their forces, in order to march together against the Arabs; and, cautioning them against the inconvenience and danger of private feuds at that moment, engaged them to join him and attack the Arabs in one mass. The sons of Wittiza readily agreed to Roderic's proposition, and collecting all their forces came to meet him, and encamped not far from the village of Shakandah, on the opposite side of the river,[39] and on the south of the palace of Cordova. There they remained for some time, not daring to enter the capital or to trust Roderic, until at last, having ascertained the truth of the preparations, and seeing the army march out of the city and him with it, they entered Cordova, united their forces to his,[40] and marched with him against the enemy, although, as will be seen presently, they were already planning the treachery which they afterwards committed. Others say that the sons of Wittiza did not obey the summons sent them by the usurper Roderic; on the contrary, that they joined Tárik with all their forces: but which of these reports is the true one God only knows. However, it seems to have been ascertained that all the princes of the Goths came to join Roderic in this expedition, although it is equally true that he was deserted by some of his noblemen on the field of battle. But much obscurity prevails in the writings of the historians who have recorded the events of those early times. Even the name of the Gothic monarch at the time of Tárik's invasion has been spelt in different ways, for we find it written thus,—*Rudheric*, and *Ludheric*; although the latter is more commonly used. It is also stated that he was a descendant from *Isbahán* (Hispan);[41] but this is contrary to the accounts of Ibnu Hayyán and others, who say that he was not of royal blood.

Writes to the sons of Wittiza.

When Tárik received the news of the approach of Roderic's army, which is said to have amounted to nearly one hundred thousand men, provided with all kinds of weapons and military stores, he wrote to Músa for assistance, saying that he had

Tárik sends to Africa for reinforcements.

taken Algesiras, a port of Andalus, thus becoming by its possession the master of the passage into that country; that he had subdued its districts as far as the bay; but that Roderic was now advancing against him with a force which it was not in his power to resist, except it was God Almighty's will that it should be so. Músa, who since Tárik's departure for this expedition had been employed in building ships, and had by this time collected a great many, sent by them a reinforcement of five thousand Moslems, which, added to the seven thousand of the first expedition, made the whole forces amount to twelve thousand [42] men, eager for plunder and anxious for battle. Ilyán, Lord of Ceuta, who had become a tributary of the Moslems, was also sent with his army and the people of his states to accompany this expedition, and to guide it through the passes in the country, and gather intelligence for them.

'iscontent of ıe nobles. In the meanwhile Roderic was drawing nearer to the Moslems, with all the forces of the barbarians, their lords, their knights, and their bishops;[43] but the hearts of the great people of the kingdom being against him, they used to see each other frequently, and in their private conversations they uttered their sentiments about Roderic in the following manner: "This wretch [44] has by force taken possession of "the throne to which he is not justly entitled, for not only he does not belong to "the royal family, but he was once one of our meanest menials; [45] we do not "know how far he may carry his wicked intentions against us. There is no doubt "but that Tárik's followers do not intend to settle in this country; their only wish "is to fill their hands with spoil and then return. Let us then, as soon as the "battle is engaged, give way, and leave the usurper alone to fight the strangers, "who will soon deliver us from him; and, when they shall be gone, we can place "on the throne him who most deserves it." [46] In these sentiments all agreed, and it was decided that the proposed plan should be put into execution; the two sons of Wittiza, whom Roderic had appointed to the command of the right and left wings of his army, being at the head of the conspiracy, in the hope of gaining the throne of their father.

ɐason of the ıs of Wittiza. When the armies drew nearer to each other, the princes began to spin the web of their treason; and for this purpose a messenger was sent by them to Tárik, informing him how Roderic, who had been a mere menial and servant to their father,[47] had, after his death, usurped the throne; that the princes had by no means relinquished their rights, and that they implored protection and security for themselves. They offered to desert, and pass over to Tárik with the troops under their command, on condition that the Arab general would, after subduing the whole of Andalus, secure to them all their father's possessions, amounting to three thousand valuable and chosen farms, the same that received after this the name of *Safáyá-l-*

molúk (the royal portion).[48] This offer Tárik accepted; and, having agreed to the conditions, on the next day the sons of Wittiza deserted the ranks of the Gothic army in the midst of battle, and passed over to Tárik, this being no doubt one of the principal causes of the conquest.

Roderic encamps on the banks of the Guadalete.

Roderic arrived on the banks of the Guadalete (*Wádí-Lek*)[49] with a formidable army, which most historians compute at one hundred thousand cavalry;[50] although Ibnu Khaldún makes it amount to forty thousand men only. Roderic brought all his treasures and military stores in carts: he himself came in a litter, placed between two mules, having over his head an awning[51] richly set with pearls, rubies, and emeralds. On the approach of this formidable tempest the Moslems did not lose courage, but prepared to meet their adversary. Tárik assembled his men, comforted them by his words, and after rendering the due praises to the Almighty God, and returning thanks for what had already been accomplished, proceeded to implore his mighty help for the future. He then encouraged the Moslems, and kindled their enthusiasm with the following address.—

Tárik's address to his men.

"Whither can you fly;—the enemy "is in your front, the sea at your back? By Allah! there is no salvation for you "but in your courage and perseverance.[52] Consider your situation;—here you are "on this island like so many orphans cast upon the world; you will soon be met "by a powerful enemy, surrounding you on all sides like the infuriated billows of a "tempestuous sea, and sending against you his countless warriors, drowned[53] in "steel, and provided with every store and description of arms. What can you "oppose to them? You have no other weapons than your swords, no provisions "but those that you may snatch from the hands of your enemies; you must there-"fore attack them immediately, or otherwise your wants will increase, the "gales of victory may no longer blow in your favour, and perchance the fear that "lurks in the hearts of your enemies may be changed into indomitable courage. "Banish all fear from your hearts, trust that victory shall be ours, and that the "barbarian king will not be able to withstand the shock of our arms. Here he "comes to make us the masters of his cities and castles, and to deliver into our "hands his countless treasures; and if you only seize the opportunity now pre-"sented, it may perhaps be the means of your becoming the owners of them, "besides saving yourselves from certain death. Do not think that I impose "upon you a task from which I shrink myself, or that I try to conceal from you "the dangers attending this our expedition. No: you have certainly a great deal "to encounter, but know that if you only suffer for awhile, you will reap in the end "an abundant harvest of pleasures and enjoyments. And do not imagine that "while I speak to you I mean not to act as I speak, for as my interest in this affair "is greater, so will my behaviour on this occasion surpass yours. You must have

"heard numerous accounts of this island, you must know how the Grecian "maidens, as handsome as Huris, their necks glittering with innumerable pearls "and jewels, their bodies clothed with tunics of costly silks sprinkled with gold, "are waiting your arrival, reclining on soft couches in the sumptuous palaces of "crowned lords and princes. You know well that the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek "Ibnu-l-walíd has chosen you, like so many heroes, from among the brave; you "know that the great lords [54] of this island are willing to make you their sons and "brethren by marriage, if you only rush on like so many brave men to the fight, "and behave like true champions and valiant knights; you know that the recom-"penses of God await you if you are prepared to uphold his words, and proclaim "his religion in this island; and, lastly, that all the spoil shall be yours, and of "such Moslems as may be with you. Bear in mind that God Almighty will select, "according to this promise, those that distinguish themselves most among you, "and grant them due reward, both in this world and in the future; and know "likewise that I shall be the first to set you the example, and to put in practice "what I recommend you to do; for it is my intention, on the meeting of the two "hosts, to attack the Christian tyrant [55] Roderic and kill him with my own "hand, if God be pleased. When you see me bearing against him, charge along "with me; if I kill him, the victory is ours; if I am killed before I reach him, do "not trouble yourselves about me, but fight as if I were still alive and among you, "and follow up my purpose; for the moment they see their king fall, these bar-"barians are sure to disperse. If, however, I should be killed, after inflicting death "upon their king, appoint a man from among you who unites both courage "and experience, and may command you in this emergency, and follow up the "success. If you attend to my instructions, we are sure of the victory."

When Tárik had thus addressed his soldiers, and exhorted them to fight with courage, and to face the dangers of war with a stout heart,—when he had thus recommended them to make a simultaneous attack upon Roderic's men, and promised them abundant reward if they routed their enemies,—their countenances were suddenly expanded with joy, their hopes were strengthened, the gales of victory began to blow on their side, and they all unanimously answered him—"We "are ready to follow thee, O Tárik! we shall all, to one man, stand by thee, and "fight for thee; nor could we avoid it were we otherwise disposed—victory is our "only hope of salvation." [56]

Battle of Guadalete.

After this Tárik mounted his horse, and his men did the same; and they all passed that night in constant watch for fear of the enemy. On the following morning, when day dawned, both armies prepared for battle; each general formed his cavalry and his infantry, and, the signal being given, the armies met with a

shock similar to that of two mountains dashing against each other. King Roderic came borne on a throne, and having over his head an awning[57] of variegated silk to guard him from the rays of the sun, surrounded by warriors cased in bright steel, with fluttering pennons, and a profusion of banners and standards. Tárik's men were differently arrayed; their breasts were covered with mail armour, they wore white turbans on their heads, the Arabian bow[58] slung across their backs, their swords suspended to their girdles, and their long spears firmly grasped in their hands. They say that when the two armies were advancing upon each other, and the eyes of Roderic fell upon the men in the first ranks, he was horror-struck, and was heard to exclaim,—"By the faith of the Messiah! These are the "very men I saw painted on the scroll found in the mansion of science at Toledo," and from that moment fear entered his heart; and when Tárik perceived Roderic he said to his followers, "This is the King of the Christians,"[59] and he charged with his men, the warriors who surrounded Roderic being on all sides scattered and dispersed; seeing which, Tárik plunged into the ranks of the enemy until he reached the king, and wounded him with his sword on the head and killed him on his throne;[60] and when Roderic's men saw their king fall and his body guard dispersed, the rout became general and victory remained to the Moslems. The rout of the Christians was complete, for instead of rallying on one spot they fled in all directions, and, their panic being communicated to their countrymen, cities opened their gates, and castles surrendered without resistance, &c. The preceding account we have borrowed from a writer of great note, but we deem it necessary to warn the readers that the assertion that Roderic died by the hands of Tárik has been contradicted by several historians, since his body, although diligently sought on the field of battle, could nowhere be found; but of this more will be said in the course of our narrative. We shall proceed to recount in detail that memorable battle, when Almighty God was pleased to put King Roderic's army to flight, and grant the Moslems a most complete victory.

Several authors who have described at large this famous engagement state that Tárik encamped near Roderic, towards the middle of the month of Ramadhán of the year ninety-two (Sept. A.D. 711),[61] and although there is some difference as to the dates, all agree that the battle was fought on the banks of the Wádaleke (Guadalete),[62] in the district of Shidhúnah.[63] They say also that while both armies were encamped in front of each other, the barbarian king, wishing to ascertain the exact amount of Tárik's forces, sent one of his men,[64] whose valour and strength he knew, and in whose fidelity he placed unbounded confidence, with instructions to penetrate into Tárik's camp and bring him an account of their number, arms, accoutrements, and vessels. The Christian proceeded to execute his commission, and

reached a small elevation whence he had a commanding view of the whole camp. However, he had not remained long in his place of observation before he was discovered by some Moslems, who pursued him, but the Christian fled before them and escaped through the swiftness of his horse. Arrived at the Christian camp he addressed Roderic in the following words. "These people, O King! "are the same thou sawest painted on the scroll of the enchanted palace. Beware "of them! for the greatest part of them have bound themselves by oath to reach "thee or die in the attempt; they have set fire to their vessels,[65] to destroy "their last hope of escape; they are encamped along the sea shore,[66] determined "to die or to vanquish, for they know well that there is not in this country a "place whither they can fly." On hearing this account King Roderic was much disheartened, and he trembled with fear. However, the two armies engaged near the lake or gulf;[67] they fought resolutely on both sides till the right and left wings of Roderic's army, under the command of the sons of Wittiza, gave way.[68] The centre, in which Roderic was, still held firm for awhile, and made the fate of the battle uncertain for some time; they fled at last, and Roderic before them. From that moment the rout became general, and the Moslems followed with ardour the pursuit of the scattered bands, inflicting death wherever they went. Roderic disappeared in the midst of the battle, and no certain intelligence was afterwards received of him; it is true that some Moslems found his favourite steed,[69] a milk-white horse, bearing a saddle of gold sparkling with rubies, plunged in the mud of the river, as also one of his sandals, adorned with rubies and emeralds, but the other was never found; nor was Roderic, although diligently searched for, ever discovered either dead or alive, a circumstance which led the Moslems to believe that he perished in the stream; indeed there are not wanting authors who give it as certain that he died in this manner, and that, while trying to cross the stream, the weight of his armour[70] prevented him from struggling against the current, and he was drowned; but God only knows what became of him.[71]

Roderic's fate.

According to Ar-rází, the contest began on a Sunday, two days before the end of Ramadhán, and continued till Sunday, the fifth of Shawál, namely, eight whole days,[72] at the end of which God Almighty was pleased to put the idolaters to flight and grant the victory to the Moslems; and he adds, that so great was the number of the Goths who perished in the battle, that for a long time after the victory the bones of the slain were to be seen covering the field of action.

They say also that the spoil found by the Moslems in the camp of the Christians surpassed all computation, for the princes and great men of the Goths who had fallen were distinguished by the rings of gold they wore on their fingers, those of an

inferior class by similar ornaments of silver, while those of the slaves were made of brass.[73] Tárik collected all the spoil and divided it into five shares or portions, when, after deducting one-fifth, he distributed the rest amongst nine thousand[74] Moslems, besides the slaves and followers.

When the people on the other side of the straits heard of this success of Tárik, and of the plentiful spoils he had acquired, they flocked to him from all quarters, and crossed the sea on every vessel or bark they could lay hold of. Tárik's army being so considerably reinforced, the Christians were obliged to shut themselves up in their castles and fortresses, and, quitting the flat country, betake themselves to their mountains. Tárik first marched against Sidonia,[75] which he besieged and took by force after the garrison had defended it some time. In this city Tárik found considerable spoil. From Sidonia he proceeded to Moror,[76] whence he turned towards Carmona,[77] and, passing by a fountain which afterwards received his name, he invested that city, which surrendered to him immediately, the inhabitants agreeing to pay tribute. He next encamped before *Ezija*, and besieged it. The inhabitants being numerous and brave, and having with them some remnants of Roderic's army, made at first a desperate defence; but after a severe battle, in which a great many Moslems were killed or wounded, it pleased Almighty God to grant them victory, and the idolaters were put to rout and dispersed. No battle was afterwards fought in which the Moslems had so much to suffer, for the Christians defended themselves with the utmost vigour and resolution, and great was the havoc which they made in the ranks of the faithful. However, the Almighty permitted that Tárik should notice the governor, a crafty man, much experienced in battle, leave the town and take, without attendants, the road to the river for the purpose of bathing. Tárik did not know who he was, but, judging by his arms and his steed, he thought he might be some person of distinction. No sooner was he aware of it, than, impelled by his adventurous humour, he took the same direction, repaired to the river, feigned a purpose similar to that of the barbarian, and, jumping into the water, made him his prisoner; he then conducted him to his camp, where the barbarian discovered himself, and said he was the governor of the city, upon which the Arab general granted him peace on the usual terms of paying tribute, and dismissed him free to return to the city, where, as soon as he was returned, he fulfilled his word by surrendering it to the Arabs.

Taking of Sidonia.

Carmona.

Ezija.

In the meanwhile God filled with terror and alarm the hearts of the idolaters, and their consternation was greatly increased when they saw Tárik penetrate far into their country; for, as we have said elsewhere, they were under a belief that his object in the attack was only to gain spoil and then return to his country. When, therefore, they saw Tárik advance to further conquests they were seized with despair,

and, abandoning the flat country, fled to the mountains, or betook themselves to their strong castles; a few only of the principal people repaired to the capital, Toledo, with the intention of holding out resistance within its walls. It is said that Tárik, too, endeavoured to increase the terror of the Christians by means of the following stratagem:—he directed his men to cook the flesh of the slain in presence of the Gothic captives in his camp, and when the flesh had thus been cooked in large copper vessels he ordered it to be cut up, as if it were to be distributed to his men for their meals; he after this allowed some of the captives to escape, that they might report to their countrymen what they had seen. And thus the stratagem produced the desired effect, since the report of the fugitives contributed in no small degree to increase the panic of the infidels.[78]

CHAPTER III.

Tárik divides his army—Mugheyth besieges Cordova—Takes the governor prisoner—Malaga and Granada taken by Tárik's lieutenants—Theodomir attacked—Besieged in Orihuela—Capitulates—Siege and taking of Toledo by Tárik—Spoils found by Tárik—Músa prepares to cross over to Andalus—Rebellion at Seville—Músa goes to Toledo—The table of Suleymán described.

Tárik divides his army.

After this they say that Ilyán addressed Tárik in the following words:—"Since "thy enemies are panic-struck, and their armies dispersed, proceed to their capital, "and destroy them before they have time to collect their forces again. Take "expert guides from among my people; divide thy army into bodies, and send "them to different parts of the country, and, if thou follow my advice, thou wilt "thyself take a division of it and march towards Toledo, where their great men "are by this time assembled to deliberate upon their affairs, and unite under a "chief of their choosing."[1]

Mugheyth besieges Cordova.

Tárik assented immediately to the advice given by Ilyán, but, before leaving Ezija, he dispatched Mugheyth Ar-rúmí (the Greek), a freedman of the Sultán Al-walíd, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, with seven hundred horse; for the Moslems by this time were all, without exception, mounted on horses taken from the barbarians, and had even some remaining. Mugheyth's instructions were to attack Cordova, one of their principal cities. Tárik sent another division of his army against Malaga, and a third against Gharnattá,[2] the town of Al-bírah (Elvira), while he himself, at the head of the main body, hastened towards Toledo by way of Jaen: some authors pretend that Tárik himself went to Cordova,[3] and not Mugheyth, but the former account is the most certain.

However, those who follow the first opinion relate the affair in the following manner. They say that Mugheyth's army, having arrived close to Cordova, encamped in a forest of lofty pines[4] on the bank[5] of the river of Shakandah. Having soon after his arrival at the spot sent out his scouts[6] to gain if possible a knowledge of the country, these soon returned with a shepherd, who, being interrogated about

Cordova, informed Mugheyth that the principal people of the city had quitted it and gone to Toledo, but that a governor had been left behind with a garrison of four hundred horsemen, besides the invalids and old soldiers.[7] The shepherd being further questioned respecting the walls of the city said that they were strong and high, but that there was a breach in them, which he described. Accordingly, no sooner were the Moslems enveloped in the shadows of night than they set off towards the city, and approached its walls, where God Almighty opened to them the means of success, by sending a providential fall of hail, which prevented the stepping of the horses from being heard. The Moslems proceeded gently and unnoticed till they arrived on the banks of the river,[8] which they crossed, finding themselves then at a distance of only thirty cubits, or perhaps less, from the walls. Owing to the squalls of rain, and the cold of the night, the sentries, neglecting their duties, were not on the walls keeping guard, a circumstance which allowed the Moslems to arrive unheard and unmolested at the foot of the battlements; they then attempted to scale the walls, but failed in their attempt by not finding a place to fix the ladders. In this difficulty they returned to the shepherd, and asked him to lead them to the breach he had mentioned; this the man did, but it was also found upon trial not to be of easy ascent. However, this was after some time obtained by means of a fig tree, growing close to the walls, the branches of which afforded the means of ascending. One of their strongest men mounted the tree, whence he succeeded in gaining the top of the breach. Mugheyth then unfolded his turban, and gave one end of it to the man, who by means of it succeeded in helping others on until a considerable number of Moslems gained the summit of the wall. Mugheyth, who remained on horseback at the foot of the battlements, then commanded the assailant party to rush upon the guard within the city. This order was quickly obeyed by the Moslems, who surprised and killed many of the garrison, and, breaking open the gate, let in Mugheyth and the rest of his men, who soon got possession of the city. This being done, Mugheyth, with his guides, hastened towards the palace of the governor, who, having received intelligence of the entry of the Moslems, fled with his guards, four hundred in number, and betook himself to a church situate at the west[9] of the city, and fortified himself in it. As water was conveyed under ground to this church from a spring at the foot of a neighbouring mountain, the besieged defended themselves some time against Mugheyth, who nevertheless ruled in the city and its environs.

The same authors, namely, those who pretend that Tárik was not present at the taking of Cordova, and that this exploit was achieved singly by Mugheyth, state that this latter general, after writing to Tárik to apprise him of his victory, continued to besiege the Christians shut up in the church. After three months of siege,

seeing that he could not reduce them, Mugheyth began to grow impatient and melancholy, and thought of devising some stratagem that might make him master of the fortress. He then called before him one of his black slaves, whose name was Rabáh,[10] a man of tried courage and fortitude, and directed him to hide himself at night in a garden covered with trees[11] that lay close to the church, to try if he could not by chance lay hold of some barbarian, who might inform him of the state of the garrison. The black man did as he was ordered, but being a stupid fellow he soon committed himself; for as it was then the season for the trees to bear fruit, and the place was covered with them, he mounted one in order to gather some fruit, and eat of it. While he was thus perched in the tree he was discovered by the people of the church, who, coming to the spot, made him get down, and having secured him took him prisoner inside. Great was the fright, and at the same time the astonishment, which the sight of the black man caused to the Christians, for they had never seen a man of his colour before; they surrounded him on every side, they gazed at him with astonishment, and thinking he was painted or dyed with some substance that made him look black, they rushed along, he in the midst of them, towards the subterranean conduit by means of which the garrison was supplied with water; and there they began washing and scraping him with water and a hard brush[12] till the black man, unable to endure the operation any longer, begged them to desist, and explained to them that he was a human creature like themselves; which being understood by them they left off washing him, although they still continued to stare at him as a thing they had never seen before. However, after seven days' imprisonment, during which the Christians never ceased coming round him and looking at him, the Almighty permitted that one night this black man should effect his escape, and arrive safe at the camp of the Amír Mugheyth, to whom he related his adventures, informing him at the same time of the result of his observations, as well as of the direction of the subterranean conduit which supplied the garrison with water. Immediately after Mugheyth summoned before him some expert people, who looked for the conduit in the place pointed out by the black man, and, having found it, succeeded in stopping it; the church was from that moment deprived of water, and its garrison doomed to death.

Notwithstanding this loss, and that the besieged had no hopes of deliverance, they were so obstinate that when safety was offered to them upon condition either of embracing the Mohammedan religion, or paying tribute, they refused to surrender, and the church being set on fire they all perished in the flames. This was the cause of the spot being called ever since *Kenísatu-l-harakí* (the church of the burning),[13] as likewise of the great veneration in which it has always been held by the Christians, on account of the courage and endurance displayed in the cause

Takes the governor prisoner.

of their religion by the people who died in it. Their commander, however, did not share their fate, for, when he perceived that the case was desperate, and saw that he and his followers were doomed to certain death, he abandoned his comrades to their fate and escaped towards Toledo. But Mugheyth, being informed of it, galloped off immediately in pursuit of him, and overtook him near the village of Talavera.[14] They say that the barbarian rode a black steed,[15] a noble and swift animal, and that when he saw Mugheyth close at his heels he was terrified and spurred his horse, but the beast gave a start and threw him down. When Mugheyth came up he found him stunned by the fall and lying on his shield as if he were dead, seeing which he took possession of his arms and made him prisoner.

This feat of arms of Mugheyth is differently related by the historians. They all agree, it is true, in the taking of the church after a considerable resistance, and the flight and capture of the governor, but some relate this event as having happened before, not after, the reduction of the fortified church, and say that after taking the governor prisoner Mugheyth invested the building where the Christians had taken refuge, and, having reduced it, put every one of them to the sword: the same historians asserting that the church was called ever since *Kenísatu-l-asraí* (the church of the captives). Be this as it may, certain it is that Mugheyth made the governor of Cordova prisoner, and spared his life with the intention of presenting him to the Khalif Al-walíd on his return to the East, this Christian being the only captive of the royal blood of the Goths taken at the time of the conquest, the rest having either surrendered on terms which secured them their liberty or escaped to Galicia. However, as we shall presently see, Mugheyth was not able to accomplish his purpose, for some time afterwards a dispute having arisen between him and Músa as to whose province it was to present the royal captive to the Khalif, the latter, seeing that he could not prevail upon Mugheyth to relinquish his prize, slew the Gothic slave in the very presence of his master.

After the taking of Cordova, Mugheyth assembled all the Jews in the city and left them in charge of it, trusting them in preference to the Christians, on account of their hatred and animosity towards the latter. He then fixed his abode in the palace, and left the rest of the town to be inhabited by the Moslems.

Malaga and Granada taken by Tárik's lieutenants.

In the meanwhile the forces that proceeded against Malaga[16] took possession of that town, the barbarians flying for refuge to the neighbouring mountains. After this they joined the army dispatched to Elvira, and laying siege to its city, Gharnáttah,[17] took it by storm. The citadel of this latter place they intrusted to the care of the Jews, and this practice became almost general in the succeeding years; for whenever the Moslems conquered a town, it was left in custody of the Jews, with only a few Moslems, the rest of the army proceeding to new conquests,

and where Jews were deficient a proportionally greater body of Moslems was left in charge.[18] This plan was equally adopted with regard to the district of Rayah, to which Malaga belonged.

Theodomir attacked.

After the subjection of these two cities, the army proceeded on to Tudmír, a country so called after its king (Theodomir), and the citadel of which was Ouriwwélah (Orihuela),[19] a place renowned for its strength. This King Tudmír (Theodomir) was a man of great experience and judgment, who for a length of time defended his states valiantly.[20] But at last, having ventured a battle in the open country, he was completely defeated, and most of his men slain, himself and a few followers only succeeding in gaining Orihuela. When safe inside the town, he ordered the women to let their hair loose, to arm themselves with bows, and to appear on the walls as if they were so many warriors prepared for battle, he himself, with his scanty followers, standing in front, with a view to deceive the Moslems with regard to the real strength of the garrison. In this stratagem he succeeded, for the Moslems, overrating his forces by the numbers they saw on the walls, offered him peace, and Theodomir, feigning to accept of it, repaired in disguise to the camp of the Moslems; and there, as if he were a deputy from his own people, he first treated for the security of the inhabitants, and afterwards for his own. When he had brought the Moslems to grant him the terms which he wished for, he made himself known to them, giving as an excuse for his stratagem the great love he had for his subjects, and his ardent wish of obtaining for them a favourable capitulation. He then guided them into the town, according to the treaty agreed upon, but when the Moslems saw that there were in it only women and children, they were very much ashamed of themselves, and mortified at having been deceived. They, however, observed faithfully the terms of the treaty, as it was their custom to do on every occasion; so that the district of Tudmír, by the artifice of its king, was freed from the invasions of the Moslems, and the whole of its towns and villages were comprised in the same capitulation. The Moslems wrote to Tárik, apprising him of the surrender of that district, and a small portion of the army remaining in the capital of the country, the rest proceeded to Toledo to join in the siege of that city.[21]

Besieged in Orihuela.

Capitulates.

The taking of Malaga and Granada by Tárik's lieutenants has been called into question by some historians, who attribute it, together with that of Valencia, Denia, and other cities of the eastern district, to 'Abdu-l-a'la, one of Músa's sons, who landed in Andalus with his father some time after. Even the war made against Theodomir, and the treaty concluded with him, are by some postponed until the year ninety-four (beginning 6th October, 712). Ibnu-l-khattíb,[22] in his history of Granada, says that Músa sent his son 'Abdu-l-a'la to Tudmír, then

to Granada, and lastly to Malaga, all which places he reduced in succession. But God only knows which of these is the true account, for there is so much discrepancy in the writings of ancient authors, that to choose among their contradictory accounts becomes a task of the greatest difficulty for the modern historian.[23]

Siege and taking of Toledo by Tárik.

While these events were taking place, Tárik, according to Ibnu Hayyán, reached Toledo, the court and capital of the Gothic monarchy, and found it deserted, the inhabitants having fled and betaken themselves to a town dependent on it beyond the mountains.[24] Tárik collected together the Jews of the place,[25] and, leaving behind a body of his troops in charge of the city, marched with the remainder in pursuit of the fugitives. He took the road of Wáda-l-hijárah (the river of the stones);[26] he then came to a range of mountains, which he crossed at a pass named after himself (*Fej-Tárik*),[27] and arrived at Medínatu-l-máyidah (the city of the table), beyond the mountains, this city being so called from a table which Tárik found in it, and which is supposed to have belonged to Suleymán, son of Dáúd. The colour of it was green, and its sides and feet, the latter of which are represented as three hundred and sixty-five in number,[28] were made of solid emerald. Tárik took possession of this inestimable jewel, and proceeded to the city beyond the mountains in which the people had fortified themselves,[29] and where he also acquired many precious objects and considerable treasures, after which he did not push his conquests any further, but returned to Toledo in the year ninety-three[30] (beginning October, A. D. 711), although some authors are of opinion that he did not return this time, but, on the contrary, invaded the country of Galicia, and traversed it till he arrived as far as Astorga, which he subdued, as well as the neighbouring country, and then came back to Toledo. But God only knows which of these two opinions is the true one. It is even said that all these conquests were achieved by Tárik against the express injunctions of his master Músa Ibn Nosseyr, who, hearing of his success on the banks of the Guadalete, sent him orders not to advance any further into the country, but to stop where he was. Be this as it may, one thing is certain, namely, that Tárik went on subduing and conquering the country till the arrival of his master Músa Ibn Nosseyr, as we shall afterwards have occasion to relate.[31]

Spoils found by Tárik.

The spoils collected by Tárik in his expedition to Toledo are universally represented as almost innumerable, and as baffling all description by the richness of their materials, and their admirable workmanship. Besides the table of Suleymán before alluded to, and to which we shall return in the course of our narrative, a certain historian has preserved us a list of the precious objects found in the principal church at Toledo, namely, five-and-twenty gold crowns, one for each of the Gothic monarchs[32] who had reigned over Andalus, (it being a custom of

that nation that each of their kings should deposit in that sacred spot a gold diadem, having his name, figure, and condition, the number of children he left, the length of his life, and that of his reign, engraven on it;) one-and-twenty copies of the Pentateuch, the Gospel, or the Psalms; the book of Abraham, and that of Moses; several other books containing secrets of nature and art, or treating about the manner of using plants, minerals, and living animals, beneficially for man; another which contained talismans of ancient Greek philosophers, and a collection of recipes of simples and elixirs; several gold vases filled with pearls, rubies, emeralds, topazes, and every description of precious stones; many lofty rooms filled with gold and tissue robes, and tunics of every variety of costly silk and satin, without counting gilt armour, richly set daggers and swords, bows, spears, and all sorts of offensive and defensive weapons. But to return to the main subject of our narrative.

Músa prepares to cross over to Andalus.

According to Ibnu Hayyán and other historians, when Tárik had defeated the entire forces of the Gothic empire, with King Roderic at their head, on the banks of the Guadalete, he hastened to communicate to his master Músa Ibn Nosseyr the news of the signal victory which God Almighty had granted to his arms. But, instead of congratulating himself upon his freedman's success, the Arabian Amír grew jealous and spiteful, and, fearing lest, by prosecuting the conquest, Tárik should take all the spoil and the glory to himself, and leave none for him, sent Tárik a severe reprimand because he had attacked without his orders, together with an injunction not to move from where he was until he should join him. Accordingly, having made a few hasty preparations, he crossed over to Andalus, leaving his eldest son 'Abdullah to command at Cairwán in his stead, and, taking with him Habíb Ibn 'Abdah Al-fehrí, and three of his other sons, Merwán, 'Abdu-l-a'la, and 'Abdu-l-'azíz, landed on the coast of Andalus in the month of Ramadhán of the year ninety-three (August, A. D. 712), or, according to others, in the month of Rejeb of the same year (June, A. D. 712). The number of troops which Músa led to this expedition has been differently calculated; some say ten thousand men, others say eighteen,[33] others make their number still more considerable. Músa brought in his suite several noble Arabs of the best families of Yemen, and the countries subject to the Moslems. In their number came several of the *tábi's* (followers), as Hansh[34] Ibn 'Abdillah As-san'ání, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Yezíd Al-bajelí, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Shamásah[35] Al-misrí, Abú-l-nadhar Hayyán Ibn Abí Hoblah,[36] a *mauli* of the Bení 'Abdi-d-dár; some add Jebel Ibn Hasanah[37] and others, to complete the number of twenty-five.

Some time before Músa left Africa news reached him how Tárik, disobeying his orders, had penetrated far into the country, and had subdued either by himself or

his lieutenants the principal cities of the land, amassing an immense spoil. He therefore determined to hasten to Andalus, and punish his freedman for advancing against his express orders. He sailed from Ceuta, and, avoiding the mountain where Tárik had landed, disembarked at a spot which was since called after him *Jebal-Músa* [38] (the mountain of Músa). Thence he proceeded to Algesiras, where he is said to have expressed his wish not to follow the same route which Tárik had taken. Some of Ilyán's people,[39] who served him as guides, then told him, "We "will take thee a shorter road than his, and conduct thee to cities more populous "and wealthy than those which he has conquered; cities, too, which no conqueror "has yet subdued, but which, if such be God's will, will surrender to thee."

Delighted with this account Músa followed his guides, for the idea of having been outstripped by Tárik in the conquest annoyed him much. They led him along the coast of Shidhúnah (Sidonia),[40] which place he took by storm, the inhabitants imploring his mercy; thence he proceeded to Karmúnah (Carmona),[41] the strongest city in Andalus, and the best calculated for defence against a besieging enemy, but he gained it through a stratagem which he devised. Ilyán's people entering it as if they were a small body of friends fleeing from the enemy, they approached it in the night, when, throwing the gates open, they admitted the Moslems, who rushed upon the guards, and made themselves masters of the town.[42] Músa next proceeded to Seville, the largest and most important city of Andalus for its buildings and its ancient remains. It had been the capital of the country in ancient times, and remained such until the conquest of Andalus by the Goths, at which time these transferred the seat of government to Toledo, as we have observed elsewhere; still the heads of the church resided there,[43] and Seville was considered one of the principal cities in Andalus. Owing to this the city withstood for some time [44] the attacks of Músa, but at last that general entered it by force of arms, and the barbarians fled to Bájah (Beja). Músa collected the Jews in the citadel, and left a body of his own troops for the defence of the place, he himself passing on to Merida, which had also been formerly the seat of government under some of the kings of the country. This city was of considerable size and great strength; in it were the remains of palaces, temples of vast size and exquisite workmanship, and other public buildings. Músa laid siege to it, but the people, being brave and determined, repulsed the Moslems several times with great loss. Músa then had a war-engine [45] constructed, by means of which the Moslems approached one of the towers under cover, and began undermining the wall; but this also proved ineffectual, for no sooner had they begun to displace and remove the stones than they found themselves in an open space, a kind of work which the barbarians call in their language *Al-eshah méshah*:[46] having there laid down[47] their

pickaxes and other working instruments they were suddenly attacked by the enemy, who slew many Moslems under that machine, whence the spot where this deplorable event took place received the name of *Borju-sh-shohodá* (the tower of the martyrs). After this Músa offered to treat with the besieged on terms of peace; accordingly a deputation, composed of the principal inhabitants, came forth from the city to settle with him the conditions. Having obtained a safe conduct the deputies reached the camp of the Moslems, where Músa made use of the following stratagem to deceive and astonish them: he received them the first time with his white hair and beard both undressed. Not having agreed then, the deputies returned back to the city, and appeared again before him on the day before the feast of *Al-fitr;*[48] but what was their astonishment to behold his beard, which he had tinged with *hinna*,[49] dyed of deep red, resembling that of the branches of the *'arfaj*.[50] Again not having come to a perfect understanding, the deputies returned to the city, and when they came to visit Músa the next day, they were still more astonished to see his hair and beard entirely black, a circumstance which filled them with amazement, for the barbarians were totally unacquainted with the practice of staining and dressing the beard. When they went back to the city they said to their countrymen, "Know ye that we have "to fight a nation of prophets,[51] who can change their appearance at pleasure, and "transform themselves into any shape they like. We have seen their king, who "was an old man, become a young one; so our advice is this, that we should "go to him and grant him his demands, for people like them we cannot resist."[52] To this the people submitted, and peace was concluded with Músa on the following conditions, namely, that the property of all citizens slain during the siege, as well as that of those who had fled to Galicia, together with all the riches and ornaments of the churches, should be given up to the Moslems, but that to all others residing in the city at the time of the capitulation should be left the undisturbed possession of their property. Upon these terms the city surrendered on the day of the festival of *Al-fitr*, of the year ninety-four (beginning 6th October, 712).

Rebellion at Seville.

In the meantime, and while Músa was occupied in the conquest of Merida, the inhabitants of Seville, assisted by those of Beja and Liblah (Niebla), revolted against the Moslems, and killed about eighty men belonging to the garrison; in consequence of which, after the surrender of Merida, Músa dispatched his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz with an army against the insurgents. He first marched to Seville, which he took, making great slaughter among its inhabitants; he then proceeded to Niebla, which he reduced also, and, after re-establishing his authority and upholding Islám in those districts, came back to Seville, where he fixed himself, making it the capital of the Mohammedan conquests.[53]

Músa goes to Toledo.

About the end of the month of Shawwál[54] of the same year (ninety-four), Músa left Merida to go to Toledo, and when Tárik was informed of his arrival he went out to receive him with his principal officers, and met him in the district of Talavera. This is according to some historians, for others say that from Merida he proceeded to Galicia, which he entered by the mountain pass called *Fej-Tárik* (the pass of Tárik),[55] and traversed the whole of that country until he overtook Tárik, the leader of the van of his army, at Astorga. But the former account is the most probable, besides being adopted by the best writers. All agree, however, that Músa's reception of his freedman was both unnatural and unjust,—that he reprimanded him severely for advancing contrary to his orders into the heart of the country, and manifested in public all the envy and animosity he had conceived against him. They say, also, that the moment Tárik perceived his master he alighted from his horse, out of respect, and to do him honour, but that Músa struck him with his whip,[56] reproached him with his disobedience, and upbraided him before all the army for acting against his orders. He then took Tárik with him to Toledo, where he summoned him to produce all the spoil gained from the enemy at the taking of that town, and especially the famous table of Suleymán, son of Dáúd, for which he seemed to wish more eagerly than for any other article found at the time of the conquest.

The table of Suleymán described.

We have already said something on this inestimable jewel, descriptions of which are to be met with in almost every book on the history or geography of Andalus. These, however, are not all alike, since by some the materials of the table are said to be pure gold, by others green emerald. Some describe it as being made of gold and silver, and having round it a row of pearls, another of rubies, and a third of emeralds, and being, besides, strewed with innumerable precious gems; others make its substance to be solid emerald, and pretend that it had three hundred and sixty-five feet; others again say that it was all set with a variety of precious stones, and incrusted with all sorts of aromatic woods, and that the whole was covered with inscriptions in Greek. But as that trustworthy and accurate historian, Ibnu Hayyán, has preserved a description of this table, as well as an account of its origin, we shall refer to him.

His words are as follow:—" The celebrated table which Tárik found at Toledo, " although attributed to Suleymán, and named after him, never belonged to that " Prophet, according to the barbarian authors, who give it the following origin. " They say that in the time of their ancient kings it was customary amongst them " for every man of estimation and wealth[57] to bequeath, before dying, some of " his property to the churches. From the money so collected the priests caused " tables to be made of pure gold and silver, besides thrones and huge stands,[58]

"for the priests, deacons, and attendants to carry the gospels when taken out at "public processions, or to ornament the altars[59] on great festivals. By means of "such bequests this table was wrought at Toledo, and was afterwards emulously in-"creased and embellished by each succeeding monarch, the last trying always to sur-"pass his predecessors in magnificence, until it became the most splendid and costly "jewel that ever was made for such a purpose, and acquired great celebrity. The "fabric was of pure gold, set with the most precious pearls, rubies, and emeralds; "around it was a row of each of those valuable stones, and the whole table was "besides covered with jewels so large and bright that never did human eye behold "any thing comparable to it. Toledo being the capital of the kingdom, there was "no jewel, however costly, no article, however precious, which could not be pro-"cured in it; this and other causes concurred to ornament and embellish that "inestimable object. When the Moslems entered Toledo it was found on the great "altar of their principal church, and the fact of such a treasure having been "discovered soon became public and notorious."[60]

Tárik soon perceived by the haste that his master Músa made to come from Africa, and his eagerness to demand from him the spoils acquired, that he was devoured by envy; he, accordingly, decided upon taking away one of the legs of the table, which he kept concealed, and which afterwards became, as we shall see, his principal argument against Músa, when in the presence of the Khalif the latter disputed with him the possession of this jewel, which he pretended to have found himself.

Arrived in Toledo, Músa asked Tárik to produce the table of Suleymán, and the order being instantly obeyed, it was brought to the presence of the Arabian general, who, seeing it with only three feet instead of four,[61] immediately questioned Tárik respecting it. Tárik answered, that he had found it thus; upon which Músa caused a foot of pure gold, handsomer than which none could be procured, to be wrought; and notwithstanding its great disparity, (the other three being made of emerald,) to be fixed to the table, which he laid carefully up until he should present it himself to the Khalif Al-walíd as the fruit of the Andalusian conquest.

After this Músa is represented as having cast Tárik into prison, and as meditating his death, which he would have accomplished had not a messenger of the Khalif arrived in Andalus with orders to set him at liberty, and restore him to the command of the troops. However, it appears by Ibnu Hayyán's narrative that he soon restored to him his confidence and friendship; when, uniting their forces, they both proceeded to new conquests, and speedily subdued the remainder of Andalus.

CHAPTER IV.

Músa's reconciliation with Tárik—They invade France—Arrival of Mugheyth with a message from the Khalif—Galicia and Asturias invaded—A second message from Al-wálid—Músa departs for the East—Leaves Africa for Syria—Arrives in Damascus—Falls into disgrace—Is imprisoned and fined—His death—Opinions concerning his family and origin—His character.

Músa's reconciliation with Tárik.

AFTER this Músa seemed reconciled to Tárik, treated him with affability and kindness, and confirmed him in the command of the van of the army. He then gave him orders to march before him with his division, Músa himself following him with the main body of the troops. Taking the route of *Ath-thagheru-l-a'lí* (Aragon), they subdued Saragossa and its districts, and continued to penetrate far into the country,[1] Tárik preceding him, and not passing a place without reducing it, and getting possession of its wealth, for God Almighty had struck with terror the hearts of the infidels, and no one came before him but to ask for peace. Músa followed the track of Tárik, achieving the conquests begun by him, and confirming to the inhabitants the conditions agreed upon by his lieutenant. When the whole of that country had been subdued, such of the Moslems as consulted their safety were of opinion that they should return, while others, and they were the greater number, eagerly desired to penetrate into the land of the Franks. Accordingly Músa, after devoting some time to make the necessary selection of those who volunteered to go with him from those who preferred remaining, proceeded with the rest to the country of the Franks, a land where the Moslems after them never ceased making conquests, gaining spoil, storming cities or granting them peace on the usual terms, till they reached the river Rodhanoh (Rhone), which was the furthest limit of their conquests and incursions in the country of the barbarians. Indeed, the bands which Tárik had led to Andalus subdued also the country of Afranj, and made themselves the masters of the two cities of Barcelona and Narbonne, of the rock of Abeniún[2] (Avignon), and of the fortress of Lúdhún (Lyons), on the banks of the Rhone, the Moslems advancing far into the country and separating themselves considerably from the shore by which they had penetrated. The distance between Narbonne, in the country of Afranj, and Cordova is, according to some,

They invade France.

three hundred and thirty-five farsangs, according to others, three hundred and fifty.[3]

How far Músa pushed his conquests into the land of the Franks is not explicitly related by the historians of Andalus. Some say that after the taking of Saragossa he went eastwards into the country of the Franks,[4] subduing on his passage Gerona, Calahorra, Tarragona, Barcelona, and other principal cities of those districts. Others say that he penetrated as far as Narbonne and Carcassonne, both of which he subdued. They relate that on his way to one of those cities he crossed a great desert, where he saw the ruins[5] of ancient buildings scattered on the ground, and among them a colossal monument, like a column, rising high into the air, bearing the following inscriptions engraven in Arabic characters on the stone. "O sons of Isma'íl, hither you will arrive, hence you must "return;" and on the other side, "for if you go beyond this stone you will return "to your country to make war upon one another, and consume your forces by dis"sensions and civil war."[6] Músa was terrified at the mysterious meaning of these expressions; he called his men together, and consulted them as to whether they should go back or advance beyond the column; the opinions were divided, but the greater part wishing to return, Músa followed their advice, and retreated with his army into Andalus, after having seen enough of the country to judge of the boundless plains that lay before him.

Ibnu Khaldún's words are as follows: "Having met his master, Músa Ibn "Nosseyr, Tárik resigned the command of his troops into his hands, and placed "himself under his immediate orders. Músa then completed the conquest of "Andalus, and, led by him, the Moslem armies reached as far as Barcelona in the "east, Narbonne in the north, and the idol of Cadiz in the west, subduing all the "intermediate provinces and gaining incredible spoil. It is confidently believed "that, elated with success, Músa conceived the project of returning to the East by "way of Constantinople; for which purpose he intended to march from Andalus "at the head of his brave troops, until, by making his way through the countless "Christian nations that inhabit the great continent, he should arrive at the court of "the eastern Khalifs. However, this design having reached the ears of Al-walíd, "who well knew the state of Mohammedan affairs in Andalus, and feared that if "Músa once communicated his intention to his army they would all follow him, he "dispatched to him a messenger to signify his displeasure, and to order him to "desist from his rash enterprise, and to appear alone, without his army, in the "Khalif's presence." So far Ibnu Khaldún.

Another historian says that Músa penetrated into the continent and reached as far as a city called Carcassonne, which is twenty-five days' march from Cordova;[7]

and that, having reduced it, he found in its principal church, called Santa Maria, seven columns of massive silver, the like of which no human eye ever beheld, and the circumference of which was such that a single man could not embrace them.[8] But all these accounts are contradicted by other writers, who pretend that after approaching the Pyrenees, without invading the land of the Franks lying beyond those mountains, he returned and invaded Galicia. But let us hear Al-hijárí in his *Mas'hab.*

"God Almighty bestowed his favours on Músa Ibn Nosseyr in a manner that "cannot be surpassed, since he vanquished the Christian kings, and dispersed their "armies like the dust, till he penetrated into the continent by one of the gates in "that chain of mountains that divides Andalus from Afranj: it is related that the "Franks flocked immediately under the banners of their great king Károloh, (for "such was the appellation of their kings,)[9] and said to him, 'What is the meaning "of this our ignominy and shame, which will rest as a stigma on our posterity? We "hear about these Arabs sprung from the East, and are informed of their conquests "and of their arrival in the West, subduing the neighbouring kingdom of Andalus, "notwithstanding the numerous armies and considerable resources of that empire; "and yet these Arabs, we are told, are scanty in numbers, badly equipped and pro- "vided, and do not wear armour:' and Károloh answered them, 'My opinion is "that we should not oppose these people in their first irruption, for they resemble "the mountain torrent, which surmounts every obstacle in its course; they are now "in the height of prosperity, and, instead of being abated, their courage is only "increased at the sight of the enemy; their proud hearts scorn the defence of a "cuirass. Let them alone until their hands are well loaded with spoil, for when they "have settled in this country and established their government, they will then vie "for command, and fight with one another for the acquisition of it. That will be "the time and occasion for our attacking them, and I doubt not but that we shall "easily vanquish them:' and by Allah so it was; for in the civil wars that soon "afterwards broke out between the Syrians and the Beladís,[10] the Berbers and the "Arabs, the tribes sprung from Modhar, and those of Yemen, the Moslems divided "into factions, made war upon each other, and lent each other assistance against "the people of their own nation, their brethren in country and religion."

It is also reported that Músa Ibn Nosseyr sent his son 'Abdu-l-a'la[11] against Tudmír, and also against Granada, Malaga, and the district of Raya, which cities he entirely subdued. On this occasion they tell the following adventure of 'Abdu-l-a'la at the siege of Malaga. They say that the governor of that city was a stupid man, and one who did not much care for the safety of the town. Not liking to endure the fatigues and privations of the siege, he used to go out to a garden of his,

where he retired to enjoy the pleasures of the country. This he did frequently, but without taking the necessary precautions of appointing scouts or stationary sentries on places commanding the country, so that he might be informed of 'Abdu-l-a'la's arrival. No sooner, therefore, was the Arabian Amír informed of this circumstance by his spies than he prepared an ambush for him, and concealing a small body of his best and most experienced horsemen near the walls of the garden where the governor was, these rushed at night upon the house, surprised him, and made him their prisoner. The Moslems afterwards took the city by storm, and collected considerable plunder.

Others, again, say that Músa was present at all these conquests, and that he was preparing to attack the land of the infidels,[12] the country of Galicia, when he was prevented by Mugheyth Ar-rúmí,[13] who was the bearer of an order from his patron, the Khalif Al-walíd, enjoining Músa to cease his conquests, and, quitting Andalus, to return to the East with his messenger. This order put a stop to Músa's enterprises and marred his intention, for at that time not a single town remained in Andalus which was not subdued to the Arabs, if we except the country of Galicia.[14] However, Músa had such an ardent wish to push his conquests in those parts that he prevailed on the envoy, by offering him the half of his own share of the spoils, to stop until he had accomplished his object, and accompany him a few days into the heart of the enemy's country. Mugheyth consented, and marched with him until he arrived at the frontiers of the enemy's territory[15] and conquered the fortress of Bézú[16] and the castle of Lúk (Lugo), where they stopped some time. From thence Músa sent forward some of his troops, who reached the rock of Beláy (Pelayo),[17] on the shores of the Green Sea, destroying on their way all the churches, and breaking all the bells. The Christians surrendered every where, and asked humbly for peace, which was granted on condition of their paying tribute. The Arabs inhabited the towns deserted by the Christians; for whenever any of the invaders, whether an Arab or a Berber, received orders to settle in a spot, he not only approved of it, but established himself with his family in it without reluctance, by means of which the words of Islám spread far into the country, and the idolatry of the Christians was destroyed and annihilated.

Arrival of Mugheyth with a message from the Khalif.

Galicia and Asturias invaded.

Things were in this state, and Músa pushing on his conquests into the land of the Galicians, his hope of success strengthening every day, when a second envoy, whose name was Abú Nasr, arrived from Syria with orders to stop him in his victorious career, for the Khalif Al-walíd, seeing that his commands were not quickly obeyed, and that Mugheyth allowed Músa to protract his departure, had now sent this Abú Nasr with a letter upbraiding Músa, and enjoining him to return immediately, at

Second message from Al-walíd.

the same time directing his messenger to see his orders executed, and Músa on his way to Syria.[18]

Accordingly, in compliance with the Khalif's commands, Músa started, although with the greatest reluctance, from Lugo, in Galicia; and, passing through the gorge of the mountain called after his name *Fej-Músa* (the mountain pass of Músa), where he met Tárik returning from his expedition in Aragon, he began his march, together with such of the army as chose to return, (for many preferred remaining in the towns where they had settled and fixed their domicile,) and arrived at Seville, taking with him Tárik, as well as the two messengers, Mugheyth and Abú Nasr.

Músa's departure for the East.

Before his departure, however, Músa named his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz[19] governor of Andalus, and decided that he should fix his residence in Seville, on account of the proximity of that city to the sea, and to that part of the coast where the troops coming from Africa usually landed; and having made this and other arrangements, having garrisoned the castles on the frontiers, and appointed generals to command the troops and carry on the war, he embarked for Africa on his way to the East in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year ninety-four (Sept. A. D. 713), taking with him Tárik, who had stayed in Andalus three years and four months,[20] namely, one year before Músa's arrival, and two years and four months after his landing.[21]

After staying for some time at Cairwán, Músa prepared to march, leaving the government of Africa proper in the hands of his eldest son 'Abdullah, the conqueror of Mallorca,[22] that of Maghreb (Western Africa) in those of 'Abdu-l-malek,[23] the youngest of his sons: intrusting to his son 'Abdu-l-a'la the command of the coast, with the garrisoning of Tangiers and other strong places, he moved on in the ensuing year (ninety-five), preceded by an immense number of waggons and camels carrying the immense booty and vast riches he had acquired, in which were comprised, besides the famous table, such a quantity of precious stones, silver and gold vases, and other valuable objects, as to surpass all computation by their number and baffle all description by their materials. He was also followed by thirty thousand captives taken in war, but with all this he was affected with melancholy and disappointment, which are said to have caused his death soon after, owing to his having been checked in his projects of conquest, since, as we have related elsewhere, some historians attribute to him the design of reducing such parts of the country as still remained in the hands of the Franks, and after this of invading the great land (continent), and arriving with his army in Syria; and this he is supposed to have planned with a view to establish, by the entire subjection of the intermediate countries, an open and direct communication with the East, that

the people of Andalus might in future receive reinforcements, or visit Syria, without having to cross the sea and encounter its dangers.

Leaves Africa for Syria.

Músa left Africa for Syria in the year ninety-five of the Hijra (beginning Sept. 713), leaving the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which he passed in utter astonishment at the sight of the immense treasures and numberless curiosities, being part of the spoil made in Andalus, which preceded him in waggons.

They say that as he was journeying[24] towards Syria with his suite, he asked Mugheyth to deliver into his hands his prisoner, the Gothic nobleman, governor of Cordova, but this Mugheyth refused to do, answering, "Nobody shall present "him to the Khalif but myself; he is my patron and master, and to him only "will I make homage of my prisoner." Upon which Músa sprang upon the Goth and tore him out of the hands of Mugheyth. However, some of his friends having told him that if he arrived at court with his prisoner, Mugheyth would undoubtedly claim him before the Khalif, in which case the Goth would not contradict his assertion, he ordered him to be beheaded, and the sentence was immediately carried into execution. From this moment Mugheyth conceived a violent hatred against Músa, and contributed not a little to hurt him afterwards in the mind of the Khalif by supporting the charges brought against him by Tárik.

Arrives in Damascus.

Whether Músa reached Damascus before or after the death of Al-walíd is a controverted fact amongst historians. Those who incline to the latter opinion pretend that Suleymán,[25] who succeeded his brother in the Khalifate, was ill disposed towards Músa, owing to charges and complaints laid against him by Tárik and Mugheyth, who, having preceded him at court, had informed the Khalif of his rapacity and injustice, and told him how he had appropriated to himself the famous table, and deprived Mugheyth of his noble captive. Músa was further accused of concealing a jewel more valuable than any that a king ever possessed since the conquest of Persia. Accordingly, when Músa arrived in Damascus he found Suleymán very much prejudiced against him; that monarch received him angrily, reprimanded him severely, and cast upon him several imputations and charges, which he tried to answer as well as he could. He then asked him to produce the table, which being done, Suleymán said to him, "Tárik pretends that it was he, not thou, who found it." "Certainly not," answered Músa, "if ever Tárik saw this table, it was in my possession and "nowhere else." Then Tárik, addressing the Khalif, requested him to question Músa about the leg that was wanting, and on Músa's answering "that he had "found it in that state, and that in order to supply the deficiency he had caused "another leg to be made," Tárik triumphantly produced from under his tunic the identical one, which at once convinced Suleymán of the truth of Tárik's assertion and Músa's falsehood. This also led the Khalif to suppose that all the

other charges brought against him were equally correct; he therefore deprived him of all the riches he had acquired, and banished him to a distant province of his empire: others say that he imprisoned him, and ordered that he should be kept with the greatest vigilance;—that he also fined him very heavily, whereby he became so poor that he was obliged to beg for his subsistence among the Arabs, the tribe of Lakhm, to which he belonged, having contributed ninety thousand pieces of gold towards the payment of his fine, which is said to have amounted to two hundred thousand. Half of this enormous sum Músa paid down, but he failed in procuring the means of paying the rest, when, having excited the compassion of Ibnu-l-muhlib,[26] a favourite of Suleymán, that courtier interceded for him with the Khalif, who absolved Músa from the payment of the remainder and pardoned him, although he gave orders for the removal of 'Abdullah, his eldest son, from the government of Africa.

Falls into disgrace.

The historians who follow the former of the two opinions, namely, that Músa reached Damascus before the death of Al-walíd, relate that when Músa arrived in Syria the Khalif was indisposed, and that when Suleymán, who was the presumptive heir, heard of Músa's approach, he wrote requesting him to delay his entry into Damascus until his brother was dead and himself succeeded to his throne, that the rich spoils he brought with him might grace his inauguration, and give him popularity among his subjects, who had never seen or heard of such an accumulation of riches. This Músa refused to do, from motives of fidelity to his lawful sovereign, and, hastening his march, arrived in Damascus while Al-wálid was still alive, and delivered into his hands the fifth of all the spoil, the fruit of his conquests, besides immense treasure and countless wealth, and many valuable gifts, all the produce of the plunder collected in Andalus. However, Al-walíd died a very few days afterwards, and his successor, Suleymán, vented his rage against Músa, whom he caused to be imprisoned, and exposed to the sun till he was almost lifeless. He had him also very heavily fined, and wrote to his generals in Andalus to murder his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz, whom he had left to command in his name, as has before been said, and who, in his absence, collected together the scattered bands of the Arabs, fortified the frontiers, and contributed greatly to consolidate the conquest, by storming many towns which had escaped his father's eye.

Is imprisoned and fined.

Of the two preceding accounts the latter is, in our opinion, entitled to most credit, since there can be no doubt that Músa was imprisoned and fined in the year ninety-six (beginning September, 714), at the beginning of which Al-walíd died; and therefore what Ibnu Hayyán says, that it was Suleymán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek who disgraced and imprisoned Músa, is the true account, and not

that of Ibn Khallekán, who attributes that act to Al-walíd. But God only knows.

Al-hijárí, who is one of the authors who maintain that Músa was ill treated by Suleymán, says, in his *Mas'hab*, that Músa Ibn Nosseyr begged Yezíd Ibnu-l-muhlib,[27] who was a favourite with the commander of the faithful, Suleymán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, to intercede for him that he might be more lenient and better disposed towards him. "Very willingly," answered Yezíd; "let me only first put to thee a "question which I desire thee to answer." "What is it?" said Músa. "I have "often," replied Yezíd, "heard people speak of thy superior talents, thy great sagacity, and thy deep acquaintance with all the casualties of war, as well as with "the sudden changes of fortune; how is it, then, that after conquering Andalus, and "putting a boisterous sea between thee and these people, thou now comest to deliver "thyself into their hands, like the man who blushed after he had gained his purpose, "which had cost him much trouble, or like the man who got the skin, and, after "tanning and preparing it with his own hands, gave it to his enemy. How is it, I "repeat, that thou hast placed thy person in the hands of people who know nothing "but thy good and thy evil?[28] Thou hadst become the master of treasures and "riches, thou hadst subdued castles and cities, thou wast at the head of a numerous "army, so that hadst thou only made a show of resistance thou wouldst not now "find thy head in the hands of a man who has not the least regard or compassion "for thee. Besides, how couldst thou forget that Suleymán was the presumptive "heir to the empire, he having been designated by Al-walíd to be his successor, "and that by his brother's serious illness this event was daily expected? Thou "must have been ignorant of it, or else thou wouldst not have opposed his will "and thrown thyself into his power, causing thy own ruin and perdition, and "making thyself the mark of the hatred both of thy master and of thy slave "(meaning Suleymán and Tárik). I may tell thee that it will be very difficult "to persuade the Khalif to restore thee to his favour; however, I promise to do "all in my power to obtain it."

Then Músa said, "O Ibnu-l-karam! This is not the moment for reproaches. "Hast thou not heard it said, that when the occasion is propitious the fountain "is dry?" "By addressing thee in this manner," replied Yezíd, "it is not my "intention to offend or upbraid thee; my only wish is to gain a better knowledge "of thy case, and see how matters stand between thee and Suleymán." "Hast "thou not heard," said Músa, "of the lapwing that is enabled to see the water at "a great depth under ground, and yet falls into the snare which is in sight of his "eyes?"

After this Yezíd went to see Suleymán, and spoke to him in favour of Músa, but

the Khalif's answer was, that he had already considered the matter, and was decided to make an example by way of throwing terror among his subjects, and showing them that he was the arbiter both of their lives and fortunes. "However," continued the Khalif, "I grant you his life, but he shall not be quite absolved until he "restores the treasures of which he has defrauded his God;" and he fined him heavily, as before related, owing to which Músa was reduced to such poverty that he was obliged, adds the author already quoted, to beg for his subsistence among the Arab tribes, and died in the greatest indigence and misery at Wáda-l-korá. It is also asserted, on the authority of one of his slaves,[29] who accompanied him in his state of poverty and indigence:—"I used to go round with the Amír Músa to the different "tribes of Arabs, and beg from them our subsistence. Some gave us alms, others "dismissed us; some, moved to pity, used to give us one or two dirhems, which "caused great satisfaction to the Amír, for he stored them to add to the sum to be "deposited in the hands of the officers intrusted with the receipt of his fine, in hopes "of alleviating his sentence." Thus was he obliged to beg from door to door,—he who had seen the meanest soldiers of his army, at the time of the great conquest of Andalus, enter the palaces and temples, and throw away the gold with which they were overloaded, in order to seize only on pearls, rubies, and other precious stones. Praise be given to Him who distributes poverty and wealth as he chooses, and in whose hands are both exaltation and depression!

It is further related, that while Músa was escaping from the violence of the Khalif, and was in vain seeking an asylum among the Arabs, he found at last in Wáda-l-korá one of his ancient *maulis*, who, remembering his former engagements, shared his misfortunes with him, received him in his house, and fed him; until finding that Músa protracted his stay, and that his means were thereby exhausted, he determined upon delivering him into the hands of the officers of justice. Músa, however, guessing his intention, went up to him and addressed him in a very humble tone of voice, saying to him, "Wilt thou, O friend, betray me in this manner?" and the *mauli* replied, "Against fate there is no complaint. It is not I who "betray thee, it is thy master, thy creator, he who gave thee sustenance, who now "abandons thee." Upon which Músa raised his eyes, bathed in tears, to the sky, and humbly besought God to grant him his help and favour in his perilous situation. On the following day Músa delivered up his soul.

The author from whom the preceding is transcribed observes, "Whatever "Músa's faults might have been, certainly he did not deserve so severe a chastisement. His conduct, and the territories he gained to Islám, ought to have "moved the heart of Suleymán to pity. And doubtless his ordering 'Abdu-l-'azíz, "whom Músa had left to command in Andalus, to be beheaded, and his head to be

"brought from the extreme western confines to be thrown at the feet of his "wretched father, were crimes which God Almighty did not leave unpunished; "they were afterwards visited on the head of Suleymán, who died in the flower of "youth, and whose reign was attended with great commotion and strife."

The preceding has been transcribed from Ibnu Hayyán, who borrowed his information from eastern sources; but we must observe that some historians, like Ibn Khallekán, assert that Suleymán restored Músa to his favour, and took him with him in his pilgrimage to Mekka in the year ninety-six.

They say that Suleymán once asked Músa what he had observed in his transactions and wars with the infidels. "What nations were they?" inquired the Khalif. "They are more than I can enumerate," replied Músa. "Tell me then about the "Greeks,[30] what sort of people are they?"—"They are lions behind the walls of "their cities, eagles upon their horses, and women in their vessels. Whenever they "see an opportunity they sieze it immediately, but if they are vanquished they fly to "the tops of their mountains, being so swift that they scarcely see the land which they "tread."—"And the Berbers?"—"The Berbers are the people who most resemble "the Arabs in activity, strength, courage, endurance, love of war, and hospitality, "only that they are the most treacherous of men. They have no faith, and they "keep no word."—"Tell me about the Goths."[31]—"The Goths are lords living in "luxury and abundance, but champions who do not turn their backs to the "enemy."—"And the Franks, what are they?"—"They are people of great "courage and enterprise; their numbers are considerable, and they are amply pro- "vided with weapons and military stores."

Musa's death.

However, upon the year of Músa's death there is but one opinion. According to Ibnu Hayyán, Ibnu Bashkúwál, and other historians, he died at Wáda-l-korá,[32] in the year ninety-seven (beginning Sept. A. D. 715);[33] he was born in the year nineteen of the Hijra (beginning Jan. A. D. 640), during the Khalifate of 'Omar Ibnu-l-khattáb, and therefore was sixty years old when he took possession of the government of Africa in the year seventy-nine. His surname was Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán.[34]

Opinions about his family and origin.

As to his ancestors there are various opinions; some authors make him the son of Nosseyr, son of Zeyd, of the tribe of Bekr; others of Nosseyr, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Zeyd, of the same tribe. Ibn Khallekán, following Al-homaydí and other ancient historians, calls him Músa, son of Nosseyr, a *mauli*[35] of the tribe of Lakhm. Some go so far as to say that he was a Berber of mixed blood.

Those who incline to the former opinion say that his father, Nosseyr, drew his origin from those barbarians who, when defeated by Khaled Ibnu-l-walíd near 'Aynu-

n-namar, (the fountain of the panthers,) pretended to be hostages and descendants of Bekr Ibn Wayil.[36] Nosseyr became at the time the slave of 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, of the family of Umeyyah, who in the course of time gave him liberty, and promoted his son Músa in the army, until he bestowed on him the government of Africa proper. But this is very far from being a settled opinion, for, as we have already observed, there are not wanting genealogists who make him a *mauli* of the tribe of Lakhm, and say that his father, Nosseyr, was captain of the guard[37] of the Khalif Mu'awiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán, and that when the latter made war against 'Alí, before the battle of Sefáyin, Nosseyr refused to accompany the expedition. Having been interrogated by Mu'awiyah as to the cause which prevented him from joining his army, and made him show himself so ungrateful for past favour, he is said to have answered, "It is not in my power to assist thee against one to whom I "am more indebted than to thee." "And who is he?" replied Mu'awiyah. "God Almighty!" said Nosseyr. Hearing this Mu'awiyah turned his back upon him in great anger, but he is said to have afterwards asked God's pardon, and to have implored his mercy upon the deceased.

Be this as it may, in one thing we find all historians agree, namely, that Músa was a *mauli* of 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, of the royal family of Umeyyah, and viceroy of Egypt and Africa in his brother 'Abdu-l-malek's name. It was he who gave him command in the army, promoted him, and appointed him at last to the government of Cairwán and the African conquests. When the Khalif Al-walíd married his niece Ummu-l-baneyn,[38] Músa was intrusted by her father 'Abdu-l-'azíz with the care of taking her to the house of her royal spouse; hence the high favour he always enjoyed with the Khalif, until, by his death, things were entirely changed.

There are not wanting historians, as Ibnu Bashkúwál and Ibnu-l-faradhí, who count Músa in the number of the *tábi's* (followers of the companions) of the Prophet, asserting that he preserved many of the traditions delivered by the individuals of that illustrious body, that he quoted Temím Ad-dárí[39] as his authority, and was himself quoted by Yezíd Ibn Masrúk Al-yahsebí. This Ibnu Bashkúwál affirms on the authority of Músa's own son,[40] who wrote a book with the following title, *Kitábu-l-aymati mina-l-musanafín* (a treatise on the principal authors of traditional collections), in which he collected particulars respecting the life of every one of them,—"a work," observes Ibnu Bashkúwál, "which is justly con- "sidered as the key-stone of the history of this country, and one which is consulted "and quoted by every student, whether young or old, whether noble or plebeian."

His character. All historians who have written the life of Músa agree in describing him as a man of undaunted courage, and great abilities; he was, they say, generous, mild, pious,

and was endowed with great penetration and prudence. Such were his military talents that it was said of him that he never lost a battle. Al-hijárí says that "he "always surrounded his person with holy men, and virtuous friends, whom God "Almighty selected to be the instruments of his glory and power, as well as the "means of establishing the fame of Músa, a fame that shall last throughout day and "night, and which the course of ages shall not impair; although it was tarnished in "his days by his becoming the victim of that cruel enemy against whom a noble-"minded man has no power, I mean envy and hatred, those two vices so common "in people of narrow minds,—for nothing is more true than the words of that "captain who exclaimed—

'No captain ever stood against malevolence.'"

Al-hijárí says that Músa was originally from Wáda-l-korá, a town of Hejáz, that he became a *mauli* of the Bení Merwán of Damascus, and that having gained some celebrity by his military talents the Khalifs of that family appointed him to different situations in the state, until, under the Khalifate of Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, he was intrusted with the government of Africa proper, and more remote countries in the West; that he penetrated to the utmost frontiers, and conquered Andalus, entering it from the mountain called after him in the vicinity of Ceuta.[41] But having been recalled to Syria by Al-walíd, the indisposition and death of that Khalif was the cause of all his misfortunes, since Suleymán, his brother and successor, inflicted upon him a most severe chastisement, deprived him of his riches, and even went so far as to send him to Wáda-l-korá, the place of his birth, in order that his countrymen might harass and despise him. According to the same writer Músa died at Wáda-l-korá, in the year ninety-seven (beginning Sept. A. D. 715), as above stated.

Ibnu Bashkúwál also mentions his death as having taken place at Wáda-l-korá in the said year, and adds, that his military science and talents for government were sufficiently established by his conquests, as well as by the fact of his being appointed in perilous times to the command of those Moslem settlements beyond Egypt, and along the shores of the ocean between the country of the Berbers and the country of Andalus; and that, respecting his literary accomplishments, some of his writings, in prose as well as in verse, were reckoned to be very good, and of sufficient merit to class their author among those writers who have strung together the pearls of speech. Ibnu Hayyán says that he was eloquent, and a master of the Arabic language, and gives as a proof his conversation with Ibnu-l-mahlab, and the answer he sent to the Khalif Al-walíd. But let us hear Ibnu Sa'íd's opinion on the subject.

That eminent writer, after recording the different opinions entertained by the

historians concerning Músa's origin and early position in life,—some saying that he belonged to the tribe of Lakhm, and was therefore of noble descent,—others, on the contrary, that he was a Berber, and of mixed blood,—expresses himself in the following words. "Most of the historians of this country seem to entertain "the opinion that Músa belonged to the tribe of Lakhm; but whether he was "born an individual of it, or became a *mauli* in time, seems to be a very contro- "verted point. There can be no doubt, however, that he was a *mauli* of 'Abdu-l- "'azíz Ibn Merwán, the Khalif's brother, and that his father, Nosseyr, had filled "charges of some trust under their predecessors of the house of Umeyyah. His "posterity, however, were famous for the command they held in their hands, so "much so as to have raised the suspicions of the Khalif; for by Músa's appointing "his sons to the command of his conquests the whole of the Moslem dominions of "Africa and Andalus came to be divided among them,—'Abdu-l-'azíz governing the "latter country; 'Abdullah, Africa proper; and 'Abdu-l-malek, Western Africa."

As to his freedmen, Taríf and Tárik, who undertook the conquest by his orders, and the illustrious Arabs who accompanied him in his expedition to Andalus, enough will be said of them in another part of the present work to satisfy the curiosity of the reader and increase his information.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTES TO THE PREFACE.

[1] Of the four patronymics of the author, the first, المقّري (*Al-makkarí*), is derived from مقّرة Makkarah, a town in Africa proper (see Idrísí, translated by Jaubert, vol. i. p. 202, and Al-bekrí, translated by Quatremère, p. 504). The second, Al-málekí, is indicative of the sect followed by the author, who, like most western Arabs, professed the doctrines of Málik Ibn Ans. The third is the general appellative of all the Moslem inhabitants of Africa and Egypt; and the fourth—which in two out of the three MSS. which I have consulted is pointed thus الإشعري (*Al-isha'rí*)—may be either that of a tribe, or that of a religious sect whose founder was Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Isma'íl Al-ash'arí, who belonged to the same tribe (see D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or.* voce *Ascharium*). The tribe of Isha'r, which, according to Kalkashandí (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., 7353), may be written also *Ash'ar* أشعر was a branch of the noble stock of the Bení Kahttán, and settled early in Spain, for Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his history of Granada, entitled *Kitábu-l-ahéttah fí táríkhi Gharnáttah* (Ar. MS. in my possession), mentions it among those that had their domicile in or about the city of Granada; and Casiri, in his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 262, gives the name of an illustrious Arab, a Kádí-l-kodá in that city, whose name was Abú-l-hasan Mohammed Ibn Yahya Ibn Rabi' Al-isha'rí.

I am, however, inclined to believe that the word *Isha'rí* or *Ash'arí* designates the sect, not the family, of the author; my reasons for supposing so are—1st. That it is not uncommon to find African doctors professing the sect of Málik, and following, besides, the religious opinions of Ash'arí: 2nd. That one of the author's ancestors used the patronymic Al-korayshí, denoting an origin with which the tribe of Ash'ar is in no way connected. I shall conclude by observing that As-sam'ání, in his genealogical treatise entitled *Kitábu-l-ansáb* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7352, fos. 12 and 40), writes this patronymic thus, *Al-ash'arí*, and derives it from *Ash'ar*, which means "a man whose body is covered with hair," a surname which was given to the eldest son of Odad, the head of the tribe.

The patronymic *Al-makkarí*, which former writers (see Fluegel's transl. of Hájí Khalfah, vol. ii. p. 115, and Shakspear's Hist. of the Moham. Emp. in Spain, p. 31,) have erroneously written *Al-mokri* and *Al-mukry* (meaning a reader of the Korán in a Mosque), may be written either *Al-makkarí* or *Al-makrí*, as the author himself informs us in that part of the manuscript which I have left untranslated (Part II. Book iii. fo. 414). "The patronymic surname of our family has been variously written by various authors, some, "like Ibn Marzúk, writing it thus, المقري *Al-makrí*, while others, and those the greater number, will

"have it to be المقري *Al-makkarí.* Ibn Marzúk may be right, for, having written the life of one "of my ancestors under this title, النور البدري في تعريف الفقيه المقري (*the light of the moon "on the declaration of the life of the faquih Al-makrí,*) he must have seriously investigated the "subject, and his opinion is therefore entitled to some credit; but we follow the majority,—in which "may be counted authors of the greatest repute,—who always spell it thus, *Al-makkarí.* It is in "either case a relative adjective derived from Makkarah (or Makrah, as others will have it),[a] a small "town in the country called *Ifrikiyyah* (Africa proper)."

In the same page the author acquaints us with some circumstances respecting his family. He tells us that one of his ancestors had the honour of being the preceptor of the famous Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb (whose life forms the subject of the present work), and that his grateful disciple consecrated to him an article in his Biographical Dictionary, which he copies at length. Indeed, looking into the biography of illustrious men who lived at Granada, written by Ibnu-l-khattíb (Ar. MS. in my possession), I find the following notice of him, which I have translated entirely, as it abounds in curious information, and may serve to illustrate the writer's narrative.

"One of the instructors of my youth, and to whom I am mostly indebted for whatever knowledge I "possess, is the Sheikh Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Abí Bekr Ibn Yahya "Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Abí Bekr Ibn 'Alí Al-korayshí At-telemsání, *Kádíu-l-jamá'h* (or supreme judge) "at Fez. The following notice of his ancestors I hold from him:—'The first of my family who fixed his "residence at Makkarah was the Sheikh 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Abí Bekr Ibn 'Alí Al-makkarí, the disciple "and companion of the famous Sheikh Abú Medín. 'Abdu-r-rahmán was the father of five children, "and I, Mohammed, am the son of Mohammed, son of Ahmed, son of Abí Bekr, son of Yahya, son of "the said 'Abdu-r-rahmán. From time immemorial my family had exercised the profession of commerce "in the countries where they settled, deriving no small share of influence and riches from it. They "furrowed the sands of the desert in all directions, they dug wells, and facilitated travelling in the "Sahrá, thus affording security to merchants and travellers; they took a drum, and marched always "preceded by a banner, and headed the numerous caravans which from time to time penetrated into the "country of the blacks. Yahya, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, being dead, his five sons, Abú Bekr, Mo- "hammed, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, 'Abdu-l-wahíd, and 'Alí, determined upon forming a partnership, carrying on "the trade conjointly, and dividing between themselves the profits of their mercantile speculations. They "accordingly threw together in a common fund all their father's inheritance, and, having held a "consultation together as to the means of carrying on the trade to the greatest advantage of the "community, it was agreed that Abú Bekr and Mohammed, the two eldest, and the principal branches of "my genealogical tree on the male and female side, should remain and establish themselves at Telemsán; "that 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the eldest of the three remaining brothers by another wife, should fix his resi- "dence at Sijilmásah; and, lastly, that 'Abdu-l-wahíd and 'Alí should go to Aywalátin[b] ايْوَلاتِن in the

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[a] It is evident that this difference in the spelling originated from the Berber name of the town. *Makrah,* in Berber, means *great,* and *Amukrán* means a great man, a chief. Al-bekrí says that in the dialect spoken by the Masmúdís *Makrah yákosh* means "God is great." He, however, writes the name of this town *Makrah,* not *Makkarah.* See Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9577, fo. 47. M. Jaubert, in his French translation of Idrísí, Paris, 1836, vol. i. pp. 202, 241, reads *Mokra,* as well as Hartmann, (see *Edrisii Africa,* Gotting. 1795, pp. 77, 117, 132, *et passim*); M. de Quatremère has *Makarrah.* See transl. of Al-bekrí, p. 504.

[b] Aywalátin, which Professor Lee writes *Abú Látin* by mistake, (see his transl. of the Travels of Ibn Battúta, p. 235), is a town on the road from Sijilmásah to Ghánah.

" desert. It was done as agreed between them; each reached the place of his destination, settled there, " married, and had a family, and they began to conduct their trade in the following manner:—those in " Telemsán sent to their partners in the desert such goods and commodities as were wanted in those " districts, while these supplied them in return with skins, ivory, and goroo nuts? جوزة. In the meanwhile " 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the one stationed at Sijilmásah, was like the tongue of the balance between the two, " since, being placed at a convenient distance between Telemsán and the desert, he took care to acquaint " the respective parties with the fluctuations of the trade, the amount of losses sustained by traders, the " overstock of the markets, or the great demand for certain articles; and, in short, to inform them of the " secret designs of other merchants engaged in the same trade, as well as of the political events which " might in any way influence it. By these means they were enabled to carry on their speculations with " the greatest success, their wealth increased, and their importance waxed every day greater. However, " their establishment in the desert was once on the verge of ruin; the people of Tekrúr تكرور having " invaded the territory of Aywalátin, and taken possession of that city, the Arab residents were placed in " great danger, and their property was on the point of passing into the hands of the conqueror, as " happened to that of the natives. But my ancestors, being men of great courage and determination, " would not consent to witness their ruin,—they assembled all their servants and dependents, and such " traders as happened to be in Aywalátin at the time, and, having distributed arms among them, they " shut themselves up in their warehouse and decided to fight, if necessary, for the defence of their goods " and chattels. 'Abdu-l-wahíd then went to see the king of the Tekrúr,[c] to petition him for the pre- " servation of their property, and acquaint him with their determination not to submit tamely to the " oppression, and to resist any attacks directed against them. The king received him with the greatest " affability and kindness; he ordered him to be well lodged and hospitably entertained, and, his esteem " and affection for him increasing, he distinguished him above the rest of the merchants residing in or " trading with his country, giving him in conversation and in his letters the appellation of 'sincerest " friend' and 'dearest relative.' Not satisfied with these marks of friendship, the king of the Tekrúr " often wrote to the partners of Telemsán, applying directly for such goods as he wanted for his own " consumption, or such as were most sought for in his dominions, and the language and expressions used in " his letters were equally flattering and significative of the greatest affection and esteem. This I can prove " by his letters, as well as by those of other sovereigns in Maghreb, which I now have in my possession. " The moment my ancestors perceived that they could trust and rely on kings, such difficulties as might " have existed before were speedily removed; the countries through which they travelled appeared to " them as if ornamented with the gayest colours, the desert and its dangers seemed no longer the scene " of death and misery, and they began to frequent its most lonely and dangerous tracts; their wealth " thereby increasing so rapidly that it almost surpassed the limits of computation. Nor were these the " only advantages arising from their enterprise; the nations with whom they traded were considerably " benefited by it, for it must be understood that the trade with the desert was in the most deplorable " state before the people of Makkarah[d] engaged in it; merchants totally unacquainted with the real " wants of the inhabitants carried thither articles which were either of no use, or no value to them, " taking in exchange objects which were to them a source of profit and wealth. This even went so far

[c] Tekrúr is sometimes written with the article, meaning no doubt the people or nation so called; at other times without, and is then to be applied to the country inhabited by them. On these people the reader may consult the translation of Al-bekrí by Quatremère, p. 638, *et seq.*; Idrísí, *apud* Hartmann and Jaubert, and Sacy, *Chr. Ar.* vol. ii. p. 73, *et seq.*

[d] Instead of مقّرة my manuscript of Ibnu-l-khattíb reads مصر (Misr), which is decidedly an error.

"that an African sovereign was once heard to say, 'Were it not that I consider it a bad action, I would, "by God, prevent these Súdán traders from stopping in my dominions; for thither they go with the most "paltry merchandize, and bring in return the gold تبر which conquers the world.' However, when "my ancestors had once established a direct trade with those countries the scene changed, and the blacks "were better and more abundantly provided with such articles as they stood most in need of; they also "were furnished with goods which they had never seen before, and they obtained a better price for their "returns; by which means my illustrious forefathers became highly respected in the districts of Súdán, "and were enabled to amass immense wealth. But, alas! this wise conduct was not imitated by their "sons and descendants; for instead of trying to increase their inheritance by trade, as their fathers had "done, they began to spend it right and left; they were involved in political troubles and civil wars, "became the victims of tyrannical Sultáns and rapacious governors, and their patrimony went on "diminishing until it was reduced to a mere nothing; since I, who descend in a right line from Abú "Bekr, the eldest brother, have only inherited from my father an extensive library, and some notes "and papers in his own hand-writing, proving that he devoted most of his life to the study of "science, &c.'"

Ibnu-l-khattíb continues:—"I am unable to fix the year of my learned master's birth: I once heard "him say that it happened under the reign of Abú Hamu Músa Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Yaghmarasán يغمرسان "Ibn Zeyán.[e] He studied at Telemsán, under the direction of his father, and afterwards in Fez. He "performed a pilgrimage to Mekka, and travelled through the East, where he met many illustrious in- "dividuals and eminent authors, from whom he derived great knowledge. He then returned to his native "city, where he resided for some years, devoting himself entirely to the cultivation of science. When the "sovereignty of Maghreb devolved upon the Sultán Abú 'Anán (or 'Inán), that monarch, who was a "friend to literature and the learned, distinguished him and appointed him to be Kádí-l-kodá (or supreme "judge) at Fez. After this he came to Andalus, on a mission from his sovereign to ours, and having "landed at Malaga at the beginning of *Jumádí-l-awalí* of the year seven hundred and fifty-seven (in the "first days of Nov. A. D. 1356), he soon after reached Granada, where, during his long stay, I profited "by his lessons. He wrote, among other works, one entitled كتاب الحقايق و الدقايق (*the book* "*of truths and subtilties*)."

[2] The Preface, such as I have given it, is not a literal translation of that contained in the original, which would, of itself, have filled a moderate-sized volume, with matter, too, for the most part, totally unconnected with the general subject of the work. I have followed the reading of the epitome, where the bulky prologue has been judiciously compressed within a few pages.

The two verses here inserted read in all the manuscripts as follows:

البحر صعب المرام جداً ∴ لا جعلت حاجتي عليه
أليس ماءً و نحن طين ∴ فما عسي صبرنا عليه

I must state, before I proceed any further, that I have not always translated the numerous poetical quotations (some of which number no less than four hundred lines) with which the present work abounds; I have avoided it as much as possible, unless when the verses had an historical or geographical

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[e] This sovereign was the third of the Beni Zeyán. He was dethroned by his son 'Abdu-r-rahmán Abú Táshfín in seven hundred and eighteen of the Hijra (A.D. 1318-9). See Ibnu-l-khattíb, *apud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 229—279, *et passim.*

interest, or were so connected with the narrative as to make their suppression incongruous. In such cases I have constantly given the original text of the principal manuscript, along with the various readings afforded by the others, in order to authenticate my translation, which in many instances may not be correct, owing to the difficulties of the language and the variability of the text, written entirely without vowels, and presenting different readings.

[3] ثلاثة ليس لها امان ∴ البحر و السلطان و الزمان

[4] Instead of "Dhí-l-ka'dah" my manuscript reads "Dhí-l-hijjah," which is evidently an error, as the first is the month in which pilgrims generally resort to Medína.

[5] حمدت مرادي اذ بلغت مرادي ∴ بام القري مستمسكاً بعهادي
ومذ رويت من ماء زمزم غلتي ∴ فلست بمحتاج لماء ثمادي

The epitome reads شمادي which is not an Arabic word. I have substituted ثمادي from ثماد meaning the water remaining at the bottom of the skins after a long march.

[6] تزيد علي مرّ الزمان طلاوة ∴ دمشق التي راقت بحسان المشارب
لها في اقاليم البلاد مشارق ∴ منزهة اقمارها عن مغارب

My copy reads قاليم and تربد which are decidedly errors.

[7] The mosque of Damascus, called *Al-amáwí*, was built by Walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, the sixth Sultán of the family of Umeyyah, who reigned from eighty-six to ninety-six of the Hijra.

[8] An-no'mán is the name of Abú Hanífah Ibn Thábit, the founder of the sect of the Hanefites, considered orthodox among Mohammedans.

The individual here mentioned as being the son of the *Sheikhu-l-islám* (Mufti or head of the law) at Mekka is 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed 'Ommádu-d-dín Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn' Ommádi-d-dín Al-'ommadí Al-hanefí Al-dimashkí, who, according to Al-jera'í, in his history of Damascus, was Mufti of the Hanefites in Syria. His birth is placed on Tuesday, the fourteenth of the month of Rabi' II., A.H. nine hundred and seventy-eight (Sept. A.D. 1570), and his death on Sunday, the seventeenth of Jumádí II., A.H. one thousand and fifty-one (Sept. A.D. 1641).

[9] الهت بنا اوصافهم فامتلا الفضاء ∴ عبيراً واضحي نوره متالقًا
وقد كان هذا من سماع حديثهم ∴ بلاغًا فصح النقل اذ حصل اللقاء

[10] Ahmed Ibn Sháhín شاهين Effendi. I find a notice of this distinguished personage in the history of Damascus by Al-jera'í, a beautiful copy of which has been kindly lent to me by my friend the Rev. G. C. Renouard. "Ahmed Ibn Sháhín was originally from the island of Cyprus," (which the author observes ought to be written thus قبرس and not قبرص as usually written.) "At the conquest of that island by the

"Moslems, his father, Sháhín, was made prisoner, and sold as a slave with the rest of the inhabitants. "He was bought by one of the principal officers of the invading army, who took him with him to "Damascus, his native place, converted him to the true religion, adopted him as his son, enlisted him in "the army, and had him promoted and advanced, so that, when his master and benefactor died, Sháhín "held a high rank in the Syrian army.

"His son, Ahmed, also entered the army, and distinguished himself by his valour and military talents, "attaining by his merits the highest posts; but when 'Alí,[f] son of Jénbúládh جانبولاذ revolted, and "the Syrian army marched against him, the rebel succeeded in defeating the royal troops, leaving many "dead on the field, and taking thousands of prisoners, among whom Ahmed Ibn Sháhín was one. After "this he was set at liberty, but from that moment he conceived a dislike towards the profession of arms, "and resolved upon exchanging the spear and the sword for the paper and the pen. He then devoted "himself entirely to the study of literature, and, under the tuition of the best masters, became conspicuous "in poetry, rhetoric, the science of tradition, theology, jurisprudence, history, &c.; he was also an adept "in alchymy. He wrote several *risáleh*, or treatises upon various subjects, he made an abridgment of the "Kámús, adding also much of his own, and composed very fine poetry. He filled at Damascus the "situation of Vicar to the Kádí, and was himself Kádí to the Caravan which started from Damascus for "Mekka in the year one thousand and thirty (A.D. 1620-1). He was also appointed director to the "college called *Al-jakmakí*, after the death of Bostán the Greek, an inhabitant of Damascus, and when "the Háfedh Ahmed Al-makkarí arrived at Damascus, he gave him rooms in the said college, and "contracted a most intimate friendship with him.

"Ahmed Ibn Sháhín was immensely rich, so much so as to lead the people of Damascus to believe that "he owed his riches to his knowledge of the science of alchymy; he also acquired such reputation by his "unbounded generosity towards the learned, and by his writings, that he became the subject of books "and poems, and especially of one entitled الرياض الانيقة في الاشعار الرقيقة (*the beautiful gardens on the* "*charming verses*)."

Ahmed Ibn Sháhín Ash-sháhíní died at Damascus in Shawwál, A.H. one thousand and fifty-three (A.D. 1643-4); he was born in A.H. nine hundred and ninety-five (A.D. 1586-7).

[11] The Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb As-salmání, السَلَماني whose life forms the subject of the present work, was the son of 'Abdullah, son of Sa'íd. He was named Mohammed, and through his acquirements in theology and law acquired the surname of لسان الدين *Lisánu-d-dín* (the tongue of religion). He descended from an ancient Syrian family established at Loxa, a fine city at about thirty miles from Granada. His birth happened in A.H. seven hundred and thirteen (A.D. 1313). Promoted by the favour of several kings of the family of Nasser, he occupied the highest offices in the state for many years, and was at last invested with that of chief Wizír by Yúsuf Abú-l-hejáj, the seventh monarch of the dynasty of the Bení Al-ahmar, otherwise called Nasserites, after whose death he was confirmed in it by his son Mohammed V. This charge he filled with the greatest satisfaction on the part both of his

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[f] The same writer from whom the above particulars are extracted gives the life of this rebel: he says, "After the "execution of Huseyn, Páshá of Aleppo, by the Wizír Jaffál جفال his nephew, 'Alí Ibn Ahmed Ibn Jénbúládh, who was "*Amíru-l-liwa'* (or keeper of the banners) of the Kurd troops, revolted, and, after defeating in several encounters Yúsuf "Ibn Seyfa' سيفا Páshá, Generalissimo of the Syrian armies, succeeded in reducing Aleppo, Tripoli, and other principal "cities. He was at last betrayed and beheaded in the year one thousand and twenty (A.D. 1611-2).

sovereign and the subjects, but, having towards the close of his life been accused of high treason, he was cast into a dungeon, and soon after strangled by the orders of that Sultán, A.H. seven hundred and seventy-six (A.D. 1374). He left behind him numerous proofs of his learning and talents; indeed, his acquisitions in the sciences seem to have been almost universal, for in the list of works (forty-nine in number, and some of them consisting of several volumes,) which Casiri has given (*Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 72) there is scarcely any topic in the useful or elegant arts which he left untouched. History, medicine, music, theology, astronomy, rhetoric, and poetry, alike exercised his prolific pen, and among his works many may be pointed out which by their titles, or their apparent contents, make us deeply regret their loss. As it is, the Library of the Escurial exhibits some which sufficiently prove his vast learning; his history of Granada, entitled اللمحة البدرية في الدولة النصرية (*the shining rays of the full moon on the dynasty of the Bení Nasser*), (Bib. Esc., No. 1771), and his chronology of the Khalifs and Kings of Africa, bearing the lofty appellation of *silken embroidered vests* الحلل المرقومة (Arab. MSS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1771),—of both which works Casiri has given very full extracts in the second volume of his Catalogue,—are more than sufficient to establish his reputation as a writer of history, a branch of science for which he possessed the highest qualifications. A biography of illustrious men born at Granada (Arab. MSS. in the Esc. Lib., Nos. 1668 and 1669),—the itinerary of his travels through Spain and Africa (Nos. 1750 and 1811),—a collection of his official letters to the sovereigns of Africa (No. 1820),—and a short treatise on the plague which ravaged the city of Granada, A.H. seven hundred and forty-nine (A.D. 1348-9), with prescriptions for those who might again be attacked (No. 1780),—are among the literary productions of this eminent writer preserved in the Escurial Library. Nos. 453 and 551, in the same Library, are likewise productions of this author.

12 "More scarce than the griffin:" اعز من العنقاء an expression very much used by the Arabian writers to intimate that a thing cannot be procured. Ad-demírí, in his *Hayátu-l-haywán* (Arab. MS. in my possession), *voc.* عنقاء says that "there are three things which cannot be found, viz., virtue, a ghúl (a "sort of devil or malevolent spirit), and the griffin."

الجود والغول والعنقاء ثلاثة
اسماء اشياء لم توجد ولم تكن

The Arabs call the griffin *'anká-l-maghreb* (the griffin of the West), from a belief that this fabulous bird is only to be met with in the extreme West.

13 This, the author says in another part of his book, happened in the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the year one thousand and thirty-seven (June, A.D. 1628). In Part II. Book iii. p. 587, after quoting numerous poetical compositions in praise of Telemsán, his native city, he says, "In that city "I was born, as were likewise my father, grandfathers, and great grandfathers. There I received my first "education, and passed the greatest part of my youth, until the year one thousand and nine (A.D. 1600-1), "when I removed to Fez. However, after a year's stay I quitted that capital, and returned to my "native land. Again, in one thousand and thirteen (A.D. 1604-5), being impelled by a strong desire to "travel to distant countries, and perform my pilgrimage, I started for the court of Fez, where I resided "until the moment of my departure for the East, which took place at the end of the month of Ramadhán "of the year one thousand and twenty-seven (Sept. A.D. 1618); I arrived in Cairo in Rejeb of one "thousand and twenty-eight (May, A.D. 1619); I was at Damascus in Sha'bán of one thousand and

" thirty-seven (May, A.D. 1628), and returned to Cairo in the month of Shawwál of the same year, when, " in the following month of Dhí-l-ka'dah, I fixed upon and began the writing of the present work."

14 Out of the eight chapters into which the first part of this work is divided, only the first, second, third, fourth, and eighth have (as I have observed elsewhere) been translated entire. I have, nevertheless, borrowed considerably from the fifth and sixth, which are chiefly biographical, as well as from the seventh, which is entirely devoted to quotations and extracts from Moslem authors born in Spain. I have also made use, for the latter times of the Mohammedan power in Spain, or the history of the kingdom of Granada, of such valuable historical information as is contained in the second part of the work.

15 كتاب العرف الطيب في التعريف بالوزير ابن الخطيب which, literally translated, means *the book of the fragrant odour* (*exhaling*) *from the information* (*respecting*) *the Wizír Ibnu-l-khattíb.* Instead of العَرْفْ two of the manuscripts read العَرْق which is evidently an error. I have not given the division of the second part, viz., that which contains the life of the Wizír Lisánu-d-dín, because, not having translated it, it might appear superfluous. It is divided (like the first) into eight books. The first treats of his ancestors and his birth. The second of his youth, education, the charges he obtained, and trusts he filled, with an account of his private and public life, until the time of his death. Third, of his masters. Fourth, of the letters and dispatches which he addressed to various sovereigns in the name of the Kings whose Wizír he was. Fifth, some quotations from his poems. Sixth, an account of his numerous works on the various departments of science. Seventh, an account of his disciples. Eighth, of his sons and posterity.

16 نفْح الطيب من غُصْن الاندلس رطيب و تاريخ لسان الدين ابن الخطيب or *fragrant odour from the fresh and tender shoots of Andalus, and the history of the Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb.*

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

[1] Ibnu Sa'íd being an historian whom the author has consulted at large, I have thought it necessary to give some account of his life and writings, borrowed from the same work I am now translating (Part I. Book vi. fo. 131, *verso*). His entire name was Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Músa Ibn Mohammed Ibn' Abdi-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd. He was born at Granada, of illustrious parents, on the first day of Shawwál of the year six hundred and ten (Feb. A. D. 1214). His ancestor, 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd, distinguished himself in the wars between the Almoravides and Almohades. Being governor of a certain castle called قلعة يحصب Kal'at Yahseb (now Alcalá la Real), he declared himself against the Almohades, and contrived for some time to maintain his independence. At last, on the subjection of Spain by the Bení 'Abdi-l-múmen, he was, like the other chieftains, obliged to acknowledge their sway, although, as a reward for his ready submission, he was allowed to continue in the government of his castle.

Abú-l-hasan was educated at Seville, where he passed his early youth. He quitted his country for the East, visited Cairo, Damascus, Mausal, and Baghdád, where he was in six hundred and forty-eight (A. D. 1250-1); from thence he went to Basrah and performed his pilgrimage, which being done, he returned to the West. He died in Túnis in the year six hundred and eighty-five (A. D. 1286-7). Among the many works which he wrote, especially biographical and historical, the principal are the following: 1st. كتاب فلك الادب المحيط بحُلي لسان العرب (*the book of the sphere of literature, comprehending the whole language of the Arabs*), which he divided into two distinct and separate parts, viz., كتاب المُغرب في حُلي المَغرب (*the eloquent speaker on the beauties of the West*), and كتاب المُشرق في حُلي المَشرق (*the shining like the rising sun on the beauties of the East*). 2ndly, A history of his family, with this title الطالع السعيد في تاريخ بني سعيد (*the propitious constellation in the history of the Bení Sa'íd*), and other historical and geographical works, from which Al-makkarí made ample quotations, and which will be duly noticed in the ensuing notes.

Ibnu Sa'íd is often quoted by Abú-l-fedá, Makrízí, Ibnu Khaldún, Ibn Khallekán, and other writers of note who have treated on the history and geography of Africa. Casiri has given a short notice of him (fo. 110. vol. ii. of his *Bibl. Ar. Hisp. Esc*). He agrees with our author in the year of his death, which he places at Túnis in six hundred and eighty-five, but he makes him a native of Kal'at Yahseb (Alcalá), instead of Granada, and says that he died at the age of eighty, when he was only seventy-five. D'Herbelot, in his *Bib. Or.* voc. *Tarikh*, mentions an author called 'Alí Ibn Sa'íd, who, he says, wrote the *Kitábu-l-gharáyib* (book of wonders). See also Hájí Khalfah in the *Kashafu-dh-dhanún*, under the

words *Táríkh Ibn Sa'íd* and *Tawáríkhu-l-maghreb*, where his death is placed in six hundred and seventy-three, which must be an error.

[2] Who this Ibnu Ghálib is I am unable to decide. Hájí Khalfah, *voc.* فرجة speaks of an author named Ibn Ghálib, who wrote a work entitled فرجة الانفس في فضلا العمي من اهل الاندلس (*contentment of the soul in the history of illustrious blind men born in Andalus*), but the copy I have consulted does not state the age of the writer, nor what were his other names.

Ibn Khallekán gives likewise the life of an author, a native of Cordova, whose entire name was Abú Ghálib Temám Ibn Ghálib, and who died in Jumádí II., A. H. four hundred and thirty-six (Dec. 1044). See *Specimen Philologicum exhibens conspectum operis Ibn Chalicani;* or, an index of the illustrious men contained in the biographical work of Ibn Khallekán, by Tydenham, *Lugd. Bat.* 1809. Abú Ghálib is there classed under No. 123.

However, as it is elsewhere stated by Al-makkarí (see p. 77) that the author here mentioned wrote a work entitled فرجة الانفس للاثار الاولية التي في الاندلس (*contentment of the soul in the contemplation of primeval remains in Andalus*),—a title which very much resembles that given by Hájí Khalfah,—I am inclined to believe that the Ibnu Ghálib of that bibliographer, the individual described by Ibn Khallekán, and the author here quoted, are the same person, and that the title given by Hájí Khalfah is either that of a distinct work, or that of a portion of the composition referred to by Al-makkarí.

[3] Ibnu Hayyán. Casiri mentions him often under the names of *Ibn Haïan* and *Abú Merwán* (vol. ii. pp. 30, 153), but gives no information whatever as to the time of his birth, that of his death, or his writings. I borrow from Ibnu Bashkúwál, in the *Kitábu-s-silah* (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Madrid, marked Gg. 29), the following particulars :—" Abú Merwán Hayyán Ibn Khalf Ibn Huseyn Ibn Hayyán was born at Cordova in " the year three hundred and ninety-seven (A.D. 1006-7). His ancestor, Hayyán, had been a *mauli* of " 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., King of Cordova. He was an eloquent, learned, and judicious writer; he composed " a history of Andalus under this title كتاب المقتبس في اخبار الاندلس (*the book of the seeker of " information respecting the history of Andalus*), in ten large volumes; besides that large historical work " of his which every body admires, and which counts no less than sixty volumes, entitled المتين " في اخبار الاندلس (*the book of solid information on the history of Andalus*). He also wrote poetry, " and various theological tracts. Ibnu Hayyán died on a Sunday, three days before the end of Rabí' I. " of the year four hundred and sixty-nine (Oct. 30, A.D. 1076), and was buried the next day, after the " prayer of *'Assar*, in the cemetery of the suburb. Al-ghosání says that Ibnu Hayyán was of the tribe " of Sadf; but authors are at variance on this particular."

There is nothing in common, as De Sacy's conjecture would lead us to suppose (see *Chr. Ar.* vol. i. p. 408), between this Ibnu Hayyán and another mentioned by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 153), who was a native of Ceuta, flourished in the fourth century of the Hijra, and wrote a history of the *tábi's* or followers of the Prophet. Nor is there the least analogy, as D'Herbelot seems to indicate (*Bib. Or.* voc. *Abú Haïan*), between the Cordovan historian and the famous grammarian Athíru-d-dín Mohammed, surnamed Abú Hayyán, who died in Cairo in seven hundred and forty-five of the Hijra (A.D. 1344-5).

Ibn Khallekán, in his biographical dictionary (*Tyd. Ind.* 209), gives the life of this historian in nearly the same terms as Ibnu Bashkúwál. Hájí Khalfah also mentions him in his bibliographical index; see voc. *Táríkh Ibn Hayyán* and *Táríkh Andalus.*

[4] Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn Khaldún. De Sacy has alluded frequently to this historian, and translated some of his writings. (See *Chr. Ar.* vols. i. and ii., and *Relation de l'Egypte*, p. 509-524). He was born in Túnis, on the first day of the month of Ramadhán of the year seven hundred and thirty-two of the Hijra (May 26, A.D. 1332), and died, according to Abú-l-mahásen, on the twenty-fifth day of Ramadhán of the year eight hundred and eight (March 15, A.D. 1406), at the age of seventy-six (Arabian or lunar) years.

To the details already given by M. De Sacy (*Chr. Arab.* vol. i. p. 393) upon the life and the writings of Ibnu Khaldún, I may add the following interesting anecdote which Al-makkarí relates in Part I. Book vi. "While the Kádí-l-kodá Abú Zeyd Ibn Khaldún Al-hadhramí was in the service of the "Sultán of Egypt, Farej Ibn Barkúk, the conqueror Tímúr invaded Syria, defeated the Sultán's army, "and obliged him to retreat upon Cairo. Among the prisoners who fell that day into his hands were "the Kádís of the four sects of Egypt, several distinguished theologians, and Ibnu Khaldún himself. "When the prisoners were about to be introduced to the conqueror's tent, Abú Zeyd said to them, 'Let "me speak for you all, and perhaps I may save you, if God be pleased; if my speech produce no effect, "each of you may then speak for himself.' They all agreed that he should be their spokesman. Abú "Zeyd, who had on a dress in the western fashion, was then introduced to the presence of Tímúr-lenk, "who, seeing him thus arrayed, said to him, 'Art thou not a native of this country?' Upon which, "Ibnu Khaldún told him how he was a native of the West, and that his name was so and so, and that "he had come to the East for the purpose of performing pilgrimage, &c. Tímúr-lenk then began to "converse with him, Abú Zeyd answering him in his own language (Maghrebí), mixing, now and then, "injurious expressions;[a] and it was an evident miracle of the Almighty that the trick was not discovered.

"After this, Abú Zeyd said to Tímúr-lenk, 'I have composed a history of the world, and am thinking "of ornamenting it with thy name.' Others say that it was Tímúr who said to him, 'I am told that "thou hast written a history of the world; what sayest thou of mentioning me in it, as thou hast done "Bokht-Nasser, for both of us conquered the world.' To which Abú Zeyd Ibn Khaldún replied, 'Thy "exploits, and those of Bokht-Nasser, are undoubtedly worthy of the attention of the historian.' This "answer pleased Tímúr-lenk, who not only spared Abú Zeyd, but admitted him to his privacy. Some "time after this interview, they say that Abú Zeyd entered the presence of Tímúr-lenk and said to him, 'O "master! if there is any thing in my present condition to give me sorrow it is my having left in Cairo "an historical work which I have written, and in the composition of which I have spent the best years "of my life. Were I to die now, the light which I intended should be thrown upon thy actions and "administration would be lost to mankind, for I am sure there is nobody in thy service who has "laboured so assiduously to that end; if, on the contrary, thou allow me to go in search of it, I shall be "back immediately to spend the remainder of my life in thy service,' or words to that effect. Tímúr "then granted him permission, but Ibnu Khaldún returned not as he had promised to do."

Ibnu Khaldún used the patronymics of *Ishbílí* إشبيلي and *Al-hadhramí* الحضرمي. The first, De Sacy (see ib.) thought, indicated that he was either a native or a resident of Seville, but that city having been taken by the Christians in the year six hundred and twenty-six of the Hijra, that is, nearly a century before Ibnu Khaldún's birth, this could not be the case. His family, indeed, was orignally from Seville, for I find in the biographical dictionary of Arabian physicians, by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7340, fol. 135,) that there was in that city, in the fifth century of the Hijra, an individual

[a] I suppose using words with a double meaning, which, to an illiterate conqueror like Tímúr, must have been unintelligible, especially as the dialect spoken by the western Arabs differed materially from that of Syria.

named Abú Moslem 'Omar Ibn Ahmed Ibn Khaldún; and Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 20, and vol. ii. p. 72) mentions individuals bearing the family name of *Khaldún*. As early as the year two hundred and ninety-eight of the Hijra, a certain Karíbah Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Khaldún, who was one of the principal citizens of that city, was put to death with two of his brothers for having revolted in Seville against 'Abdullah, Sultán of Cordova. See Casiri (*loco laudato*, vol. ii. p. 35), and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 337.

As to the second patronymic, *Al-hadhramí*, it was natural to suppose, as De Sacy did, that the family of Khaldún drew their origin from *Hadhra-maut*, a city in Syria. But such is not the case, for I read in Ibnu-l-abbár (Ar. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 12) that the patronymic *Al-hadhramí*, so common among Spanish Arabs, especially among those domiciliated at Seville, was given to the descendants of Hadhra-maut, whom some genealogists make the son of Kahttán, and others the son of Kays, son of Mu'awiyah, son of Josham, son of 'Abdu-sh-shems, son of Al-ghauth, &c., all sprung from Himyar.

5 أندلش *Andalosh*, with a slight aspiration on the initial *a*, is a corruption for *Vandalocii*, as we find the Vandals were called. The Arabs could not well represent the sound of the *V* otherwise than by using a hamzah أ.

6 The passage here quoted is to be found in the introduction to the history of Granada by Mohammed Ibnu-l-khattíb, better known by the honorific surname of Lisánu-d-dín, an account of whom has been given at p. 307, note 11.

7 Abú 'Obeyd-illah Al-bekrí. The greatest obscurity has hitherto prevailed respecting the age and the writings of this famous geographer. Even his names and surnames were but imperfectly known; for, although the works of Al-bekrí are repeatedly quoted by Arabian writers, and especially by those who have treated on the geography of Africa and Spain, he always appears designated by his patronymic, Al-bekrí. Ibnu Khaldún, who mentions him often, (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9575, fol. 92, *et passim*,) always calls him *Al-bekrí;* Ibnu Bashkúwál (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 29), *'Obeyd-illah Al-bekrí;* and Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his history of Granada, (Arab. MS. in my possession, fol. 50,) *'Obeyd Al-bekrí* simply. Ibn Khallekán does not mention him. Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Mesálek*) gives only the year of his death. Even M. De Quatremère, who, with his usual criticism and learning, has lately published a translation of part of Al-bekrí's geographical work (see *Not. et Ext. des MSS. de la Bibl. du Roy*, vol. xii.), could obtain no satisfactory account of his life and writings.

Having from continual reference learnt to appreciate the merits of Al-bekrí's geographical work, which in most instances was literally copied by Idrísí, I was led to investigate the matter closely, to gain, if possible, some information upon the age in which that eminent writer lived, and the works which he left. I perused in vain several MSS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., containing the lives of illustrious men and authors born in Spain, and I had almost given up my laborious undertaking, when, to my great satisfaction, I found by chance in the *Bágh'yatu-l-multamisi fí táríkhi rejáli ahli-l-andalusi* (the object of the wishes for those who desire information on the history of the illustrious Andalusians), by Adh-dhobí (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 14), the following notice of this distinguished writer. "Abú 'Obeyd-illah "'Abdullah Al-kortobí was the son of 'Abdu-l-'azíz Al-bekrí, Governor of Huelva and *Jezírah Shaltis* "(the island of Saltis), in the western part of Andalus, a valiant and experienced captain, who assisted "Al-mu'atamed, King of Seville, in his conquests. After the death of his father, which some place in "four hundred and fifty-six (A.D. 1063-4), and others in four hundred and fifty-eight (A.D. 1065-6), "Abú 'Obeyd-illah retired to the court of Mohammed Ibn Ma'n, King of Almeria, who not only received

" him kindly, but appointed him his Wizír. Al-bekrí is well known, both as a geographer and as a poet. " Besides his كتاب المسالك و الممالك (*book of routes and kingdoms*), he wrote another geographical " work, entitled المعجم الكبير (*great dictionary*), in which he disposed in alphabetical order all the " names of kingdoms, cities, rivers, and mountains, in the world. Al-bekrí died in the year four hun- " dred and eighty-seven." (A.D. 1094-5.)

To his attainments in geography and history Al-bekrí seems to have united those of medicine and natural history, for I find him repeatedly quoted in the writings of Ibnu-l-beyttar and other naturalists, as well as by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, who, in his lives of Arabian physicians, (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7340, fol. 147,) says that he was an excellent physician, well acquainted with the properties of plants, and that he wrote a work entitled كتاب اعيان النبات و الشجريات الاندلسية (*a treatise on the principal plants and shrubs growing in Andalus*).

I ought to add that the author of the قلايد العقيان في محاسن الاعيان *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán fí mahásení-l-a'yán*, ' gold necklaces on the brilliant actions of the illustrious,' (a biographical dictionary of Spanish poets in my possession,) gives also a short notice of Al-bekrí, whom he says he knew at Seville when young. He was born in four hundred and thirty-two (A.D. 1040-1), and died, as stated above, in four hundred and eighty-seven (A.D. 1094-5). Al-bekrí is often mentioned by Conde in his *Hist. de la Dom.* (vol. i. pp. 395, 404), but that writer appears not to have seized the meaning of the patronymic البكري *Al-bekrí*, which he translates by *De Bejer*, thus making Abú 'Obeyd-illah a native of Bejer, a town of Estremadura, instead of a member of the tribe of Bekr. See *loco laudato*, vol. ii. p. 77.

The principal among Al-bekrí's works is his *Kitábu-l-mesálek wa-l-memálek*, divided into three parts. I have already stated in the Preface that I possessed an ancient copy of the first part. The second is in the British Museum, marked 9577. It wants some leaves at the beginning and at the end, and is described in the Catalogue of Additions for 1833 as containing the history of the conquest of Egypt by the Moslems, and as being the work of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakam Al-misrí; but I need not remark that the fact of the volume beginning with an account of the conquest of Misr by the Moslems, borrowed from the above-mentioned writer, whose name appears written in large letters on the beginning of the page, is the only circumstance which could have given rise to that mistake.

As it is, the copy in the British Museum is not only ancient but appears more correct than another of the same volume in the Royal Library at Paris, which M. De Quatremère used for his translation. It is in every respect a valuable manuscript, and I have made ample use of it in writing the present notes. There is also in the Escurial Library a copy of the second part.

8 الاهواز Al-ahwáz is the name of a city and district of Khúzistán, one of the provinces of Persia. It is sometimes applied to the whole country. Idrísí (p. 381 of the French translation) says that the inhabitants of that country are very much annoyed by a sort of scorpion called الجرارة *al-jarrárah*, of a yellowish hue, and whose bite produces immediate death. Ibnu-l-wardí, in his *Kharídatu-l-'ajáyib* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9590, fol. 113, *verso*), in the chapter treating on the peculiarities of each country, confirms the statement. But, a few lines lower down, Al-makkarí quotes the words of another geographer who praises Spain for having few venomous reptiles. Contradictions like this are unavoidable, owing to the plan adopted by the author.

9 Abú 'A'mir السلامي As-salámí. Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 40) mentions an author

called *Abu Amer Al-salamita*, who was a native of Seville. The title of the historical work here alluded to is در القلايد و غرر الفوايد It is not to be found in Hájí Khalfah's Bibliographical Dictionary.

10 Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Músa الرازي Ar-rází derived his origin from the city or district of Ray, in Persia. According to Al-homaydí, quoted by Casiri, (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 329,) Ar-rází wrote a very copious history of Spain, and a topographical description of Cordova, similar to that of Baghdád composed by Ahmed Ibn Abí Táhir.

The same author, Al-homaydí, (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib. Oxford, Hunt. 464,) says that he saw a genealogical history of the illustrious Arab families established in Spain, which was attributed to an author named also Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Músa, although he was unable to say if he was the same as Ar-rází.

Of his life scarcely any account has been obtained. Al-makkarí, in the sixth book (fo. 215, *verso*), treating on those illustrious Moslems who came from the East to settle in Spain, gives the life of the father of this Ar-rází in the following terms:—" Mohammed Ibn Músa Ibn بشير Busheyr Ibn جناد " Jenád Ibn Lekítt Al-kenání, surnamed Ar-rází, owing to his being a native of Ray, a province of Persia, " was the father of the famous historian Ahmed Ar-rází. He arrived in Spain from the East, as a " merchant, but being at the same time a man of learning and ability he met with encouragement from " the Sultáns of the family of Merwán, who then occupied the throne of Andalus, and he consequently " settled in Cordova, where he died on his return from an embassy to the city of Elvira, whither he had " been sent with a message for the Amír Al-mundhir Ibn Mohammed. His death took place in the " month of Rabí'-l-akhar, A.H. two hundred and seventy-three (Oct. A.D. 886), according to Ibnu " Hayyán in his *Muktabis*, from whom the preceding account is borrowed."

As to Ar-rází himself, he appears to have flourished during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., that is to say, towards the end of the fourth century of the Hijra and the beginning of the fifth. Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 12) calls him التاريخي At-táríkhí, that is, the historian *par excellence*, and says that, among other works on the topography and history of Spain, he wrote a very voluminous one in which he described, with the greatest detail, the routes, sea-ports, and principal cities, as well as the various settlements formed by the Arabs of the six invading armies الاجناد (*al-ajnád*) in its provinces; the peculiarities of each of them, the productions of the soil, mineral riches, industry, commerce, &c. This is no doubt the work to which Al-makkarí frequently alludes, and from which he makes numerous quotations; and, to judge by the time in which Ar-rází wrote, and the interesting details he gives, it is really a matter of great regret that this or some other work of this eminent historian should not be preserved entire in any of the public libraries of Europe. Casiri, indeed, with great boldness, in my opinion, attributed to this writer a precious historical fragment existing in the Library of the Escurial, which he translated at the end of the second volume of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*; but, as he was unassisted in his conjecture by any further proof than the name of Ahmed, (so common among Mohammedans,) which is also the initial name of Ar-rází, having been placed at the head of the page, very little reliance can be placed on a statement resting upon so loose a foundation. Neither can much faith be placed in a semi-barbarous translation, bearing the title of *Historia del Moro Razis*, and which, notwithstanding Casiri's and Conde's opinions to the contrary, is undoubtedly a version from the writings of that Arabian historian, as I shall hereafter prove by a comparison of the translation with the original text.

11 It is by no means easy to determine what part of Spain this word الثغر *Ath-thagher* is here meant to

designate. Its real and primitive signification is a pass in the mountains, or a district contiguous to the enemy's territory, a line of frontier. In this sense it is often used by Al-makin, Abú-l-fedá, and other Eastern authors. In Spain it was given to those countries bordering on the Christian territory, but, as the limits of the Cordovan empire often changed in the course of a successful invasion, the word *Thagher* can only have conveyed a loose and indefinite idea; for instance, during the greatest splendour of the Khalifate, the frontiers of the Mohammedan empire were extended on one side as far as Navarre, on the other into the very heart of the kingdom of Leon. The former were designated under the name of الثغر الاعلي *'upper frontiers,'* and the latter under that of الثغر الادني *'lower frontiers.'* In later times, when the Mohammedan power began to decline, and the Christians poured on all sides upon its defenceless provinces, Aragon was known under the former denomination, and Toledo and its district under the second. The former of these two countries having, by the natural strength of the soil, proved a more effectual barrier against the attacks of the Christians, and having remained longer attached to the Moslem state, retained the name of *Thagher* long after it had ceased to make part of the Moslem dominions, for Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his *Kitábu-l-ahháttati* (Arab. MS. in my possession), calls James II., King of Aragon, جايمس صاحب الثغر *Jaymes sáhibu-th-thagher;* and, long after the reduction of Granada, the Moriscos inhabiting the towns and villages of Aragon were called by the Spaniards *Moros Tagarinos,* i. e. from the *Thagher.*

It will not perhaps be amiss to observe that the Zegrís, those knights of romance, who, by their deadly feuds with the Bení Serráj (Abencerrages), hastened the fall of Granada and the ruin of their country, were neither more nor less than certain powerful families who, after the taking of Saragossa and other cities in Aragon (*Thagher*), sought refuge in other Mohammedan states and settled for the most part in Granada, where they were known by the patronymic of *Theghriún* (Zegrís).

The spot here designated by the author might be Aragon, a province of Spain in which, owing to its northern position, all fruits of the earth are considered to be more backward.

12 The following description of Andalus, by Ar-rází, occurs at the bottom of the same page. As it is expressed in nearly the same words, I have suppressed it in the body of the work, to avoid repetition. "Andalus," he says, "is situate at the extremity of the fourth climate, one of the seven into which the "whole of our inhabited globe has been divided by geographers. Thus placed in the midst of the earth, "Andalus has delightful valleys and excellent lands, which many large rivers irrigate and fertilize; "there are but few wild beasts and venomous reptiles; the temperature is excessively mild, and the "seasons so temperate that the transition from one to another is almost imperceptible, and man has "not to dread there, as in other countries, the passage from summer to winter, and *vice versa.*"

13 أرغون *Arghón* or Aragon. I have looked in vain in Idrísí for the passage here attributed to him. The substance may be the same, but the words are not. At the time when that distinguished geographer wrote his description of Spain (the twelfth century of our era), Aragon, being almost entirely in the hands of the Moslems, was still called *Thagher,* its present denomination being comparatively modern.

The MS. reads بلد ارغون التي في جنوبها برشلونة that is, 'the country of Aragon, at the southern extremity of which is situated the city of Barcelona,' as I have translated; but this is undoubtedly an error, for whatever limits are assigned to the kingdom of Aragon, Barcelona could never occupy a southern position with regard to it.

At the time when Ibnu Sa'íd wrote (the latter end of the thirteenth century), the kingdom of Aragon

extended over nearly the same territory which it now comprises; namely, the whole of Catalonia, the province properly called Aragon, great part of Valencia, and the Balearic Islands besides.

The division of the earth into seven climates, or as many zones, is peculiar to the Arabian geographers. These are numbered from the equator towards the north pole, and measured by the increase of the duration of daylight at the summer solstice.

14 قشتالة Kashtélah is for *Castella*, so named from *castrum*, castle, owing to the great number of fortresses which that district contained during the middle ages. The Arabian writers designate it generally under the name of ارض القلاع *Ardhu-l-kilá'* (the land of castles).

15 برتقال Bortekál, the Λουσιτανία of the Greeks, afterwards called *Portæ Gallæ*. The word occurs in Idrísí (*Geog.* edit. of Rome, 1592, *clim.* iv. *sect.* 1), but not in Abú-l-fedá.

16 *Alinkilterrah.* Although all the copies read القطرة I have not hesitated to substitute الانقلطارة *Alinkilterrah*, as may be read in the Arabic text of Idrísí. That geographer, who, as is well known, wrote his book in Sicily under the patronage of King Roger, undoubtedly derived his account of England from Italian navigators, who, to this day, call this country *Inghilterra*. It must however be observed that that name is seldom given to this country by the Arabian geographers who wrote after Idrísí, and never by those who preceded him, who generally call it جزيرة برطانية *Jezírah Birtániyyah* (the island of Britain), or ارض برطانية الكبيرة *Ardh Birtániyya-l-kebírah* (the land of great Britain). It is called *Britannia la mayor* in the *Cronica General*, Zamora, 1541, fo. 111, *verso*.

The following description of England occurs in the *Audhahu-l-mesálek*, an Arabic geographical dictionary, compiled from Ibnu Sa'íd, Abú-l-fedá, Kazwíní, Ibnu-l-wardí, 'Azízí, Al-bekrí, and other celebrated geographers (Brit. Mus., No. 7505). "Inkiltérrah, also called Inkiltarrah, is a well-known "island in a sea issuing from the sea of Rúm. Ibnu Sa'íd says that the king of the island is called "الانكتار Alinkitár, and that he holds his court at لندرس Londres (London). The length of the island "measured from south to north, with a slight deviation, is four hundred and thirty miles, and the width "about two hundred. It contains mines of gold, silver, and copper. Vines do not grow on its "soil, owing to the extreme coldness of its temperature, but the inhabitants procure wine from France "and the neighbouring countries by giving gold in return."

See also *Vita et res gestæ Saladini*, by Schultens, (Lugd. Bat. 1732, p. 160,) where Richard Cœur de Lion is named Alinkitár.

17 ارض برجان Berján, which others write *Burján*, is, I believe, Denmark. The Arabian geographers say that it is a country placed in the extreme north, where days have only four hours and nights twenty. Ibn Iyás, in his *Nashaku-l-azhár fí gharáyibi-l-akttár* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7503, fo. 127), adds that "the inhabitants are all idolaters (Majús), and make war upon the Sclavonians, "who are a nation of Franks. They are very expert in navigation, and build beautiful ships." See also Idrísí, translated by Jaubert, pp. 7 and 392; and Abú-l-fedá, *apud* Koehler, fo. 54.

The word *Burján* seems to me a corruption of *Burguziones* or *Burgundiones*, as the northern barbarians who settled in that part of France now called Burgundy were denominated by the Latin chroniclers of the middle ages.

[18] Al-beyhakí. There are several Arabian writers known by this patronymic, the most distinguished of whom is the Imám and Háfedh, Abú Bekr Ahmed Ibnu-l-huseyn Ibn 'Alí Al-beyhakí, of the sect of Sháfe'í, who left several works upon jurisprudence and traditions, and died in four hundred and fifty-eight (A. D. 1065-6). See D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Baihaki*, and Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Escur.* vol. i. p. 57. See also Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 206, and Ibn Khallekán's Lives, No. 27 in *Tyd. Ind.*

[19] تولي the *ultima Thule* of the ancients, supposed by some to be Iceland, by others Shetland. It is probably the latter, which Camden says was still called in his time *Thylensel* by the seamen. Makrízí, in his history of Egypt (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7317, fo. 98), calls it توطي *Tútti*, no doubt a mistake for تولي and says that it is an island in the sea of Britain, at the northern extremity of the inhabited globe. It is worthy of remark that in the *Cronica General de España*, which Alfonso X., surnamed *El Sabio*, either wrote himself or ordered to be written during his reign, and which is well known to be in most instances compiled from Arabic works, this island, which is called *Tile*, is said to be close to Norway. See edit. of Zamora, 1541, fo. 3, *verso*.

[20] الاجبال *Al-ajbál* (the island of the mountains). I have translated Norway, merely by guess, although the description which Ibn Iyás gives of it by no means answers for that country. He says, fo. 194, "According to Abú Hámid the Andalusian, the island (peninsula) of اجبال Ajbál is "an island covered with trees and fruits, in the centre of which rises a mountain of black mud, as "dark as pitch; there is also, according to the said writer, a long opening (canal) that issues from it." The author of the *Kitábu-l-'ajáyib*, another geographical treatise in the Brit. Mus., No. 7504, fo. 10, *verso*, places it in the sea of Pontus (Pont. Euxin.), which, he asserts, comes from under the earth.

[21] جزيرة النسآء Jezíratu-n-nisá (the island of the women). The Arabian geographers thought that there was an island so called in the "sea of darkness." Ibn Iyás (*loco laudato*, fo. 126, *verso*,) says that "it is inhabited by women, who cut off their right breast, ride on horseback, are possessed of much "corporal strength, and make war upon each other."

[22] البُرت Al-bort. The Pyrenees were known to the Arabs under various denominations. They were called جبال البرتات *Jebál-al-bortát*, that is, 'the mountains of the gates,' from the Latin word *Portæ*, and جبال الابواب *Jebál-al-abwáb*, which means the same thing, owing to the four passes serving as communications between France and Spain. These were, according to Idrísí (*clim.* iv. *sect.* 1), 1st, برت اشمرة *Bort Ashmarah*, (now the pass of Ceret, or Puig-cerdá, in Catalonia;) 2nd, برت جاقة *Bort Jákah*, (now the pass of Jaca, or *Puerto de Canfranc*, in Aragon;) 3rd, برت شازر *Bort Shézar*, the gate of Cæsar, (the pass of Roncesvalles or that of Bastan, near Pampeluna;) and, 4th, برت بيونّة *Bort Bayúnnah*, (the pass of Behobia, near Bayonne.) The Latin word *Portæ*, corrupted into *Puerto*, is still used in Spain to designate a mountain pass.

[23] جزيرة الخضراء (the Green Island), the 'ΙΟΥΛΊΑ 'ΑΝΟΙΚΊΑ of Strabo and the *Julia Transducta* of Pliny, is the modern Algesiras, opposite to Gibraltar. A small island immediately facing its port is still called by the Spaniards *La Isla Verde*.

[24] جزيرة طريف *Jezírah-Taríf*, or 'the Island of Taríf,' now the small peninsula of Tarifa, owes its present name to a Berber named طريف ابن مالك Taríf Ibn Málik, who was the first to land on it at the time of the invasion of Spain by the Arabs. Conde, in his notes to Idrísí, (see *Geografia del Nubiense*, Mad. 1802, p. 201,) committed an error by saying that *Jezírah-Taríf* meant the island of the promontory (*Isla del Puntal*). *Tarf*, and not *Taríf*, is the Arabic word for promontory, or cape.

[25] قصر مصمودة *Kasr-Masmúdah* (the palace of Masmúdah) is also called by the historians قصر المجاز *Kasru-l-majáz* (the palace of the passage), owing to its becoming the spot where the armies of the Almohades used to embark to cross over to Spain. According to the author of the Karttás (Arab. MS. in my possession) the building of this city originated in a palace which Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, third Sultán of that dynasty, built at the narrowest part of the Strait of Gibraltar, between Ceuta and Tangiers, and from which he used to witness the embarkation of his troops. It was called Kasr-Masmúdah because of its being built in the territory of that tribe. See also the Portuguese translation by Moura, Lisboa, 1828, p. 240, Marmol, *Descripcion de Africa*, vol. ii. p. 125, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. pp. 392-396, *et passim*. It is occasionally called *Al-kasru-s-saghír* (the small palace), to distinguish it from another city built by the same monarch, and which retains to this day the name of *Al-kassar-al-kebír* (the great palace). On these two places the reader may consult the *Specchio Geografico, e Statistico dell' Impero di Marocco*, by the Chev. Gråberg di Hemsö, pp. 17, 44, 69, *et passim*.

[26] بحر الزقاق *Bahru-z-zokkák*, literally 'the sea of narrowness,' which is always meant for the Straits of Gibraltar.

[27] The passage here alluded to by the author is to be found in the historical work entitled مروج الذهب *Murúju-dh-dhahab* (golden meadows), by the well-known author Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Huseyn Ibn 'Alí Al-mes'údí, an account of whose life may be read in Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 443, as well as in the eighth volume of the *Not. et Ext. des MSS.* de la Bibl. du Roi, pp. 132, 199, and D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Moruj, Messoudi, &c.*

[28] ابن اليسع His entire name was Alisa'-bn-'Isa Ibn Hazm Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Alisa' Ibn 'Abdillah Al-ghâfekí. Al-makkarí speaks of him among the Andalusians who left Spain for the East (see Part I. Book v. fo. 150). His words are as follow:—"Ibn Alisa' was born at Valencia, but his family "were originally from Jaen. While in Spain he inhabited Malaga most of the time; he filled the charge "of Kátib (secretary) to one of the kings of Eastern Andalus. He wrote an historical work with the "following title المعرب في اخبار محاسن اهل المغرب *Al-mu'arib fí akhbár mahásen ahli-l-maghreb*, "(the speaker according to the rules of Arabic grammar on the history of the excellences of the people "of the West,) which he compiled in Egypt by the orders of the Sultán Saláhu-d-dín (Saladin) Ibn Ayúb. "Ibn Alisa' left Andalus for the East in the year five hundred and sixty (A.D. 1164-5); he never "afterwards returned to his native country, for he died in the East on a Thursday, the 28th of Rejeb of "five hundred and seventy-five." (Dec. 28, A. D. 1179.) See also Hájí Khalfah, (voc. *Mu'arib* and *Táríkh Maghreb*.)

I ought to observe that the word أَلِيَسَع Alisa', a synonyme for Elias, is pointed as above, instead of *Al-yasa'*, as it is generally written and pronounced.

29 The name of this city is differently written by the Arabian geographers. Some have اريونة Ariúnah, others اربونة Arbúnah, and now and then it is to be found thus نربونة *Narbúnah*, or, as pronounced by the Spanish Arabs, *Narbónah*, its true name. The author of the *Audhahu-l-mesálek* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7505, fo. 36,) writes أُرْبُونَة *Orbúnah.*

30 *Al-hijárí*, or the native of Guadalaxara, وادي الحجار *Wáda-l-hijár*, or الحجارة *Wáda-l-hajarah* (the river of the stones),—the *Amnis Lapidum* of Rodericus Toletanus,—a large town in the province of Toledo. (See *Hist. Arabum, apud Erpenium*, fol. 32.) The entire name of the author is Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Ibráhím Al-hijárí. Casiri has spoken of him in two different places of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* (vol. ii. p. 120, and *ib.* p. 128). But his account is so full of contradictions as to make one suppose that he meant two different individuals. He makes him sometimes a native of *Cangiar* or Cangera, which he says is a town in the district of Guadalaxara, and at others of *Canger*, which he places thirty miles from Almeria, on the road to Malaga!

Al-hijárí, who is likewise called Ibnu-l-hijárí, because his father was also a native of Guadalaxara, was born in five hundred of the Hijra (A.D. 1106-7). His death is placed by Ibnu-l-khattíb and Ibnu-l-abbár (see Casiri, *loco laudato*, pp. 120, 128,) in five hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 1194-5), which would make him eighty-eight years of age at the time of his death.

Among other works Al-hijárí wrote a history of Spain from the earliest times down to his days, entitled كتاب المسهب في فضايل اهل المغرب *Kitábu-l-mas'hab fí fadháyil ahli-l-maghreb* (the book of the gossipper on the excellences of the *Maghrebís*) (Western people), for the Arabian writers often comprise Africa and Spain under the general denomination of *Maghreb* (West). Hájí Khalfah mentions this work in different places of his Bibliog. Dict. See voc. *Tárîkh Maghreb*, and *Mas'hab*.

31 الحاجز that is, the divider, from the verb حجز which means to divide, to separate. The Pyrenees are not unfrequently called so by Hispano-Arabic authors.

The nearest point of the isthmus which joins Spain to the continent is between Tarragona and St. Jean de Luz, not, as the author states, between Bourdeaux and Narbonne, where the distance is greater. However, the width of the isthmus is nowhere so little as forty miles, as stated, but upwards of two hundred.

32 All the copies read south-east instead of north-east. The error is copied from the geographer Idrísí, who himself borrowed it from the Greek writers, who say, "that the Pyrenees extend in chains "from south to north," when it is on the contrary from east to west, inclining a little towards the north, (see Strabo's Geography.) I have not hesitated in substituting north-east for south-east.

33 بُرْدِيل *Bordhil;* others write بُرْدَال *Bordhál*, a corruption from Burdigallia, now Bourdeaux.

[34] وادي زنلقلطو according to A. My copy reads زَنْلَقْطُو; thus pointed. This must be some place in Catalonia. The word *Wádí* or *Wáda*, prefixed to it, admits of two meanings,—a river, or a deep valley among the mountains.

[35] That the passes cut by nature at various spots of the Pyrenean range were the work of art seems to have been generally believed by the writers of Mohammedan Spain, who undoubtedly borrowed this and other notions from their Christian neighbours. In the *Cronica General,* written by order of Alfonso, Zamora, 1541, fo. 8, *verso,* as well as in the *Cronica General de España* of Florian de Ocampo, republished by Ambrosio de Morales at Alcalá de Henares in 1574, vol. i. fo. 85, both works which, for the early times, can scarcely be called histories, but a mere repository of popular traditions, the Pyrenees are said to have taken their name from an accidental conflagration, which cleared their forests, opened passages in the sides of the mountains and through the masses of rock, and melted the metals hidden in the bowels of the earth. Others say that a king named Pyrrhus cut roads through them, after which the mountains were called by his name. Livy (book xxi. chap. 37) speaks of similar means being put into practice by Annibal, in order to force his passage through those formidable bulwarks of nature. The Arabs, improving, as usual, upon tradition, assert that a Grecian king having caused the rocks to be previously softened by means of vinegar and fire, opened four passes to serve as communications between France and Spain. See the *Audhahu-l-mesálek,* fo. 25, Abú-l-fedá, Idrísí, Ibnu-l-wardí, and the generality of Arabian geographers.

[36] عجبع الحبرني Such is the reading of all the MSS. I am, nevertheless, inclined to believe that مجمع البحرين *Majma'u-l-bahreyn* ought to be substituted, inasmuch as the alteration in the letters is but trifling, and the former two words convey no meaning whatever; while the second, 'the meeting of the two seas,' might easily have been given to a long isthmus or promontory, such as that upon which the Roman tower called *Torre de Hercules* still stands at Coruña.

[37] This word is differently written in the various copies of this work consulted by me. It is written thus جبل الاغر *Jebal Al-aghar* in A.; my copy reads الاعز *Al-a'z;* B. الاغز *Al-aghaz;* but I have not hesitated in following the former reading, or more correctly جبل الغار *Jebal Al-ghár,* which means 'the mountain of the cave,' now Cape Trafalgar (*Taraf-al-ghár*) from *Taraf,* a mountain, or promontory, and *ghár,* a cave.

[38] The town here mentioned is *Santa Maria Bení Razín,* so called from Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Razín, its founder. There was in Portugal another town called also Santa Maria, to which the Arabs added the epithet *al-gharbí* (that is, of the West), that it might be distinguished from this, which is in the eastern part of Spain, on the very same spot now occupied by the town of Albarracin, a corruption of *Aben-razín.*

[39] بحر طيرن is, perhaps, the *Tyrrhenum Mare,* or Sea of Tuscany, of the ancients, although, by the description given by the author, the Mediterranean seems intended. Another MS. reads تيران

[40] I have said elsewhere (Note 10) that the Spanish translation of Ar-rází, attributed to a Moor

of the name of Mahamad, and to a Portuguese priest who was chaplain to King Dionis of Portugal (1279-1325), far from being, as Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Escur.* vol. ii. p. 329, *et seq.*) and Conde (*Hist. de la Dominacion*, vol. i. Prol. p. ix.) have imagined, a complete forgery—a confused mass of traditional stories current among Christians and Moslems—not only was a real version from a work written by Ar-rází, but, as far as I can judge, as faithfully executed as most of those made during the middle ages from Arabic writings. There are no doubt in it several passages, such as the chronology of the Gothic kings, which must be interpolations made by the translators, or by subsequent copyists, but the geographical description of Spain, and the account of its conquest by the Arabs, are given in a manner which leaves no doubt as to their authenticity. The attentive perusal of a very ancient copy (perhaps the original), which is kept in the library of the Cathedral of Toledo, had long ago made me suspect that the judgment hazarded by the two above-mentioned authors, and in which they seemed supported by the opinions of the best European critics, was rather hasty. However, not having the means of verifying my conjecture, I was obliged to postpone my judgment until I should be enabled to collate the words of Ar-rází with those of his translators. I will now transcribe from my own copy, made by me from the MS. of Toledo, the oldest in all Spain, the passage on the territorial division of the country, in order that my readers may judge if what I have advanced is correct or not.

"Las Españas son dos porque se parten por los movimientos de los aires, los giros de las nubes, e por "el corrimiento de los rios que van á una mar ó á otra. E ay España de Levante, e España de Poniente. "E España de Poniente es aquella que yace contra Oriente, e corren sus rrios contra la mar grande que "cerca todo el mundo e lluebe ay con vientos de Poniente, e comiençase en la sierra del collado ó Tajada "que nace contra Septentrion yendo para Cantabria, e subiendo al termino de Astorga ayuntasse con la "tierra de Biscaya, e decende para Agrite que es a par de Toledo, e biene por Algarçir e es a par del mar "menudo que viene en derecho de Carthagena, e va a par de la billa de Lorca. E la España de Levante "do el sol viene lluebe ay con biento solano, e con otros vientos que nacen de contra al Levante, e "comiença en la Sierra de Roncesvalles e deciende por el rio Hébro a Santa Maria por entre dos rios "de los cuales el uno dellos es Ebro que ba a caer en el mar redondo contra Meridiano donde es el mar "de Zocac de que corre el mar de Xem aquel que parte la tierra e este mar a nombre el mar de çiran "porque parte la rueda de la tierra e muchos le llaman mar grande."

Let it be understood that the passage of Ar-rází to which Al-makkarí here alludes is not a literal translation from the work of that historian, but merely the substance of his words; and then let the reader judge for himself whether the Spanish version is a forgery or not. The expressions *Mar de Zocac*, meaning the *Bahru-z-zokák* or Strait of Gibraltar; *Mar de Xem*, meaning *Bahru-sh-shám* (*i. e.* Sea of Syria or Mediterranean); and *Mar de Ciran*, for *Bahr Tirren*, are very remarkable, and prove sufficiently of themselves the truth of the version.

41 ابن النظّام (the son of the stringer of pearls?) I have not been able to ascertain the age, country, or writings, of this historian, who is occasionally mentioned by Al-makkarí. The surname of *Ibnu-n-nadhdhám* might have been given to him either from his father's trade or from his being a very eloquent writer, for it is not unfrequent among the Arabian writers to give that appellation to eminent poets and rhetoricians, who are elegantly said to "have strung together the pearls of speech."

42 The mountains here alluded to are a branch of the Pyrenean range; they traverse Spain, which they divide into two halves, from north-east to west. These mountains are designated by the Arabian

geographers who have described the Peninsula under the collective name of جبال الشرات *Jebál-ash-sherrát*.

[43] الجوف *Al-jauf*, and not *Al-júf*, as in the translation. The Arabian geographers make use of this word to designate generally the north-west, sometimes the north. It is always that point of the compass opposed to the *kiblah*, and as this varies according to the geographical position of the countries with respect to the *Ka'bah*, (square house at Mekka,) so does the *jauf*. The word *kiblah*, in its origin, meant that part of a mosque which faces the *Ka'bah*, and as this, in most Mohammedan countries of Asia, was to the south, the word *kiblah* was used as a synonymous expression for *south*. The same might be said of the word *jauf*, which means *concavity, interior, darkness;* and hence the body of a mosque, or all that part which is not the *kiblah*, and is opposed to it. *Kiblah*, therefore, meaning the south, the word *jauf* was employed to designate the north, or that part facing the south. But as the *kiblah* of Mohammedan temples, both in Spain and in Africa, was considerably inclined towards the south-east, in which sense the word *kiblah* is frequently used by Western geographers, so will the word *jauf* be also found occasionally used to designate the north-west. The Arabian geographers and historians of Spain are careful enough in making this distinction; they call Galicia, Asturias, and Biscay, اقطار الجوف *Akttáru-l-jauf* (the north-western districts), while they designate Aragon and Catalonia by بلاد الشمال *Beládu-sh-shamál* (the country of the north); and Al-bekrí, in his geographical description of Africa, often uses the word in such a way as not to leave any doubt as to its real meaning. The same might be said of Ibnu Khaldún (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9575, fo. 97, *et passim*).

[44] This dissipates all doubts concerning the etymology of the word 'Andalus,' by which all Mohammedan writers designate Spain. Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 327, *et seq.*) laboured hard to show that the word Andalus was of Arabic, not of Latin, origin, by pretending that it was derived from حندلس *Handalis*, a word meaning "a land of darkness,—*regio vespertina et tenebrosa atque Occidentis* "*finis*." But the nature even of the word ought to have shown the learned author that it was of foreign importation and not Arabic.

The Arabs, more than any other nation, corrupted proper names by accommodating them to the genius of their language; whenever a letter was of difficult pronunciation they suppressed it, especially if commencing the word. The V of *Vandalocii* was therefore omitted, as well as the last two letters, which made the word too long; they being averse to words of many syllables. I may allege, besides, as a proof that the word Andalus is only a corruption from *Vandalucia*, that it is not uncommon to find in Spanish MSS., even of the fifteenth century, the words *Vandalocia* and *Vandalicia* employed to designate that portion of Spain which was still in the hands of the Moors. Andrés Bernaldez, who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, and who wrote a chronicle of Ferdinand and Isabella, still inedited (Bib. Eg. in Brit. Mus., No. 306, fol. 784), says, "*Y el adelantado* "*de Vandalucia con gran caballeria salío á recibir à los Reyes à la peña de los enamorados*," (and the commander of the frontier troops of Vandalucia went out to meet the king and queen as far as the Lover's rock.)

I must observe that the word *Andalus* will always be used in this translation, *per synecdochen*, for the whole Peninsula, or at least for that part of it which obeyed the rule of Islám, whatever may be its dimensions.

[45] An account of this drought, which, according to Pedro de Medina (*Libro de las Grandezas de España*,

Sevilla, 1549, cap. vii.), is said to have taken place one thousand and seventy years before Christ, and to have entirely depopulated Spain, since those of its inhabitants who did not die under it fled for refuge across the Pyrenees, may be read at full length in the *Cronica de España por el Rey Don Alfonso*, as well as in the *Cronica General* by Florian de Ocampo, Medina del Campo, 1553, fol. lxxviii., whence it has been borrowed by Mariana Pellicer and other Spanish writers. It is unnecessary to add that this event, being unsupported by historical evidence of any sort, has been discarded by all critical writers.

46 اشبان بن طيطس It is evident that the author has here confounded Ishbán or Hispan with Vespasianus, and made him, besides, the son, instead of the father, of Titus.

47 ايلية or ايليا as may be read in the Kámús, by Fírúzabádí, was the name of Jerusalem among the ancient Arabs. It is a corruption of Ælia.

48 I find بريان *Berián* or *Burián* in all the copies, but what king is intended it is not easy to say. In the Chronicle of Spain written by Florian de Ocampo, (Medina del Campo, 1553, f. 114,) Bokht-Nasr (or Nebuchodonosor) is represented, not indeed as the friend, but as the sworn enemy, of Spain, which he invaded and wasted, owing to certain reinforcements which the Spaniards had sent to the people of Tyre when that city was besieged by him. In the long list of fabulous kings which disfigures the best-written histories of the Peninsula, there are two whose names might easily be transformed into بريان with the alteration of one point; one is called *Teron*, who is said to have expelled the Almajúzes from Spain; the other *Tarraco*, an Ethiopian warrior, who conquered Spain, and became also in time King of Egypt. (See Florian de Ocampo, *loco laudato*, fol. ci. *et seq.*) The word Majús (from μάγος) means a fire-worshipper and an idolater. It was in time applied by the Arabs to all northern nations. The people here mentioned appear to be the same whom the *Cronica de Alfonso el Sabio*, fol. x., and the *Cron. Gen.* pp. 78, 80, *et pass.*, call *Almajuzes*, *Almozudes*, and *Almonides*.

49 كتاب المقتبس *Kitábu-l-muktabis*, 'the book of the seeker of information' or 'the book of the fire-striking steel,'—for the word *Al-muktabis* is susceptible of both meanings,—is the title of one of the historical works written by Ibnu Hayyán, which is said to have been composed of ten volumes. See a preceding note (No. 3, p. 310).

50 *Al-khadher* or *Al-khidhr* is a prophet whom some authors identify with Elias, while others suppose him to be the same as St. George. He is reported to have drunk of the fountain of life, and to have thereby become immortal. The Arabs think that he is still living, and that he will live until the day of judgment. According to others, Al-khidhr was a holy man who held the office of Wizír to Ishkander Dhú-l-karneyn. There is in the Library of the British Museum (No. 7366) a history of Alexander and his Wizír Al-khidhr, written by Ibráhím Ibn Mufarraj As-súrí (of Tyre).

It is singular enough that a legend similar to that here related should have been preserved in some of the ancient Spanish Chronicles,—not, indeed, as applied to a fabulous monarch, as Ishbán or Hispan undoubtedly was, but to one of the last Gothic kings. It is said in the *Cronica General*, fol. lxvii., that after the death of Receswind, St. Leo, in compliance with the earnest wishes of the Goths, prayed that they might be divinely directed in the choice of a sovereign, which they were about to make, and that the Saint, being inspired by heaven, advised them to look in the West for a labourer named

Wamba. Soldiers were accordingly dispatched in search of the man described, whom they found on the confines of Portugal, busily employed in ploughing his field, and acquainted him with his elevation. Considering their message as a studied joke, Wamba answered ironically that he would accept the crown when the pole which he held in his hand should again flourish. To the astonishment of all present, the reply was scarcely returned when the dry wood was covered with verdure!

A story similar to this in every point is related of one of the sovereigns of Bohemia.

51 I confess that I was greatly puzzled when I first met with this word, sometimes written بشطلقات at others بشطولقات intended to designate a nation that had conquered Spain. Had I had but one copy of the MS., I should certainly have given up all idea of finding a sense; but, as all the copies I consulted presented invariably the same reading, I was led to examine the matter more carefully, and to punctuate the above words in a variety of ways, so as to form a combination which might satisfy myself. In so doing I came to read بِشْطِلْقَات *Bishtilkát* or بِشْطُولْقَات *Bishtólkát*, by which the Vistrogoths or Visigoths are no doubt intended; the change of *r* into *l*, and *vice versâ*, being frequent in words corrupted by the Arabs.

52 طُلُبُش بن بيطة Talubush Ben Beytah, in A. My MS. reads طلوبش *Talúbush;* the epitome طلويس *Talúis.* The author means undoubtedly Ataulphus, brother-in-law of Alaric, King of the Visigoths, who in four hundred and fourteen entered Spain, and subdued it; but how can his expressions be reconciled with the words lower down, stating that this happened about the time of the resurrection of the Messiah? وذلك زمن بعث المسيح بن مريام

53 I read in all the MSS. خشندنس except in mine, which has خشندس *Khashendus.* I have had no difficulty in adopting the former reading, *Khoshandinus* (Constantinus), although the greater number of Arab historians write the name of that emperor thus, قسنطين *Kosantín.*

54 I find in A. اتاناوبنوس *Atánáubinús;* my copy has اتاناوينوس *Atánáuinús;* another MS. reads اتنوينش *Atanuínush.* It is by no means easy to determine who the king here mentioned is. It cannot be Athanagild, for he was not the first, but the fourth, monarch of Visigothic race who reigned in Spain. On the other hand, the author can hardly mean Athaulphus, who was the first, for I defy the most expert etymologist to show a combination by which that word could pass into Atánáuinús; besides, only a few lines higher he is called Talubush. The series of Gothic kings is said in one place to have been twenty-seven, in another thirty-six, and further down fifty-five, no doubt comprising the Suevic and Vandalic monarchs. Contradictions similar to these abound throughout this work, owing to the circumstances I have explained in the Preface. They are still more glaring when relating to the ancient history of the Peninsula, a subject with which the Arabs must necessarily have been but slightly acquainted.

However, Ibnu Hayyán's account is not far from truth,—Ataulphus was elected king in four hundred and eleven; he entered Spain in four hundred and fourteen; the number of Gothic kings was thirty-six, including Theodomir and Athanagild, and the duration of their empire three hundred and forty-two years likewise. One circumstance, however, is worthy of remark in the narrative of this historian,

namely, that he gives the right number of kings, although it is evident that he does not include in it either Theodomir or Athanagild, since he says that Roderic was the last monarch of his race.

[55] A. فليس القيصري *Filis*, Cæsar—my copy reads قلبس *Kalbus*, by the transposition of a point. I have printed *Filibus*, as in the epitome; but perhaps I am wrong, as it is difficult to guess in these matters. It is likely, however, that the author meant neither the one nor the other, but Claudius Constantinus, who was proclaimed emperor in A.D. four hundred and seven, and held part of the Roman empire conjointly with Honorius, under whose reign Ataulphus crossed the Pyrenees and established himself in Spain, in four hundred and twelve. But Claudius having been beheaded in four hundred and eleven, the duration of his reign was only four years; and therefore this event could not have taken place in the fifth year of his empire. Besides, the author, who has evidently mistaken here the era of Cæsar for that of Christ, ought to have said four hundred and forty-five of the era of Safar.

[56] The word صفر *Safar*, which in Arabic means bronze, or copper, (whence the Spanish word *Azofar*,) seems to be the translation of the Latin *Æra*. There has been much dispute about the origin and meaning of the word *Æra* or *Era*. St. Isidore, in his *Origines*, thinks that it arose from a certain tribute imposed by Augustus, and which was called *Æra*, that is, 'copper money;' Sepulveda is of opinion that the word Æra is a corruption of *Annus erat Augusti*; Resende that it came from *Ab exordio regni Augusti*, the initial letters of which compose the word *Æra*; Morales, Covarrubias, and Gibbon, follow a similar opinion; but the former is undoubtedly the true one. How singular that we should have to learn from the Arabs the meaning and the etymology of a Latin word!

However, the *Æra* is a date peculiar to Spain; it began thirty-eight years before the birth of Christ, under the empire of Octavius, and from it the Spanish writers computed until the middle of the fourteenth century, when it was superseded by the Christian.

[57] Roderic, or rather *Ludherik*, as the Arabs have it, by the change which occurs frequently of *R* into *L*, ascended the throne in A.D. seven hundred and nine; the battle of Guadalete, in which he is supposed to have lost his life, was fought in seven hundred and eleven. If we add the thirty-eight years of the era of Cæsar, this makes exactly the date here given by the author.

[58] I have looked in vain, in the portion of Ibnu Khaldún's work which is preserved in the Library of the British Museum, No. 9575, for the passage here alluded to by the author. It is an important one, as there is nothing in it which is not to be perfectly reconciled with true history.

[59] The Gothic monarchs had no fixed place of residence; some residing in Toledo, others in Merida, Barcelona, Cordova, &c.,—some even, like Liuva I., in five hundred and sixty-seven, having fixed their court at Narbonne, the capital of Septimania.

[60] The same mistake was committed by Ibnu Hayyán, Ibnu Bashkúwál, and other Spanish historians, who, thinking Roderic to be the title of the Gothic sovereigns, not the name of one of them, often designate by that name all the kings of Asturias. As to جرجيز Jerjíz, it seems to be a corruption for Georgius, who might, for aught I know, have been the Greek governor of Sicily at the time of its conquest by the Arabs; but I think it more probable that it is meant for جرجير *Jeregori* or Gregorius, a Greek, who, according to Ibnu Khaldún (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9575, fol. 48), governed the Greek

possessions in Africa at the time of the invasion of that country by the Arabs, and held his court at سبيطلة Subeytalah. An account of the defeat and death of Gregorius, by Abdullah Ibn Sa'd, the Mohammedan governor of Eastern Africa, will be found in the Appendix B., No. II., as translated from Ibnu Khaldún's history of Africa. See also Retrospect of Mohammedan History, by Major David Price, vol. i. p. 157, and Isidori Pacensis Chronicon, *apud* Florez, *Esp. Sag.* vol. viii., under Æra DCXC. As Sicily was a dependency of Africa, Gregorius is probably meant.

[61] The Mohammedans believe that there are seven worlds, as well as seven heavens, and that the world we inhabit occupies the top, so that by digging deeply one may discover the crests of the mountains of that which is underneath us.

[62] The word I have translated by wharf is رصيف *rassíf,* which means a paved road, a mole built of masonry, and corresponds exactly in all its meanings with the Spanish *arrecife,* derived from it. It is generally used by the Eastern Arabs to designate a Roman causeway. See Lord Lindsay's Letters on Egypt.

[63] By the two islands the author no doubt intends Algesiras and Tarifa, which were thus called by the Arabs, owing either to one small island, which each of those cities has at the entrance of its port, or to their peninsular shape, for the Arabs made no distinction between an island and a peninsula. The same expression is used by Idrísí. See the translation by Jaubert, vol. i. p. 5.

[64] All this account of Alexander's visit to Spain, and the works he raised there, is to be met with in almost every Arabian geographer who lived after Idrísí; but, as far as I am aware, in none who preceded him. Neither Ibn Khordádbah, (Bodl. Lib., No. 963,) nor Ibn Haukal, (*ibid.*, No. 993,) nor Al-beládhorí, (Brit. Mus., No. 7496,) nor the famous historian Mes'údí, who collected with the greatest care all the popular traditions current among the inhabitants of the subdued nations, mentions a word of it. I am inclined to believe that this fable, like many others of the same stamp, had its origin among the Christian inhabitants of Spain, for in the history which Alfonso *el Sabio* ordered to be compiled in the thirteenth century, and which was printed for the first time at Zamora in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-one, as well as in the *Cronica General de España*, by Florian de Ocampo, (*Medina del Campo*, 1553, vol. i. p. 191,) it is said that the Spaniards sent an embassy to Alexander, offering him the sovereignty of the land, and begging him to deliver them from the attacks of the Africans. See also Mariana, *Hist. Gen.* book i. chap. v., and Morales, both of whom borrowed it from Paulus Orosius.

CHAPTER II.

[1] It is evident that Al-makkarí borrowed this account from a writer later than the fifth century of the Hijra; since up to that period no division like that described by the author could possibly have taken place.

[2] الجسر Jesr and not *jezr*, as printed by mistake, means bridge. It is a synonyme for القنطر *al-kanttar*, whence the Spanish word *alcantarilla* is derived. De Sacy (*Chrest. Arab.* vol. i. p. 69) thought that the word *jesr* meant a wooden bridge, and *al-kanttar* a stone one, but this is contradicted by

a passage of Ibn Sáhebi-s-salát, the author of a history of the Almoravides (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib. *Marsh.* 433), where the author, speaking of the bridge of boats thrown across the Guadalquivir at Seville, makes use of the word *al-kanttar;* besides, the word *jesr* could not mean in this case a wooden bridge, since that alluded to is a stone one.

[3] This governor was, according to some, As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khaulání, who ruled Spain in the Khalif's name from A.H. one hundred to one hundred and two. Others pretend that the bridge was not built until the days of his successor, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí, but of this more will be said in the course of this work.

The verses translated read as follow :—

باربع فاقت الامصار قرطبة ∴ منهن قنطرة الوادي وجامعها
هاتان ثنتان و الزهراء ثالثة ∴ و العلم اعظم شي و هو رابعها

[4] Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, surnamed Abú Yúsuf, the third Sultán of the dynasty of the Almohades, who reigned from A. H. five hundred and eighty to five hundred and ninety-five (A. D. 1184-99) over Spain and Africa. He was the son of Yúsuf Abú Ya'kúb, son of 'Abdu-l-múmen, the founder of the dynasty.

[5] There may be in the three words here mentioned more meaning than I am able to discover; شمام *Shammám,* from *shamma,* to smell, means any thing fragrant, and a species of small odoriferous melon; قمام *Kommám,* from *kamma,* to sweep, to gather, means things gathered or plucked with the hand, such as fruits, flowers, &c.; and مدام *Modám,* from *dáma,* to last, means a thing which is everlasting, and wine. Taking the first for the smell, the second for the food, and the third for the drink, the author's idea is easily understood.

[6] Abú 'Omrán Músa Ibn Sa'íd Al-'ansí was the father of Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Sa'íd, the author of the *Kitábu-l-mugh'rib* (see note 1, p. 309), from which frequent quotations will be introduced in the course of this work. He was governor of Seville and of the province of Algesiras on different occasions. He left Spain for the East, where he died at Alexandria in six hundred and forty of the Hijra (A. D. 1242). The word 'Omrán might be pronounced also 'Amrán, but being, like most of the proper names in the present work, devoid of vowels, I cannot determine its true reading.

[7] The entire name and surnames of this historian are Abú-l-kásim Khalf Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Mes'úd Ibn Músa Ibn Bashkúwál Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Dáhilah (or Dáhah) Al-anssárí. He was born A. H. four hundred and ninety-four (A. D. 1101), at Cordova, where he died in five hundred and seventy-eight (A. D. 1183). His life, together with a list of his writings, may be read in Ibn Khallekán (see *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 216). See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 140, 167, *et passim,* and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. Prol. *et passim.* He wrote, among other things, an historical dictionary, or biography of illustrious men, entitled *As-silah,* from which Conde and Casiri made considerable extracts. Ibnu Bashkúwál is rightly considered one of the best historians of Mohammedan Spain. His information, especially that relating to his own times, is full, and generally correct; he does not display much criticism, but this is a quality with which few, if any, among the Arabian writers, are endowed. One volume of his work is in the Esc. Lib., No. 1672.

[8] Abú Bekr Ibn سعادة Sa'ádeh was a theologian and poet, who flourished in the fifth century of the Hijra. He was a native of Granada, where, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, he gave lessons on the various modes of reading the Korán.

As to Abú Bekr Al-makhzúmí, I find no mention of him in Casiri, but he is mentioned, although incidentally, in my MS. of Ibnu-l-khattíb. He was blind from his birth, notwithstanding which he was deeply versed in all branches of literature, and considered a very ingenious poet. He died after five hundred and forty of the Hijra. Ibnu-l-khattíb does not give all his names and surnames, but I think they were—Abú Bekr Ahmed Ibn Sufyán Al-makhzúmí Al-kortobí.

The verses are as follow:

اقرطبة العزآء هل لي اوبة ∴ اليك و هل يدنوا لنا ذلك العهد
سقي الجانب الغربي منك غمامة ∴ وقعقع في ساحات دوحتك الرعد
لياليك اشجار وارضك روضة ∴ وتربك في استشاقها عنبر ورد

[9] The following account of Ash-shakandí is given by Al-makkarí in the fifth book of the present work. "Abú-l-walíd Isma'íl Ibn Mohammed was a native of شقندة Shakandah, a town close to Cordova, on "the southern bank of the Guadalquivir, and which in after times formed part of the capital, with "which it was connected by the continuance of the buildings along the river."

"Ash-shakandí," says Ibnu Sa'íd, "lived in great intimacy with my father. He wrote a *risáleh* on "the excellence of his native country, in opposition to one which Abú Yahya composed in praise of "Africa. He was learned in all branches of science, and especially in historical traditions and anecdotes "of authors and poets, which he collected with uncommon avidity wherever he went. He was highly "distinguished by the Sultán Ya'kúb Ibn Yúsuf Al-mansúr, who gave him a seat in his *mejles* (or "sitting-room), and appointed him to the charge of Kádí at Baeza, and then at Lorca. Ash-shakandí led "an exemplary life, and died, universally regretted, in A. H. six hundred and twenty-nine." (A. D. 1231-2.)

This epistle of Ash-shakandí occurs twice in some manuscripts of Al-makkarí which I have consulted. It is to be found, somewhat abridged, in the first book, containing the topographical description of Spain, and placed under the heads of the cities and towns which the author there describes; and it is also to be found entire in the seventh book, treating on the brilliant qualities, extent of genius, and literary accomplishments, of the Andalusians. (See fo. 225, *verso*, and following in 7334, fo. 69, and following in 9592, and 147, *verso*, in 9591.) In collating the various extracts introduced by the author in the first book, as making part of Ash-shakandí's *risáleh*, with the treatise in its entire state in the seventh, I found that all the historical and geographical information which the said production contains had been embodied by Al-makkarí in that part of his work of which the present is a translation. This makes it unnecessary for me to translate the whole *risáleh*, which,—besides being very long, and being strewn with difficulties of no ordinary nature,—contains, as is the custom among Arabian writers, many poetical extracts and much uninteresting detail, which would annoy rather than instruct those who look for information respecting the history of Mohammedan Spain.

I ought to add that Al-makkarí (Part I. Book vi. fo. 99) quotes a biographical work by Ash-shakandí, entitled كتاب الطرف (*the book of the extremities?*), of which I find no mention whatever in Hájí Khalfah.

[10] اذا من راي و من سمع لا يجوز عنده ذلك after which B. adds ولا يضله من تاه في تلك المسالك 'and since those who lose their way in those (perilous) tracts cannot well be charged with error' (owing to the difficulty of the subject they treated).

11 يوم علينا و يوم لنا ∴ و يوم نسآء و يوم نسر

At the time when Ash-shakandí wrote his *risáleh,* the whole of Africa and Spain obeyed the rule of Ya'kúb Ibn Yúsuf, the third Sultán of the dynasty of the Almohades, who held his court at Morocco.

12 و اني من قوم كرام أعزة ∴ لاقدامهم صيغت رءوس المنابر
خلايف في الاسلام في الشرك قادة ∴ بهم و اليهم فخر كل مفاخر

The first hemistich of the second verse might also be translated 'Khalifs in the times of Islám; chiefs in the times of idolatry;' since the family of Umeyyah enjoyed considerable power before the times of Mohammed. But I prefer the sense as given in the text, inasmuch as had the poet intended it he might have used, without destroying the measure, the word جهل by which the state of idolatry in which the Arabs lived before Mohammed is generally expressed. Instead of صيغت one of the MS. reads ضيقت.

13 السنا بني مروان كيف تبدلت ∴ بنا الحال او دارت علينا الدواير
اذا ولد المولود منهم تهللت ∴ له الارض و اهتازت اليه المنابر

14 وسار مسير الشمس في كل بلدة ∴ وهب هبوب الريح في البر والبحر

15 ان الخلافة فيكم لم يزل نسقاً ∴ كالعقد منظومة فيه فرايده

16 جبال في الارض كانوا في الحياة وهم ∴ بعد الممات جمال الكتب والسير

17 و انما المرء حديث بعده ∴ فكن حديثا حسنا لمن وعي

18 The Arabs call that part of the ocean which washes the north-western coast of Spain *Bahru-l-akhdhar* (green sea). Ibnu Khaldún, in his history of the Berbers, (No. 9575 in the Brit. Mus., fol. 43, *verso,*) says that the *Bahru-l-muhít* (ocean) was called also *Bahru-l-akhdhar,* (i. e. green sea,) owing to the colour of its waters, and *Bahru-dh-dholamát* (the sea of darkness), because of its watering regions where days were very short.

19 اثاره تنبيك عن اوصافه ∴ حتي كانك بالعيان تراه
تالله لا ياتي الزمان بمثله ∴ ابداً و لا يحمي الثغور سواه

This epitaph has been admirably translated into Spanish verse by the late distinguished poet, Don Leandro

Fernandez de Moratin, who wrote it by desire of Conde. It is inserted in the first vol. of Conde's *Hist. de la Dom.* p. 548.

20 The Arabian writers call them *molúku-t-tawáyif*, kings of parties or bands of men, from *táyifah* (in Spanish *taifa*), which means a body or party of men.

The same denomination is applied by the Persians to the successors of Alexander, and in this sense the comparison is correct; for after the death of Al-mansúr, the greatest conqueror that the Moslems of Spain ever had, the governors of the provinces, and the generals of the army, like those of Alexander, shared among them his vast dominions.

21 I omit giving here an account of all these petty dynasties, which will be more fully described in a succeeding portion of this work.

22 البراض *Al-barrádh.* According to the *Nozhatu-l-albáb* (Arab. MS. on Genealogy in the Brit. Mus., No. 7351, fo. 9), Al-barrádh is the surname of two Arabs who lived before Mohammed: one called Al-hareth Ibn Dáús Al-ayádí, the other Rafi' Ibn Kays Ibn Rafi'. But in consulting the *Thamaru-l-kolúb*, by Ath-tha'álebí (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9598, fo. 21), I find not only the right name of this individual, (which is there written Al-barrádh, with a *teshdid* upon the *ra*,) but likewise a curious account of the origin of the expression elegantly used by Ash-shakandí. I here translate the passage: فتكة البرّاض *Fatakatu-l-barrádh* (an attack like that of Al-barrádh). The origin of this proverbial expression is as follows: "Al-barrádh, son of Kays Al-kenání, (of the tribe of Kenánah,) "was one of the Arabian warriors whose prowess and courage have become proverbial; such as "Al-háreth Ibn ظالم Dhálim, 'Amrú Ibn كلشوم Kolshúm, Al-hojáf Ibn Hakím, &c. One of the "greatest exploits recounted of this Al-barrádh is the following:—He was a man very unsettled in "his habits, and extremely fond of adventure: having at various times committed infractions against "the laws of his tribe, they decided to get rid of him, and he was accordingly cast away and deprived "of all his rights as an individual of it. After this Al-barrádh went to Mekka, and placed himself "under the protection of Harb Ibn Umeyyah, to whom he swore fidelity; but after staying for some "time at Mekka, he became tired of his new residence, so that, leaving Hejjáz, he travelled to 'Irák, "and arrived at the court of An-no'mán, son of Al-mundhir, where he fixed his residence.

"It was the custom of An-no'mán to send every year to the fair of 'Okádh some loads of drugs and "silken stuffs, to be sold there on his account. When the time for the expedition arrived, as An-no'mán "was one day sitting in his council hall, thinking whom he would send forward with his goods, his eyes "chanced to rest upon Al-barrádh and another man called 'Orwah Ibn Ghanímah Ar-rahhál, who "happened to be present at the time. 'To whom,' said An-no'mán, 'shall I intrust my merchandize "this year, that he may take it to 'Okádh and dispose of it at the fair?' and Al-barrádh replied, 'May "thy words be blessed! I am the proper man to take thy goods to the tribe of Kenánah, for I am "authorized by them to that effect.' 'Yes,' replied An-no'mán, 'but what I want is a person who can "take them not only to Hírah of Kenánah, but to Hírah of Kays also.' Hearing which, 'Orwah Ar-"rahhál rose and said, 'May thy words be blessed! How dares this vagabond, this outcast from his "tribe, offer himself to convey the king's merchandize? I am the fit man, since I am authorized to sell "goods among the inhabitants of شيح Sheih and قيصوم Kayssúm from Nejd and Tehámeh.' 'Thine are "the goods,' exclaimed An-no'mán. Upon which 'Orwah took them and departed for the fair. But

" Al-barrádh followed his steps, until they came to a spot where he knew he was under the wings (pro-
" tection) of his tribe, when he lay in ambush, and, rushing upon him with his sword, killed him with one
" blow in the midst of his followers. This attack of Al-barrádh passed afterwards into a proverb.

" The poet Abú Temám has said

والفتي من تعرّفنه الليالي ∴ و الفيافي كالحيّة النضاض
كل يوم له بصرف اليالي ∴ فتكة مثل فتكة البرّاض

' This is the youth whom nights know well; as likewise the deserts, as dangerous as the deadly ' snakes :

' For every day, on the return of night, he has to withstand an attack as formidable as those of ' Al-barrádh.'

" They say that the memorable attacks فتكات of the times before Mohammed were three in number; " those posterior to Islám two. The former are:—1st. The attack made by Al-barrádh upon 'Orwah, " which we have just recounted. 2nd. The attack of Al-háreth Ibn Dhálim, who not only killed his " adversary, Khâled Ibn Ja'far Keláb, in the presence of and quite close to the Sultán Al-aswad, son of " Al-mundhir, but afterwards escaped the vengeance of that monarch. 3rd. The attack of Amrú Ibn " كلثم Kolthúm upon 'Amru Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, whom he killed in the capital of his states, between " Hírah and Forat (the Euphrates), and after dispersing his horsemen, and seizing upon his camels and " treasures, returned to Syria laden with plunder, having achieved the adventure alone, and without the " assistance of his friends, from whom he concealed his intentions.

" These are the three famous attacks made before the times of Islám; those made afterwards are:—1st. " That of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán on 'Amrú Ibn Sa'íd Ibni-l-'áss, upon which there is that verse " which says—

كانّ بني مروان ان يقتلونه ∴ بغاث من الطير اجتمعن علي صقر [g]

" ' Certainly when the Bení Merwán killed him, it was like the assembling of the *bogháth* against the " *sakr*.' 2nd. The attack of Al-mansúr on Abú Moslem. 3rd. The attack of Al-mansúr upon Abí " Moslemah."

The volume from which the preceding extract has been made being hitherto unknown, I shall perhaps be excused if I here give a slight description of it. It is a good-sized folio volume, containing two hundred and sixty closely-written pages, in a handsome Eastern hand. The copy was executed by Ibráhím Al-khalútí, and finished in the month of Jumádí II., A.H. one thousand one hundred and fourteen, corresponding to December, A.D. 1731. The title of the work is ثمار القلوب في المضاف [h] والمنسوب *Thamaru-l-kolúb fí-l-mudhaf wa-l-mansúb*, or the 'fruits of the heart on the attributive and the relative;' and it contains, as the author himself states in his preface, an explanation of such proverbial

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[g] بغاث *bogháth* and صقر *sakr* are two species of falcons; with this difference, that the former is not used in hunting, owing to its slow flight and its bad qualities, whilst the latter is most esteemed.

[h] According to the grammatical system of the Arabs المضاف *al-mudhaf* means properly the first term of a proposition, *mansúb* is the complement of the same proposition; for instance, *Ghoráb Núh* (the crow of Noah); Ghoráb is the *mudháf*, *Núh* the *mansúb*.

expressions as occur in the writings of orators and poets, such as Noah's crow, Abraham's fire, Yosef's wolf, Moses' rod, Solomon's seal, the cloak of the prophet Mohammed, the promises of 'Arkúb, the reward of Shamán, the palaces of Kosroes, the throwing of Bahrám, the excellence of 'Alí, the mildness of Al-ahnaf, the abstinence of Al-hasan, &c. It is divided into sixty-one chapters, under each of which the proverbial expressions are arranged alphabetically, and according to the class to which they belong :—for instance, Chap. I. contains all those substantive nouns which are used in connexion with the name of God. Chap. II. Those referring to the Prophets. Chap. III. The angels, jinn, devils, &c. Chap. IV. The first centuries of the world after its creation. Chap. V. The Companions and Followers of the Prophet, &c. It may easily be imagined what assistance a work like this may afford to the scholar who has to read without commentaries the works of Arabian orators and poets. I have often had recourse to it in this translation, and have always met with a solution of the difficulties, otherwise insurmountable, with which the present epistle and many other rhetorical pieces in this volume are filled.

The Library of the Brit. Mus. possesses another very useful volume, the composition of the same author. It is a small quarto, written in rather a good hand; were it not that the character, which is slightly approaching to *ta'lik*, and the almost general want of diacritical points, render its reading extremely difficult. Otherwise it is correct, and may be about two hundred years old. The title is نوادر الحكم و جوامع الكلم *Nawádiru-l-hikam wa jawámi'u-l-kalam*, (the memorable sayings of the wise and the collections of speech;) it is, as the title sufficiently implies, a collection of apophthegms arranged under four heads:—namely, I. The memorable sayings of Prophets: II. Those of Khalifs and Kings: III. Those of Wizírs and Secretaries: IV. Those of Philosophers, Theologians, Judges, and learned men.

The author of both these works, and of many more equally useful and precious, is Abú-l-mansúr 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl Ath-tha'álebí An-nísabúrí, who, according to Ibn Khallekán, who has given his life (No. 391, *Tyd. Ind.*), was born in three hundred and fifty of the Hijra (A.D. 961-2), and died in four hundred and twenty-nine (A.D. 1037-8).

[23] Abú Ghálib, the rhetorician. Ibn Khallekán (No. 123 in *Tyd. Ind.*) has given the life of this individual, who was a native of Cordova, and whose entire name was Abú Ghálib Temám Ibn Ghálib Ibn 'Omar. He died in Almeria, in A.H. four hundred and thirty-six (A.D. 1044). He has also mentioned the anecdote here related, and says that the work which Abú Ghálib was thus requested to dedicate to Mujáhid was entitled تلقيح العين *Talkíhu-l-'ayn*, and treated of rhetoric. See a preceding note, p. 310, *note* 2.

[24] ان يجعل الكتاب باسمه says one of the copies; literally, 'that he should put the work in his name,' that he should dedicate it to him, or say that it was written at his desire.

[25] The Bení Hamdán were a powerful family of Arabs, the descendants from Hamdán Ibn Tha'leb. They became, in the fourth century of the Hijra, the masters of great part of Syria and Mesopotamia. Seyfu-d-daulah, one of these princes, who held his court at Aleppo, was a very good poet, and a liberal patron of literature. See D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Hamadan*; De Sacy, *Chrest. Ar.* vol. ii. pp. 104, 119, 144, *et passim*; Al-makín, *apud* Erpen. pp. 223, 225, *et passim*; and Freytag's *Regnum Saaduldaulæ in oppido Halebo*, Bonn, 1820.

The allusion which occurs a few lines higher as applied to the Bení 'Abbád, namely, "in them reside "fruit, palm, and pomegranate," is taken from the fifty-fifth chapter of the Korán, called *Ar-rahmah*,

eleven verses from the end, where it says فيهما فاكهة و نخل و رمن "in both (gardens) are fruits, and "palm, and pomegranate."

26 The name of this *Hájib* (or prime minister) is differently written in the various copies. A. has سقهوت B. سقوت The word is a Berber one, like Tálút, Tomrúrt, Lafút, and others. I find in Ibnu Khaldún (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9575, fo. 83), an account of this individual, whose real name was سكوت Sakút. When young he had been taken in war by the *Baragh'wáttah,* and sold to a man of the name of Haddád, who sold him to 'Alí Ibn Hamúd, Sultán of Cordova. On the death of his master Sakút was liberated, but continued to serve faithfully his son Yahya, and to share the fate of the other princes of the Bení Hamúd, distinguishing himself in their wars with the Andalusians and Africans. In four hundred and fifty-five, when the Almoravides began to spread their conquests over Africa, Sakút was governor of Ceuta and Tangiers under Hasan Ibn Yahya Ibn Hamúd, King of Malaga; he valiantly defended the territories intrusted to his care, until he was at last killed in battle by the troops of Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín in four hundred and seventy-one. Sakút left a son called Dhiyáu-d-dín, who succeeded him in his government.

27 This Sáleh was the son of Taríf, founder of the dynasty and religious sect of the Baragh'wáttah, who reigned about Támesná, and the coast of the ocean along Salé, Azamór, &c., from the beginning of the second to the middle of the fourth century of the Hijra. See Al-bekrí, (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9577, fo. 90,) and the French extracts by Quatremère in the *Not. et Ex.* vol. xii. p. 582, *et seq.* Ibnu Khaldún, who transcribes almost literally the narrative of Al-bekrí, adds many interesting details, and corrects besides many mistakes into which that author fell. Among other things he says as follows:—"Several authors have made great mistakes while treating on the origin of the "بَرْغَوَاطَة Baragh'wáttah, some counting them among the Zenátah, while others pretend that they draw "their genealogy from Sáleh, son of Taríf, a Jew, who was the son of Simeon, son of Ya'kúb. This "Taríf, they say, was born and educated at بَرْبَاط Barbátt; he travelled to the East, where he took "lessons from 'Abdullah, the Mota'zelite, and learnt magic and other sciences; after which he came to "Maghreb, and settled at Támesná, where he found some Berber tribes in a state of ignorance. These "he taught the principles of abstinence, and succeeded in enchanting by the charms of his speech, until "they flocked to him from all parts, and became his followers. He then assumed the title of Prophet. "The same authors add that this Taríf was called Barbáttí, from the place of his birth, viz. Barbátt, a "river in the plain of شريش Xerez, a city of Andalus; and that this patronymic Barbáttí, having been "accommodated to the genius of the Arabic language, was changed into Baragh'wáttí. Such is at least "the explanation given of this word by the author of the *Nadhamu-l-jauhar* (the string of jewels), and "other writers on the history and genealogy of the Berber tribes, such as Al-bekrí and others. But all "this is a manifest error, since it is well known that the Baragh'wáttah did not belong to the tribe of "Zenátah, but are a tribe of themselves, having a well-known residence in the neighbourhood of their "brethren, the Masmúdah, among whom Sáleh Ibn Taríf is well known."

I ought to observe that the name of this tribe has been written *Barghawatah* by Quatremère, and *Barguati* by Gråberg, but there can be no doubt that its real spelling is that given by Ibnu Khaldún, since not only the copy of Al-bekrí is preserved in the Lib. of the Brit. Mus., No. 9577, but the history of Morocco, attributed to Ibn Battúttah (Ar. MS. in my possession), and the *Kartás,* present the same reading.

eleven verses from the end, where it says فيهما فاكهة و نخل و رمن " in both (gardens) are fruits, and " palm, and pomegranate."

[26] The name of this *Hájib* (or prime minister) is differently written in the various copies. A. has سقهوت B. سقوت The word is a Berber one, like Tálút, Tomrúrt, Lafút, and others. I find in Ibnu Khaldún (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9575, fo. 83), an account of this individual, whose real name was سكوت Sakút. When young he had been taken in war by the *Baragh'wáttah*, and sold to a man of the name of Haddád, who sold him to 'Alí Ibn Hamúd, Sultán of Cordova. On the death of his master Sakút was liberated, but continued to serve faithfully his son Yahya, and to share the fate of the other princes of the Bení Hamúd, distinguishing himself in their wars with the Andalusians and Africans. In four hundred and fifty-five, when the Almoravides began to spread their conquests over Africa, Sakút was governor of Ceuta and Tangiers under Hasan Ibn Yahya Ibn Hamúd, King of Malaga; he valiantly defended the territories intrusted to his care, until he was at last killed in battle by the troops of Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín in four hundred and seventy-one. Sakút left a son called Dhiyáu-d-dín, who succeeded him in his government.

[27] This Sáleh was the son of Taríf, founder of the dynasty and religious sect of the Baragh'wáttah, who reigned about Támesná, and the coast of the ocean along Salé, Azamór, &c., from the beginning of the second to the middle of the fourth century of the Hijra. See Al-bekrí, (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9577, fo. 90,) and the French extracts by Quatremère in the *Not. et Ex.* vol. xii. p. 582, *et seq.* Ibnu Khaldún, who transcribes almost literally the narrative of Al-bekrí, adds many interesting details, and corrects besides many mistakes into which that author fell. Among other things he says as follows:—" Several authors have made great mistakes while treating on the origin of the " برغواطة Baragh'wáttah, some counting them among the Zenátah, while others pretend that they draw " their genealogy from Sáleh, son of Taríf, a Jew, who was the son of Simeon, son of Ya'kúb. This " Taríf, they say, was born and educated at بربّاط Barbátt; he travelled to the East, where he took " lessons from 'Abdullah, the Mota'zelite, and learnt magic and other sciences; after which he came to " Maghreb, and settled at Támesná, where he found some Berber tribes in a state of ignorance. These " he taught the principles of abstinence, and succeeded in enchanting by the charms of his speech, until " they flocked to him from all parts, and became his followers. He then assumed the title of Prophet. " The same authors add that this Taríf was called Barbáttí, from the place of his birth, viz. Barbátt, a " river in the plain of شريش Xerez, a city of Andalus; and that this patronymic Barbáttí, having been " accommodated to the genius of the Arabic language, was changed into Baragh'wáttí. Such is at least " the explanation given of this word by the author of the *Nadhamu-l-jauhar* (the string of jewels), and " other writers on the history and genealogy of the Berber tribes, such as Al-bekrí and others. But all " this is a manifest error, since it is well known that the Baragh'wáttah did not belong to the tribe of " Zenátah, but are a tribe of themselves, having a well-known residence in the neighbourhood of their " brethren, the Masmúdah, among whom Sáleh Ibn Taríf is well known."

I ought to observe that the name of this tribe has been written *Barghawatah* by Quatremère, and *Barguati* by Gråberg, but there can be no doubt that its real spelling is that given by Ibnu Khaldún, since not only the copy of Al-bekrí is preserved in the Lib. of the Brit. Mus., No. 9577, but the history of Morocco, attributed to Ibn Battúttah (Ar. MS. in my possession), and the *Kartás*, present the same reading.

The author of the latter work (*Al-karttás*) describes these people in nearly the same words as Al-bekrí and Ibnu Khaldún; but Moura, the translator, has *Barnata* and *Barnati* instead of *Barbat* and *Barbatí*, p. 139.

28 بنتم و بنا فما ابتلت جوانحنا ∴ شوقاً اليكم و لاجفت ماء قيّنا
حالت لفقدكم ايامنا فغدت ∴ سواداً و كانت بكم بيضًا ليالينا

29 Al-'abbás Ibnu-l-akháf الاخاف instead of which my MS. reads الاخف *Al-akh'af*. But I think neither reading is correct, and that *Ahnaf* ought to be substituted. *Ahnaf* means he who is bow-legged, and is applied to several Arabs who preceded Mohammed. As-sam'ání (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7352, fo. 19) speaks of a poet who flourished before the time of Mohammed, and whose name was Al-'abbás Ibnu-l-ahnaf. Al-júzí, in his *Kitábu-n-nikáb 'ani-l-asmá wa-l-alkáb* (a treatise on Arabic names and surnames, in Dr. Lee's collection), says that Ahnaf was the surname of Adh-dhahhák, son of Kays, and that it was also that of 'Okayl Ibn Mohammed. See also Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 463.

By having recourse, however, to Ath-tha'álebí (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9558, fo. 17, *verso*), I find not only the names and surnames of this individual, but also the meaning of the proverbial expression here introduced. " Ahnaf, son of Kays, a king of certain districts of Arabia in " the times preceding Islám, was greatly renowned for his amiable disposition, forbearance, and " tenderness of soul. The following expression حلم الاحنف (the meekness of Al-ahnaf) is much " used by poets. Al-jáhedh says it is customary among Arabian poets to speak about حلم لقمان " the tenderness of soul of Lokmán, or that of Lokaym, son of Lokmán; they mention also for the " said purpose Kays Ibn 'A'ssem, and Suwwábah صوابة Ibn Abí Sufyán, and several other men; but we " never saw this expression used so frequently, and with so much propriety, as when applied to Al-ahnaf, " son of Kays, who, notwithstanding that civil war and discord raged through the greatest part of " his dominions, was nevertheless the mildest man that ever lived, so much so that neither noble nor " plebeian, nor woman, nor pious man, nor ancient hero, nor any of the four Khalifs who, owing to their " virtues, were called *Al-murashshidín* (directed), nor any of the great conquerors, nor any man, in fine, " in his time or after his days, will be found to have equalled him in those qualities, &c."

The author, therefore, means ironically that had 'Abbás Ibnu-l-ahnaf been living he might have found in Yúsuf his superior in tenderness of soul, and mildness of disposition, since he could write to a friend in so tender a strain.

30 All the copies make the name of the son to be Abú-l-walíd, like that of his father; but I believe it to be a mistake of the author. Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd (better known during the middle ages by the name of Averroes) had a son named Abú Mohammed 'Abdallah Ibn Roshd, the same who is here meant.

As Ibn Roshd was a famous physician, besides being an eminent jurisconsult, and theologian, his life has been given at full length by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7340, p. 146, *verso*). This life, together with those of other eminent physicians, natives of Spain, the reader will find translated in Appendix A.

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فان تحرقوا القرطاس لا تحرقوا الذي ∴ تضمنه القرطاس بل هو في صدري

The second hemistich of the first verse presents a different reading in the various manuscripts. As it is, its literal translation is as follows:—' Tell me of a science by which those who are ignorant may be ' instructed.' The end of the second verse is different in A. لو حيّ في صدري but the sense is the same, and the measure is not altered.

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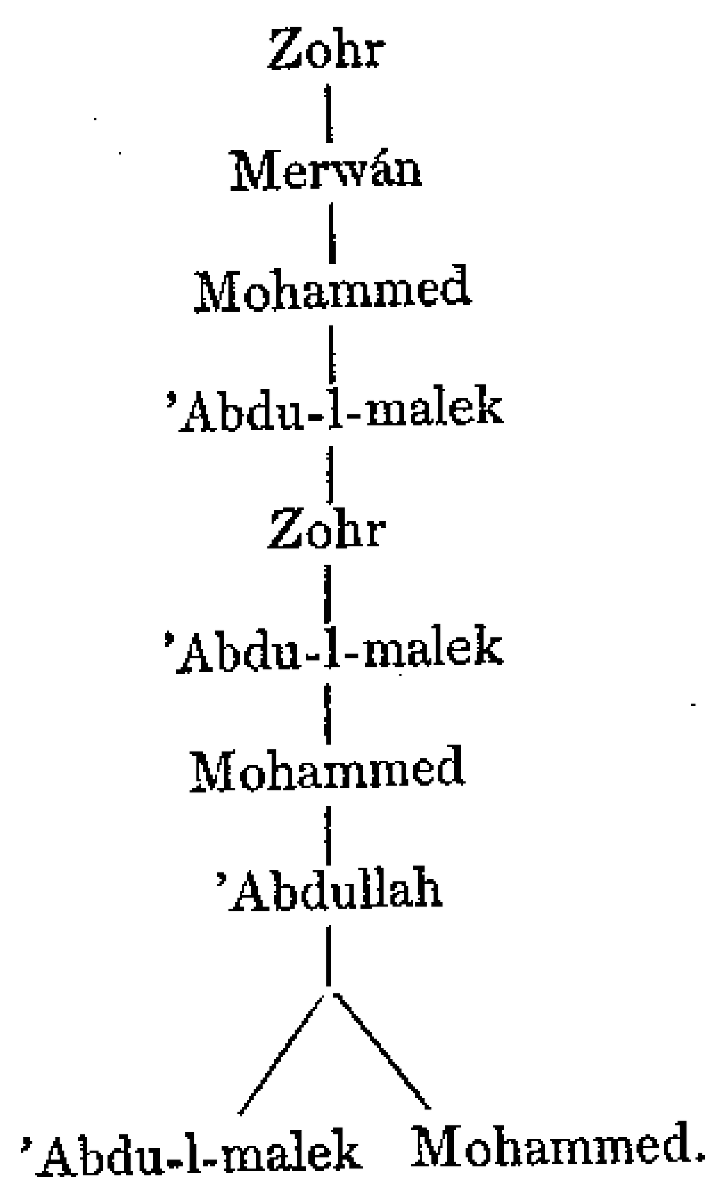
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[36] As there are no less than seven Arabian physicians natives of Spain, and known by their family name of Ibn or Ibnu Zohr (Avenzoar)—and these have frequently been mistaken, owing to the similarity of their names—I think it right to give here such accounts of them as I have been able to gather from the writings of the Arabs. I shall begin by drawing the genealogical tree of the family of Ibn Zohr, as I find it in my copy of Ibnu-l-khattíb's history of Granada.



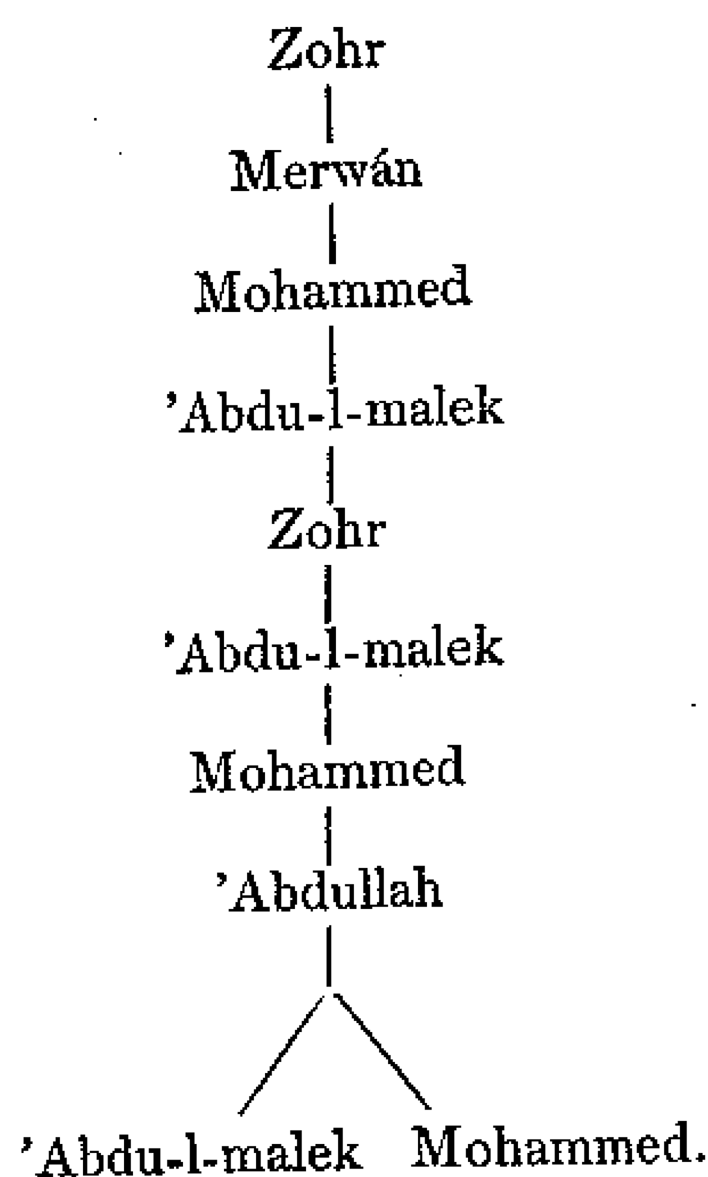
1. Mohammed Ibn Merwán Ibn Zohr الايادي Al-ayádí Al-ishbílí, surnamed Abú Bekr, was the first of his family who practised medicine; he was the grandson of Zohr, a Jew, converted to the Mohammedan religion. He lived at Seville, but died at Talavera in four hundred and twenty-two (A. D. 1030-1), at the age of eighty-six.

I ought to observe that the name of the head or founder of this family, so illustrious in the republic of letters, ought to be written *Zohr*—not *Zahr*, as Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 132, c. 2) wrote, nor *Zohar*, as D'Herb. (*Bib. Or.* voc. *Abdalmalek Zohar*)—nor *Zohir*, as Mr. Nicoll has it in his *Bib. Bodl. Cat.* p. 589. Both Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 683), and the author of the *Zohru-r-riyádh* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7349, fo. 232), who point the word, write it thus, زُهْر *Zohr*.

2. 'Abdu-l-malek, son of the preceding, and surnamed Abú Merwán, followed his father's profession, but in order to acquire greater proficiency in it he left his native city (Seville), and visited Baghdád, Cairo, and Cairwán, in all which places he practised as a physician, and gained great reputation. On his return to Spain he settled at Denia, then the court of Mujáhid, the Sclavonian. According to Ibn Khallekán, 'Abdu-l-malek died in this city, but Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, who wrote his life, as well as those of four other eminent physicians, places his death at Seville. Neither biographer, however, gives the year of it; but as Mujáhid, King of Denia, died, according to Adh-dhobi, (Arab. MS. in the Nat.

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Lib. Madrid, Gg. 14,) in four hundred and thirty-six of the Hijra (A. D. 1044-5), we may be justified in inferring that 'Abdu-l-malek died towards the middle of the fifth century of the Hijra.

3. Zohr, surnamed Abú-l-ála, learnt medicine under his father, and became chief physician and Wizír to Abú 'Amrú 'Abbád Al-mu'atadhed-billah, King of Seville. Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 143) says that he died before five hundred and twenty-six; Ibn Khallekán that he died at Cordova in five hundred and twenty-five (A. D. 1130-1), from an abscess between his shoulders.

4. 'Abdu-l-malek, surnamed Abú Merwán, was also an eminent physician. He learnt medicine under his father, and entered, when still young, the household of Ibráhím Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín, the last of the Almoravide Sultáns, after whose death he passed to the service of 'Abdu-l-múmen, the first of the Al-muwáhedún or Almohades who ruled Spain. He was highly distinguished by the latter sovereign, who appointed him his Wizír. See Moura's *Karttás*, p. 226; D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Taiassir, Zohar*, &c.; and Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* p. 132, *et passim.* However, both D'Herbelot and Casiri were wrong in supposing that he professed the Jewish religion.

This 'Abdu-l-malek is the author of several medical treatises, held in much esteem during the middle ages, and the most important of which is تيسير Teysír, or 'introduction to medicine,' which he dedicated to his master, the Sultán Ibráhím Ibn Yúsuf, and a Latin translation of which, made from an intermediate Hebrew version, has been printed repeatedly, and for the first time at Venice, in 1490, by Joannes and Gregorius de Forlivio.

'Abdu-l-malek died at Seville in five hundred and fifty-seven of the Hijra (A. D. 1162). See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 132, c. 2; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 179, and Leo Africanus, *De viris illustribus, apud* Hottinger, *Bibliot. Quadrip.* p. 252.

5. Mohammed, surnamed Abú Bekr, son of the preceding, is generally called by biographers الحفيد Al-hafídh (*i. e.* the descendant, or the great grandson), to distinguish him from his great grandfather, who had the same name and surname. Like his ancestors, Mohammed followed the profession of medicine, but he was also a distinguished theologian and an excellent poet, and is justly held by the Arabian biographers as the most eminent individual of this family. His life may be read in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 683), as well as in the *Zohru-r-riyádh*, another biographical dictionary (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7349, fo. 232). See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 128, c. 2; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 179; Leo Africanus, *De viris illustribus, apud* Hottinger, *Bibliot. Quadrip.* p. 252; D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Taiassir, Abdalmalek, Aben Zohar*, &c.

There are various opinions upon the year of Mohammed Ibn Zohr's death. It has been fixed by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 144) in the year five hundred and ninety-six (A. D. 1199-1200). Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 369), and Moura, in his transl. of the *Karttás*, place it in the twenty-first day of the month of Dhí-l-hajjah, five hundred and ninety-five (14th Oct. A. D. 1199). Ibn Khallekán, quoting an Andalusian writer, named Ibn Dihyah, says that he died at Morocco in five hundred and ninety-five, at the age of ninety-four; but this must be a mistake, since, if he was born in five hundred and seven (A. D. 1113-4), as is generally admitted, he could not be so old when he died.

Mohammed has been frequently mistaken for his father, 'Abdu-l-malek, by European as well as Eastern biographers, who have attributed to one only the actions and works of the two, so that the celebrated Avenzoar of the middle ages is, as it were, an imaginary personification of the two. In order, then, to throw greater light on this important topic, and afford materials for the literary history of the Spanish Arabs, I have translated elsewhere, from Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (see App. A. at the end of the vol.), the lives of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Zohr, and his son, Mohammed Ibn Zohr.

6. 'Abdullah, surnamed Abú Mohammed, and *Ibnu-l-hafídh* also, to distinguish him from the other members of his family, was the sixth eminent physician of the Zohr family. His life occurs in Ibn Abí

Lib. Madrid, Gg. 14,) in four hundred and thirty-six of the Hijra (A. D. 1044-5), we may be justified in inferring that 'Abdu-l-malek died towards the middle of the fifth century of the Hijra.

3. Zohr, surnamed Abú-l-ála, learnt medicine under his father, and became chief physician and Wizír to Abú 'Amrú 'Abbád Al-mu'atadhed-billah, King of Seville. Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 143) says that he died before five hundred and twenty-six; Ibn Khallekán that he died at Cordova in five hundred and twenty-five (A. D. 1130-1), from an abscess between his shoulders.

4. 'Abdu-l-malek, surnamed Abú Merwán, was also an eminent physician. He learnt medicine under his father, and entered, when still young, the household of Ibráhím Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín, the last of the Almoravide Sultáns, after whose death he passed to the service of 'Abdu-l-múmen, the first of the Al-muwáhedún or Almohades who ruled Spain. He was highly distinguished by the latter sovereign, who appointed him his Wizír. See Moura's *Karttás*, p. 226; D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Taiassir, Zohar*, &c.; and Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* p. 132, *et passim.* However, both D'Herbelot and Casiri were wrong in supposing that he professed the Jewish religion.

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7. 'Abdullah left two sons; one was named Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek, the other Abú-l-'ala Mohammed. Both practised medicine. Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 146, *verso*) mentions them both; but the former and elder, 'Abdu-l-malek, seems to have distinguished himself the most, since I find his life in Ibnu-l-khattíb (Arab. MS. in my possession), as well as in Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13). He appears to have gained great reputation for his writings, as well as in his art. He inhabited Seville and Granada, but the year of his death is nowhere mentioned.

37 المتين *Al-matin* (that is, 'the solid,') is the title of Ibnu Hayyán's large historical work. All the manuscript copies of Hájí Khalfah that I have consulted read المبين *Al-mubeyn*, by mistake. See a preceding note, p. 310.

38 Abú 'Amer ('Omar or 'Amru) Ahmed, son of Mohammed, and surnamed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi (the servant of his Lord), was born in Cordova in Ramadhán, two hundred and forty-six (Nov. or Dec. A.D. 860). Both Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 45) and Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 411) place his death in the year three hundred and twenty-eight (A.D. 939-40), but Hájí Khalfah, (voc. *'ikd*,) no doubt by mistake, refers it to the year three hundred and sixty-five. Casiri, who calls him *Abdrabboh* (see *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 157, and vol. ii. p. 134), and Conde, (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 425,) confirm the former statement.

The work here alluded to is thus described by Hájí Khalfah. "*Al-'ikd* (the necklace) is the title of a " work by Abú 'Amru Ahmed Ibn Mohammed, known by the surname of Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi, a native of " Cordova, who died in three hundred and sixty-five (read 328). The author says in his preface that the " reason why he entitled his work *Al-'ikd* (the necklace) was its containing many of the inestimable " jewels of speech, forming, as it were, a string. The work is divided into twenty-five parts, each of " which is subdivided into two, thus making in all fifty books, to each of which he gave the name of one " of the jewels composing a necklace; for instance, the first part he called اللولو *Al-lúlú* (great pearl), &c.

" After Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi's death, his work was abridged by Abú Is'hák Ibráhím Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán " Al-kaysí, of Guadix, who died in five hundred and seventy (A.D. 1174-5), as well as by Jemálu-d-dín " Abú-l-fadhl Mohammed Ibn Mukarram Al-khazrají, who died in seven hundred and eleven (A.D. " 1311-2), and who is well known besides as the author of a very elaborate composition, entitled " *Lisánu-l-'arab* (the language of the Arabs)."

The Bodleian Library at Oxford possesses many volumes of this excellent work, which I shall describe briefly. It is a sort of Cyclopædia, containing various treatises upon history, genealogy, the science of government, eloquence, justice, liberality, courage, magnanimity, women and their good qualities, military science, weapons, horses, stratagems, hostages, encampments, &c. The work is divided into twenty-five books, each of which has two chapters, thus making in all fifty. Each of the books is named after one of the twenty-five pearls composing a necklace, for in Arabic either every one of them has its particular name, or the author chose to give it, which is more probable; for instance, the centre one he called الواسطة *Al-wásitah*, the next to the right اللولو *Al-lúlú*, that to the left الفريدة *Al-farídah*, the next in order to the right الزبرجدة *Az-zabarjadah*, the corresponding one on the other side الجمانة *Al-jumánah*, &c., all words which mean a pearl. The fifteenth book, entitled كتاب العسجدة في الخلفاء وايامهم و تواريخهم (*the book of the pearl called* 'Osjadah *on the history and*

Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 146), as well as in the biographical dictionary of Ibnu-l-khattíb. The former writer, who places the birth of 'Abdullah at Seville in five hundred and seventy-seven (A. D. 1181-2), says that he died from the effects of poison at Salé, in Africa, in the year six hundred and two of the Hijra (A. D. 1205-6), at the age of twenty-five.

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chronology of the Khalifs), is perhaps the most interesting of all, as it contains much useful information upon the history of the Arabs both in the East and West. The second chapter, especially, which is exclusively consecrated to the history of Spain, although rather concise, is in my opinion invaluable. I shall have occasion to quote from it in the course of these notes.

The MSS. in the Bodleian containing parts of this work, which in its original state could not be composed of much less than ten folio volumes, are *Laud.* 292, *Marsh.* 59, 320, and 321. Many of these copies, however, being only repetitions of the same volume, the work is incomplete.

The life of Abú 'Amer Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi may be read in the *Mattmahu-l-anfus*, by Al-fat'h, (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 142, *verso*,) as well as in the *Jadhwatu-l-muktabis*, by Al-homaydí, (Ar. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., *Hunt.* No. 464, fo. 43.) The last-mentioned writer states that he saw in Cordova a copy of Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi's work divided into twenty books, and written by the author himself for the use of the Amír, Al-hakem, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. This agrees very well with what Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 425) says, no doubt borrowed from the same source; but how to reconcile the titles of the above books with those given by the Spanish translator I am at a loss to determine, being as follow: 'the sky, the stars, the first dawn of day, day, night, the bower, the cloud, love, repentance, the gazelle, &c.'!

39 Abú Nasr Al-fat'h Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Obeyd-illah Ibn Khákán Al-kaysí is well known as the author of a work entitled *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán fí mahásení-l-a'yán* (gold chains in the laudable actions of the illustrious), being a biography of Spanish poets who were his contemporaries, with extracts from their poems. The work is divided into four parts; the first comprising the Kings, the second the Wizírs, the third the Kádís and theologians, and the fourth the poets not belonging to either of the above classes. Ibn Khákán wrote another work, entitled مطمح الانفس و مسرح التانس في ملح اهل الاندلس *Mattmahu-l-anfus wa masrahu-t-tánnus fí milhi ahli-l-andalusi*, 'spot of recreation of the eyes and the field for familiarity on the witty sayings of the people of Andalus.' These two works in themselves have little or no historical value, being mostly extracts from the works of eminent poets who were his contemporaries, preceded by short biographical accounts of their authors. Even these are almost entirely destitute of such data as might throw light on the history of the times. The birth-place, profession, and age of the poet, are often omitted, and the generality of the articles contain nothing but the most immoderate praises of the authors to whom they were consecrated. As literary productions, however, the works are considered by the best Arabian critics to possess undeniable merit. They are written throughout in rhymed prose, strewn with metaphorical expressions, which make their perusal a matter of great labour and difficulty. As it is, they may be of great assistance to those who wish to gain a knowledge of the state of Arabian literature in Spain during the fifth century of the Hijra; although, if we are to believe the historian As-sadfí, the merits of Ibn Khákán as a writer and a critic must be greatly reduced by the fact that his praises or his criticisms were often influenced by low motives: indeed, the above-mentioned historian, who wrote Ibn Khákán's life in his *Al-wáfí fí-l-wafíyát* (Arab. MS. in my possession), represents him as a man of immense talents and undisputed merit as a poet and a grammarian, but of dissipated life and low morals. He says that "when he had fixed upon the composition "of the *Kaláyid*, he wrote to all the eminent poets, distinguished authors, and great men of his time, "announcing to them his intention of writing a book, and begging them to send him some of their "compositions; that all complied with his request, fearing his bad disposition, and sent along with them "a present in money; by which means they ensured his praises. All those who did not openly bribe "him he treated in the most severe manner."

Copies of the first of these two works are to be met with in almost every public library of any note in Europe. See *Bib. Reg. Paris. Catal.*, No. 734; *Bib. Bodl. Cat.* by Uri and Nicoll, No. 706; *Bib. Lugd. Bat.*, No. 1450; *Bib. Esc.*, No. 436. A splendid copy, beautifully executed in a clear, large Eastern hand, having the titles written in gold upon blue ground, and formerly in the possession of Sale, the translator of the Korán, is now preserved in the Radcliffe Lib. at Oxford, K. 2-24. It was transcribed A. H. seven hundred and twenty-seven (A. D. 1327), by Mohammed Ibn Sálik. The Library of the British Museum possesses likewise a copy of this excellent work, in fo. (No. 9599), bound together with a commentary on the *Makssúrah* of Ibn Házem. It is fairly executed in the Maghrebí character, and bears the date of Saturday, the sixth of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. one thousand one hundred and twenty-three (answering to the month of Feb. 1711). The name of the copyist is Ahmed Ibnu-l-huseyn Ibn Mohammed Al-warashán Al-makúdí, an inhabitant of Fez. There are two more MSS. in the Brit. Mus., bearing also the title of *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán*, one No. 7525 in quarto, the other No. 9580 in octavo; but although both are the work of Al-fat'h, their contents are quite different, as I have already remarked. (See Preface). The copy of this work which I have used in my quotations is one in my possession, written in the Maghrebí or Western hand, about the middle of the sixteenth century of our era. See *ibid.*

The life of Ibn Khákán occurs in most Arabian biographers of note; it is to be found in Ibn Khal-lekán (No. 536, *Tyd. Ind.*), in the *Zohru-r-riyádh*, in As-sadfí, and Abú-l-mahásen, Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 485, and Abú-l-faraj. See also Jones, *De Poes. Asiat.* p. 429. The first-mentioned writer makes him a native of Seville, but does not give the year of his birth.

Al-fat'h was put to death in Morocco at the beginning of five hundred and twenty-nine (Oct. A. D. 1134), or according to others in five hundred and thirty-five (A. D. 1147-8), by order of Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín, second Sultán of the Almoravides, to whose brother, Abú Is'hak Ibráhím, he had dedicated his *Kaláyid.*

40 Instead of Khassál, I found, when it was too late, that the name of that poet was to be written thus, *Khissál.* He was a famous grammarian and rhetorician, who flourished in the sixth century of the Hijra. His entire name was Dhú-l-wizaráteyn Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Abí-l-khissál Al-gháfekí Ash-shekúrí Al-jayyéní (of Jaen), so called because he was originally from Segura, a town in the neigh-bourhood, and belonged to the tribe of Gháfek. He left many works on various topics, some of which are preserved in the Library of the Escurial.

Treating on this author, Casiri made two great mistakes. He says (see vol. ii. p. 163 of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*) "*Eum originem traxisse a loco nomine* بشقورة *Vescara dicitur;*" (that he was originally from a place called Vescara.) I need not observe that there never was such a place in Spain; but Casiri thought that the letter ب formed part of the word, whereas it is a preposition annexed to the word شقورة *Shekúrah,* the town of his birth. He says also (see *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 335) that Ibn Abí-l-khissál flourished in the fifth century of the Hijra. This is an evident mistake: the historian Al-fat'h, who gave the life of that author in his *Al-kaláyid* (Ar. MS. in my possession), says that he was Wizír to one of the Almoravide Sultáns of Spain, and that he knew him in five hundred and fifteen of the Hijra (A. D. 1121-2). I further learn from Al-kodha'í (Ar. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 14) that Ibn Abí-l-khissál died in Cordova in five hundred and forty of the Hijra (A. D. 1114-5), a statement which I find also confirmed by Ibnu-l-abbár in his biographical dictionary of illustrious men (Ar. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 12).

The work here mentioned as being the composition of Ibn Abí-l-khissál—the ترسيلة *Tarsílah*—does not occur in Hájí Khalfah's Bibliographical Index. There are in the Library of the British

Museum (see No. 9692) two short treatises by this writer; one, entitled ظل الغمامة و طوق الامامة في فضل الصحابة (*the shadow of the cloud and the power of precedence on the excellences of the companions*), is a short biography of the companions of the Prophet. The other is a poem entitled معراج المناقب ومنهاج الثاقب للحسب في نسب رسول الله (*the ladders of ascension and open path-ways to the knowledge of the genealogy of the Prophet*). Both are in the Esc. Lib., Nos. 404 and 1787.

41 The life of this poet occurs in Ibnu-l-khattíb. His entire name was Abú-l-hasan Sahl Ibn Mohammed Ibn Málik. He was born at Granada in five hundred and fifty-nine (A.D. 1163-4), and distinguished himself by his verses. He died in that city in the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah, six hundred and thirty-nine (A.D. 1241). Abú-l-hasan exercised for some time the duties of preacher at the principal mosque of Granada, and made himself famous by his eloquent sermons.

42 سيبدع يهب الالاف مبتديا ∴ و بعد ذلك يلفي وهو يعتذر
له يد كل جبار يقابله ∴ لو لا نداها لقلنا انها الحجر

43 Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn 'Ammár المهري Al-mahrí *Ash-shilbí* (of Silves) was, as his title *Dhú-l-wizaráteyn* sufficiently implies, the prime minister of Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville. He at first served his master faithfully and commanded his armies in several expeditions, taking Silves from Mohammed Ibn Sa'íd, and fighting successfully against the Christians. Having afterwards lost the favour of his monarch, Ibn 'Ammár fled the court and betook himself to Silves, where he revolted, and assumed the title of king. He however subsequently fell into the hands of Al-mu'atamed, by whose orders he was taken to Seville and beheaded in four hundred and seventy-seven (A.D. 1084). The life of Ibn 'Ammár occurs in Ibn Khallekán (No. 680, *Tyd. Ind.*); in the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán*, by Al-fat'h; and in the *Mattmahu-l-anfus*, by the same (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 101). See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 44, *et seq.*, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. pp. 34, 40, 50, 71, *et passim*, who calls him *Muhamad Aben Omar Ben Husein*, and places his death in four hundred and seventy-nine, no doubt by mistake.

44 اثمرت رمحك من رءوس ملوكهم ∴ لما رايت الغصن يعشق مثمراً
و صبغت درعك من دماء كماتهم ∴ لما رايت الحسن يلبس احمراً

45 The life of Abú-l-walíd Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Zeydún Al-makhzúmí occurs in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 56). The reader may also consult the learned memoir by M. Weyers, where the life of that celebrated poet is given, translated from the *Kaláyid* of Ibn Khákán, together with copious extracts from his poetical compositions. See also D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or.* voc. *Zeidoun;* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. pp. 103, 106, *et passim;* and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 611. Al-fat'h, in his *Mattmahu-l-anfus* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 92, *verso*, *et seq.*), has also given the life of Ibn Zeydún, with numerous quotations from his poems. The most celebrated of Ibn Zeydún's poetical compositions is

a *risáleh* or epistle which he addressed to Waládah, daughter of the Sultán Al-mustakfí-billah Mohammed, who ascended the throne of Cordova in four hundred and fourteen (A.D. 1023). It was translated into Latin by Reiske, and printed, Lipsiæ, 1755, 4to., under this title, *Abi-l-walidi Ibn Zeiduni Epistola;* it has since been reprinted by Hirtius in his Institutiones Linguæ Arabicæ, Jenæ, 1770, in 8vo.

46 كانـنـا لم نبت والوصل ثـالـثـنـاً ∴ والسعد قد غض من اجفان واشينا
سران في خاطر الظلمآء يكتمـنـا ∴ حتي يكاد لسان الصبح يفـشـيـنـا

Instead of واشينا, in the second hemistich of the first verse, my copy reads وانّا which materially alters the meaning, thus, ‘ sleep fled from our wearied eyelids.’

47 الم تعلمي ان الـنـو اهو الـتـوي ∴ و ان مـوت الـعـاجـزيـن قـبـور
و ان خطرات الهالك ضـمـن ∴ لـراكـبـهـا ان الجـزاء خـطـيـر

48 Abú ’Omar Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Darráj Al-kasttalí (from Cazalla, a town at thirty miles from Cordova,) was one of the poets of the court of Abú ’A’mir Al-mansúr. He was born, according to Ibn Khallekán (No. 55, *Tyd. Ind.*), in the month of Moharram, three hundred and forty-seven (Feb. or March, A. D. 958), and died in Jumádí II., four hundred and twenty-one (June or July, A.D. 1030). Al-homaydí, in his *Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*, (Arab. MS. in the Bod. Lib., *Hunt.* 464, fo. 49, *verso*,) places his death a year sooner, “ close upon four hundred and twenty.”

By referring to Ath-tha’álebí, in his *Yatímatu-d-dahri*, ‘ incomparable pearl of the times,’ (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9578,) I find that he actually compares him to Al-mutennabí for the sweetness and cadence of his verses. See also Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 522.

49 Abú-l-mansúr ’Abdu-l-malek Ibn Mohammed Ibn Isma’íl Ath-tha’álebí An-nísabúrí left several works upon the lives of the Arabian poets and their writings; of which the principal is his *Al-yatímatu-d-dahri fí mahásení ahli-l-’asri*, ‘ the unique pearl of the age on the brilliant qualities of the people of this century,’ copies of which are to be found in the Lib. of the Brit. Mus. (see No. 9578); in the Escurial Lib., Nos. 348-9; Bib. Lugd. Bat., Nos. 1691-92; Bib. Bodl., No. 805, and in most public libraries in Europe. The British Museum possesses besides two excellent works by this author which I have described elsewhere, (see Note 22, p. 331;) another, being a collection of apophthegms, has been lately translated and published (Vienna, 1829,) by Prof. Fluegel, who has given in a learned preface a list of the numerous works written by Ath-tha’álebí.

50 اصبحت شـمـساً و فـوه مـغـرباً ∴ و يـد الـسـاقـي المحي مـشـر قاً
و اذا مـا غـربـت فـي فـمـه ∴ تركـت فـي الخـد مـنـه شـفـقـاً

The name of this poet is entirely unknown to me.

51 و اغيد طاف بالكوس ضحي ∴ و حثها و الصباح قد وضحا
و الروض اهدي لنا شقايقه ∴ و اسه العنبري قد نفحا
قلنا و اين الاقاح قال لنا ∴ ودعته ثغر من سقي القدحا
فظل ساقي المدام يجحد ما ∴ قال فلما تبسم افتضحا

52 ادير علي هذا الروض المندا ∴ وحكم الصبح في الظلمآء ماضٍ
و كاس الراح تنظر عن حبابٍ ∴ ينوب لنا عن الحدق المراض
و ما غربت نجوم الافق لكن ∴ نقلن من السماء الي الرياض

53 و رياض من الشقايق اضحت ∴ يتهادي بها نسيم الرياح
زرتُها و الغمام يجلد منها ∴ زهرات تروق لون الراح
قلتُ ما ذنبها فقال مجيباً ∴ سرقَتْ حمرة الخدود الملاح

54 Yahya Ibn Yahya. There are various Spanish Arabs of this name. One is Yahya Ibn Yahya, of Cordova, surnamed *Ibnu-s-semínah* (the son of the fat woman), who travelled through the East, and returned to Cordova, where he died in three hundred and twenty-three of the Hijra (A.D. 936-7). He was a traditionist and a theologian, as well as a clever physician, according to Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, who counts him among the Spaniards who followed that profession. (See *loco laudato*, p. 134). Another is Yahya Ibn Yahya Ibn Kásim, whom Casiri (*Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 454) asserts to have flourished in the fourth century of the Hijra. But I believe that the doctor here mentioned is no other than Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí, a famous theologian, native of Cordova, who travelled to the East, where he remained long, profiting by the lessons of Málik Ibn Ans, whose religious opinions he chiefly contributed to establish on his return to his native land in two hundred and twelve (A.D. 827-8). See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 268.

55 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Habíb is, no doubt, the same theologian already mentioned in Ash-shakandí's epistle, p. 37, and whose life Casiri has given at p. 138, vol. ii. of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*, as translated from Adh-dhobí. Al-makkarí speaks of him in Book v. Part i. fo. 96, *verso*, where he gives the lives of the Andalusians who visited the East. In the number is that of 'Abdu-l-málik, who went to Mekka, where he remained a considerable time, profiting by the lessons of Málik Ibn Ans, and then returned to his native land, where he is said to have written no less than one thousand different works upon various topics, and to have been most instrumental in substituting the rite of his master for that of Al-auzá'eí, which was formerly practised. (See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 268). Ibn Habíb died at Cordova in two hundred and thirty-eight (A. D. 853).

'Abdu-l-málik was known by the surname of Abú Merwán and the patronymic As-solamí, because he belonged to the tribe of Solaym. Another Arab having the same name and surname, as well as the same patronymic, occurs in Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 107. He is said to have been a

native of واط *Huete*, a town in the neighbourhood of Granada, and to have died at Cordova in two hundred and eighty-nine (A. D. 901-2). But I am strongly inclined to believe that this is a mistake of Casiri, who, by reading incorrectly the date of Ibn Habíb's death, made two individuals of only one.

A volume, containing a history of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, and some legal tracts, more or less connected with that subject, by 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Habíb, is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, No. cxxvii. (See Nicoll's Catalogue, fo. 119). I shall have occasion to refer to it in the course of these notes.

56 The entire name of this poet is Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Ibn صارة Sárah or Sáreh Al-bekrí Ash-shantareyní (of Santarem). His life occurs in Ibn Khallekán (No. 353 in *Tyd. Ind.*), in the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán* by Al-fat'h, and in the *Mattmahu-l-anfus* by the same writer, fo. 185. Casiri, (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 105,) in transcribing the index of the poets whose lives are contained in Al-fat'h's work, wrote his name thus ابن سارة and made him a native of Valencia instead of Santarem. As I have not had it in my power to collate the original passage, I cannot tell whether Casiri committed a mistake or not, but I have no doubt that the copy he consulted read ابن سارة with a س for I find the name of this poet differently written in various MSS. My copy of the *Kaláyid* reads ابن صارة Ibn Sárah; that of the Brit. Mus. (No. 7525, fo. 71, *verso*) ابن صابرة Ibn Sábirah; the *Mattmah*, (*ib.* No. 9580, fo. 186,) ابن سارة I have followed the reading as above, not only as being the most probable, but because it is confirmed by Ibn Khallekán (see *ib.*), by Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13), and by my MS. of Ibnu-l-khattíb, although I believe that سارة or صارة Sárah, which was the name of this poet's mother, may be written both ways. Ibn Sárah died in five hundred and nineteen (A.D. 1125-6).

57 B. says that the infantry and cavalry together amounted to six hundred thousand.

58 الي ان يمشي فيها لضوء السراج المتصلة عشرة اميال which leaves no doubt as to its meaning.

59 *Canbániyyah*, from *campania* or *campiña*, a word used by the Spaniards to designate any extensive cultivated plain.

60 Ambrosio Morales, in his *Antig. de España*, Alcalá de Henares, 1575, fo. 70, says that there was in his days a pass in the mountains close to Cordova, called *la senda del rosal* (the path of the rose-tree), owing to the innumerable rose-trees with which the sides of the mountain were planted.

A *roba'* (in Spanish *arroba*) is equivalent to five-and-twenty pounds weight. *Roba'*, in Arabic ربع means the fourth part of any thing, and, as applied to weight, the fourth of a *kintar* (in Spanish *quintal*), which is a hundred weight.

61 This Abú Yahya must have held the government of Cordova only for a short time, since, according to the *Karttás* (see the Portug. transl. by Moura, p. 237), and Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 391), he was put to death in five hundred and eighty-two (A.D. 1186) by his brother's orders.

62 The expression which I have translated, perhaps rather freely, by 'the scalded cat dreads the fire,' is لا يلدغ المؤمن من حجر مرتين (the admonished does not bite twice of the same stone).

63 At-tífáshí, a patronymic derived from a city called تيفاش Tífásh, in Africa proper, and placed at one day's march from Temedint, on the road from Cairwán to the castle of Abú Tawíl. Yákút, in his Geog. Dict. (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., No. 928), as well as Al-bekrí, *loco laudato*, fo. 48, *verso*, calls it تيفاش الظالمة *Tífáshu-dh-dhálemah*, which M. de Quatremère (*Not. et Ext.* vol. xii. p. 506) has translated by *Tifasch l'injuste*, but which I think might be rendered as well and more properly by 'Tífásh, that of the darkness.'

64 Ezija, or rather *Estejah*, from Astigi. The change of *st* into *z* is frequent in Spanish; so from *Basta*, *Castulo*, *Sarakosta*, *Castalla*, were made Baza, Cazlona, Zaragoza, Cazalla.

65 بُلْكُونَ *Bolkúna*, which, pronounced as the Spanish Arabs did, will give *Bulkone*, is a corruption of *Obulco* or *Obulcone*, ὁ Βούλχων of Strabo, the *Municipium Pontificense* of Pliny, now Porcuna, a city in the province of Cordova.

66 غافق *Gháfek* was a castle in the jurisdiction of Cordova; it owed its foundation to the tribe of Gháfek, who built also in Africa a town of the same name. See Al-bekrí (*Memálek wa-l-mesálek*, fo. 34). There is at present no town of this name in Spain, but I find in Idrísí, Yákút, and other geographers, that there once stood on the road from Cordova to Calatrava a large castle called *Hisn Gháfek*. The distances given by the former writer are as follow: from Cordova, in a northern direction, to Arles eleven miles; to Dár Al-bakar six; to Petroches forty; to Gháfek seven; to Jebal-'A'mir thirty. Gháfek must therefore have stood seven miles north from the present village of los Pedroches.

67 المدوار that is, *Hisnu-l-mudawar* (the round castle), now Almodovar del Rio, fifteen miles from Cordova, on the left bank of the Guadalquivir.

68 Estepa is written thus, اصطبة *Astabah*, which was its ancient name; Baena بيانة *Bayénah*; Lucena لسانة *Lusénah*, which I also find written sometimes thus, الياسانة *Al-yásénah*. Casiri always read incorrectly the name of this city, which he at times wrote *Eliossana*, and at others *Al-basana*, telling us, however, that both were the names for Lucena among the Spanish Arabs! (*Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 95, 126, *et passim*.) Its Roman name was evidently *Lucania*, from *Lucus*, owing to the extensive forests in the neighbourhood. القُصير *Al-kosseyr* (the small castle), is a diminutive from *Al-kassr* (in Spanish *Alcazar*), 'a castle.' It may be either the present town of Alcozer, fourteen miles south of Cordova, or the village of Alcazarejos in the same neighbourhood.

69 اغرناطة *A'gharnáttah* is for *Gharnáttah*, since it is not an uncommon thing for the Arabs to add a *hamza* before the first letter of foreign words, especially when these begin with a harsh letter; for instance, from Κρῆτες they made *Akritis*, from Κλίμα *Iklím*, from Græcus *Aghríkí*, from Γλυκὺ *Iglíkí*, &c.

Much obscurity prevails as to the etymology of the word Granada. Casiri, in his translation of

Ibnu-l-khattíb (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 247), calls it a Phœnician colony, *Peregrinorum Colonia*, and says that such is the meaning of the word *Gharnáttah*. But the Arabian historian translated by him says no such thing; Casiri misunderstood his words, which are غرناطة اسم أعجمي مدينة كورة البيرة و تسمي شام الاندلس that is, 'Gharnáttah is the foreign or barbarous name for the capital of the province or district of Elvira, which was also called (by the Arabs) *Shámu-l-andalus*,' the 'Damascus of Andalus.'

The supposition that the city of Granada owes its name to the resemblance it bears to a ripe pomegranate (*granatum*), either in shape to the open halves of the fruit, or in the multitude of its houses lying close together like the seeds of that fruit, is scarcely admissible; for, supposing the comparison to be a just one as applied to that city in the times of its greatest splendour, it could by no means be so when speaking of a small town or castle, such as Granada is represented by all the Arabian writers before the fifth century of the Hijra. Nor is the conjecture given out by the antiquarian Pedraza (*Hist. Ecclesiastica de Granada*, Gran. 1638, fo. 21, *et seq.*) entitled to more credit, namely, that the city was so called from its being the spot where that fruit was first introduced from Africa; for I find in Ibnu-l-awam (see the Spanish translation by Banqueri, Mad. 1802, vol. i. fo. 273) that the pomegranate was originally brought from Syria to Spain during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., who had it planted first in his gardens at Cordova (towards A. H. 160), and then distributed the seed all over Spain, and long before that time the above-mentioned city bore the same name as at present. The fact of the author himself stating that the word *A'gharnáttah* meant a pomegranate in the language of the Christians cannot, for several reasons, be considered as adding any weight to the opinion that the city of Granada received the name of the pomegranate either from its founders, whoever they may be, or from the Africans under Habús, when that sovereign transferred to it the seat of his government: firstly, because, as I shall show hereafter, the ancient name for that city was not *A'gharnáttah*, nor *Gharnáttah*, but كرناطة *Karnáttah;* secondly, because it is evident that Al-makkarí had no other authority for his statement than the words of some obscure writer, who caught at the resemblance between the two words—a thing, unluckily, of too frequent occurrence among his countrymen; and lastly, because, had any of the reasons above stated influenced the African settlers in choosing a name for their city, they would certainly have called it رمن *Roman*, (the name of the pomegranate in Arabic,) and by no means *A'gharnáttah*, from *granatum*. The same might be said of more ancient settlers.

Others incline to the belief that *Karnáttah* or *Gharnáttah* is a Phœnician word. Conde, in his notes to the description of Spain by the geographer Idrísí, (Mad. 1799, p. 188,) thought it a compound of two Phœnician words, *Ghár* and *náttah*, meaning 'the cave of the mountain,' and the same opinion is entertained by Aldrete (*Antig. de España y Africa*, Amberes, 1614, p. 85) and other estimable antiquarians. Marineo Siculo (*De las cosas memorables de España*, fo. Alcalá, 1530, p. 150), and Echevarria (*Paseos por Granada*, p. 17) go still further, since they assert, without the least authority, that those words mean 'the cave of *Náttah*,' from the name of a Goddess so called, whom the inhabitants used to worship in a subterranean temple.

Having disposed of my objections as to the origin assigned to its name, I shall now proceed to contradict the opinion of Marmol, and his followers Pedraza and Echevarria, who pretend that Granada was a foundation of the Arabs.

That a town called كرناطة *Karnáttah* existed before the Saracen invasion on the site now occupied by Granada cannot be doubted, for we are told by the Arabian writers that, before undertaking the conquest of Toledo, Tárik dispatched one of his lieutenants with a division of his army towards Malaga, Illiberis

(Elvira), and *Karnáttah*, which were speedily subdued. Ar-rází, who wrote in the ninth century, in describing the territory round Elvira, says, "And in this district is the town of *Karnáttah*, called also "the city of the Jews, because peopled by them, and *Karnáttah* is the oldest town in all the district of "Elvira." Ibnu-l-khattíb, the celebrated Wizír and historian, who treated with so much learning on the antiquities of his native city, joins in the opinion entertained by Ar-rází. That this *Karnáttah* was a very inconsiderable town in the times that preceded the invasion is, on the other hand, to be inferred from the fact that its name is nowhere mentioned, either by the Roman geographers, or in the national councils of the Goths. We are, therefore, justified in asserting that a small town, called '*Karnáttah*,' stood not far from Elvira (Illiberis) previous to the Saracen invasion. See the Spanish translation of Rasis; Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 251; Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. pp. 37, 51; and Marmol, *Reb. de los Moriscos*, fo. 5, 6, *et seq.*

As to its being a Phœnician colony, it seems probable enough. From time immemorial that enterprising nation had made settlements on the southern coast of Spain, and the names of Cartama, Carteia, Karchedone (Archidona), Cartajima, Cartaojan, and others, beginning (like Karnáttah) with *Kar* or *Karta*, קרתא meaning a city in the Phœnician language, give plausibility to the conjecture. Besides, I have already stated that the name of that town is invariably written by ancient authors thus, كرناطة *Karnáttah*, and I may add to this that a city of the same name is placed by Idrísí (see the French transl., vol. i. pp. 202, 226, *et passim*), Ibnu Khaldún, fo. 86-104, *et passim*, and Al-bekrí, (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9577, p. 85, *verso*,) in that part of Africa which faces the coast of Granada. Whether the word *Karnáttah* means the cave of the mountain or not I am unable to determine, as I am not of the number of those who believe that Phœnician words may be invariably interpreted by means of the Hebrew language; but think, on the contrary, that without a deep knowledge of the native dialects of Africa all etymological researches in that quarter must necessarily fail.

I ought to observe that Al-makkarí being a mere compiler, and professing only to transcribe the narrative of historians of various ages and countries, it occurs frequently that the name of a town is spelt in three or four different ways in the same page. It is therefore not uncommon to find the name of this city written *Karnáttah*, *Karanáttah*, *Gharanáttah*, *Agharnáttah*, *Aghranáttah*, in the course of two or three pages. In such cases I have made it a point to preserve as much as possible the orthography of the different authors, lest, by attempting uniformity, I should destroy the historical evidence.

70 غرناطة ما لها نظير ∴ ما مصر ما الشام وما العراق
ما هي الا العروس تجلي ∴ و تلك من جملة الصداق

From the word عرس *'aras*, which, in Arabic, means a wedding, the Spaniards have made *arras*, viz., thirteen pieces of money which the bridegroom gives to the bride, as a pledge, in the act of marriage.

The word الصداق *as-sidák*, which in the books of the Moriscos is written *acidaque*, means the dowry or sum of money assigned by a husband to his wife for her maintenance after his death, or in case of divorce. According to the ancient laws of Spain, which in this particular agreed with the Mohammedan code, the dowry granted to the wife could never exceed the tenth part of the husband's fortune.

71 شنيل *Shenil*, which in older writers is written thus, شنجيل *Shinjil*, is the *Singilis* of the Romans; without plunging, as some authors have done, into an ocean of conjecture, and supposing that it means

el Rio de San Gil, the river of St. Giles. (See Pedraza, *Hist. Eccles. de Granada*, fo. 32, *verso*, and *Antig. de Granada*, fo. 11, *verso*.) Its present name is Xenil; it takes its rise amidst the snow hills of the Sierra Nevada, in the ravine called "*Barranco del infierno;*" it then descends to Guejar in the Vega of Granada, which, after receiving several small tributaries, it leaves at Loxa, and proceeds to the walls of Ezija, to mix its waters with those of the Guadalquivir near Palma.

As the western Arabs dispose their alphabet in a different order to that of the Orientals, so does the numerical value of their letters vary. Otherwise, the letter *shin* would mean three hundred. Miguel de Luna, the converted Moor, interpreter of Philip II., who in 1592 published a pretended translation of a history of Spain under the Arabs, must have had a vague notion of this, for he tells us (p. 310, ed. of Valencia, 1646,) that his countrymen called the Singilis *Saanil*, which in their language meant 'a second Nile, or an imitation of the Nile.'

[72] The Roman name for Darro, one of the rivers of Granada, was *Salon*. It was still called so in the tenth century, since the Spanish translation of Ar-rází gives it no other name. In later times, however, it received that of Darro, which has been supposed to mean giving gold, *quasi 'dat aurum,'* owing to the gold which has for ages been found in its sands. The etymology may not be true; it is at least ingenious. According to Pedraza, the city of Granada, in 1520, presented the Emperor Charles V. with a crown made entirely of the gold collected in this river. (Pedraza, *Antig. de Granada*, p. 33; Lucio Marineo Siculo, *Descrip. de Granada*.) I find the name of this river written thus هدارة in Ibnu-l-khattíb, and حدارة *Hadároh* in more ancient writers, like Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát. (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., *Marsh*. No. 433.) Might not the word *Hadároh*, from حدار *Hadár*, which means 'the rapidity with which a swollen river comes down from the mountains,' be the origin of the word Darro?

[73] The travels of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-lawátí At-tanjí, known by the surname of Ibn Battúttah, have already been made known to the public by the extracts published in 1818 by Messrs. Apetz and Kosegarthen, and by the English translation of the epitome made by Professor Lee, of Cambridge, in 1829, and published under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Fund. This would have rendered any further notice of this famous traveller or his writings superfluous, had I not a few years ago, and since the publication of the said translation, procured from Fez an ancient and beautifully written copy of the original travels, which I have almost entirely translated, and think of committing to the press.

It has long been thought, owing to a mistake of Mr. Burckhardt (see Travels in Nubia, p. 534), that Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí had written an epitome of the travels of Ibn Battúttah, which epitome had been further abridged by an author named Mohammed Ibn Fat'h-allah Al-baylúní: at least such is the opinion entertained by the learned translator of his travels. (See *The Travels of Ibn Batūta*, London, 1829, Pref. p. x.) The last mentioned work being in reality an abridgement of a book written by Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí, who himself was a distinct man from the traveller, it was naturally supposed that Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí was only the epitomiser of the narrative of the traveller himself. But as this was nowhere to be found, and the supposed epitome itself was a book of the greatest rarity, the error was necessarily persevered in until we should find a copy of Ibn Jazzí's work. I now possess a very handsome copy of this MS., executed A.H. one thousand one hundred and thirty-nine (A.D. 1726-7). It is a large folio volume of about seven hundred closely-written pages, and contains twice as much matter as the epitome translated by Professor Lee, of Cambridge. The work is a narrative of the travels of Ibn Battúttah, not, indeed, written by himself,—for, like the famous traveller Marco Polo, he never sat down to commit to paper his

own narrative,—but taken down from his dictation, and from his notes, by Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Yahya Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí, a native of Granada, and who, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his biography of illustrious men born in that city, died in seven hundred and fifty-eight (A.D. 1356-7).

Ibn Jazzí informs us in his preface that on the arrival of Ibn Battúttah at Fez, after returning from his travels in Súdán, so much curiosity was excited at court that the Sultán himself wished to hear his adventures, and after listening to him for several consecutive nights, ordered that the whole should be drawn up, and, after the necessary revision by the traveller, made into a book.

I ought to state that among my manuscripts I possess one attributed to Ibn Battúttah (see Preface). It is a small quarto of about two hundred pages, containing a history of Morocco, with this title, الحلل الوشية في ذكر الاخبار المراكشية (*variegated silken robes on the history of Morocco*). It begins with the foundation of the city of Morocco by Abú Bekr Ibn 'Omar, the first of the Lamtumnites or Almoravides, in the year four hundred and sixty-two (A.D. 1069-70), and after recounting the events of the various dynasties that ruled over *Maghrebu-l-aksá*, ends with Abú Táshfín 'Abdu-r-rahmán, of the family of the Bení 'Abdu-l-hakk (or Merinites as they are afterwards called), son of the Sultán Abú-l-hasan 'Alí, and grandson of Abú Sa'íd, who reigned from A.D. 1398 to 1420. It is clear, from the inspection of this date, that the work could not have been written by Ibn Battúttah. That traveller having left Tangiers, his native city, in 1325, at the age of twenty-two, must have been fifty years old when he returned in 1353, after twenty-eight years' peregrination: if we add to this forty-five years till the accession of Abú Táshfín, he must have been at least ninety-five Arabian or ninety-two Christian years old when he wrote. As it is by no means an uncommon thing among Arabian booksellers to ascribe their books to some popular author, in order to enhance the value of their merchandize, I would not have mentioned this circumstance had I not seen in the Library at Paris a copy of the same work, marked No. 825, and the author of which is said to be one 'Abdullah Ibn Battúttah. See *Bib. Reg. Cat.*, vol. i. p. 187.

The passage here quoted, as well as others which will afterwards be given, is literally transcribed from his travels, with which I have carefully collated it.

74 عين الادمع *'aynu-l-admu'a*, or عين الدماع *'aynu-d-dumá* (the fountain of the tears), preserves to this day its Arabic name, corrupted into *Dinamar* or *Adinamar*. It is a pleasant and much frequented spot close to Granada. It was celebrated among Arabian historians and geographers, and is mentioned in many of the Morisco romances.

75 Instead of منهاج *Minháj*, I find in one of the copies مناهج *Mináhij*, in the plural form. Hájí Khalfah, who gives the title of this work, and attributes it to Jemálu-d-dín Mohammed Ibn Ibráhím Al-watút الوطوط *Al-kotobi* (the bookseller) *Al-warrák* (the paper merchant), who died in seven hundred and eighteen (A.D. 1318-9), writes it in the latter way, thus, مناهج الفكر و مباهج العبر (*open paths for the mind, and places of recreation for the reason*). It is also to be found inverted. See voc. *Manáhij* and *Mabáhij*.

76 From *Illiberis*, the name of a Roman town, situate at the foot of the mountain range of Sierra Nevada, about six miles from Granada, the Arabs made البيرة Al-beyrah or Elvira, which Marmol

(*Rebelion de los Moriscos,* fo. 4, c. ii.) mistook for an Arabic word meaning 'a sterile and unfruitful country.'

[77] It was not until the year four hundred and three of the Hijra, or thereabout, (A.D. 1012-3,) that the city of Granada acquired some importance. Before that time it is occasionally mentioned by Arabian historians, but always as a dependency of Elvira (Illiberis). During the civil wars between the Berbers and the Arabs, Záwí Ibn Zeyrí Ibn Menád As-senhájí, an African chief, who held the government of the southern coast of Spain from Malaga to Almeria, declared himself independent, and transferred the seat of his empire from Elvira to Granada. Little by little the whole population migrated, so that when Ibnu-l-khattíb wrote, (A.H. 770,) Illiberis had dwindled into an insignificant village, and Granada risen to be a magnificent capital.

Marmol attributes the foundation of this *cassábah* or citadel, which in his days was still called *kassábah jadídah* or *alcazaba nueva,* to his successor, Habús. See *Reb. de los Mor.* fo. 5.

[78] Bádis was not the son of Záwí As-senhájí, as here stated, for that prince left no sons, but was succeeded by his nephew Habús Ibn Mákesen, who, at his death in A.H. 429, was succeeded by his son Bádis. His name is sometimes written بادس Bádis, and at others باديس Bádís.

As the Arabian geographers and historians often do nothing more than copy each other without the least criticism, the mistake here made by Al-makkarí, and which he no doubt copied from an Eastern writer not well versed in the history of Spain, has, probably from the same source, been adopted by several geographers. See Ibnu-l-wardí (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9590, fo. 15, *verso*), and the *'Ajáyibu-l-makhlúkát* (Arab. MS. *ib.*, No. 7504, fo. 24).

[79] شلير *Sholayr* is the name given by the Arabs to that chain of mountains called by the ancients Orospeda, (now *Sierra Nevada,*) and at the foot of which stood the Roman city of Illiberis. The range nearest to Granada is now called *Sierra de Elvira.*

The word *Sholayr,* written as above, conveys no meaning whatever in Arabic; but Pedraza, the Granadine antiquarian, with that characteristic aptness of his countrymen to distort the Arabic names of towns, rivers, and mountains, into a signification congenial with their theories, pretends that the word *Sholayr* is a compound of two Spanish words, *sol* and *aire* (sun and air), and that the mountains were so called by the Arabs, owing to their elevation! (*Antig. de Granada,* fo. 3, *verso.*) The Spanish translation of Ar-rází says that the meaning of the word *Sholayr* is '*Monte de la elada*' (the mountain of the snow). But, I repeat, the word *Sholayr* is not Arabic, and although it might be one of the many words introduced by the African settlers into the language of the Spanish Moslems, I know of no Berber dialect in which the word *Sholayr* means 'snow.' Ibnu-l-khattíb, in the extracts given by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 248), calls it جبل الثلج شلير viz., 'the snowy mountains (called) *Sholayr,*' whence I infer that the word *Sholayr* could never mean snow. The point, however, is well worth the investigation of the antiquarian, as it may lead us to discover the origin of the modern denomination of the entire range—*Sierra Nevada.*

[80] The word translated by 'watch-tower' is طليعة *Talí'ah,* a tower, or building, placed on an eminence, so as to command a great expanse of territory. From the plural طلايع *Talaya'* the Spaniards made *Atalaya.*

[81] نجد *Nejd* is the high or mountainous part of Arabia, in opposition to تهامة *Tehámeh,* which means, on the contrary, the lower part. Hence, wherever they settled, the Arabs, who delighted in naming the spots they inhabited after those of their mother country, called a slightly undulating ground, like that in the neighbourhood of Granada, *Nejd.* This name was given to a particular district of great pleasantness in the territory round Granada. See Ibnu-l-khattíb's history of that city, *apud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 252.

[82] نزهون *Nazhún.* I was long uncertain whether the name of this poetess was to be written as above, or ترهون *Tarhún,* as I find it constantly written in every copy of the present work; but having had recourse to Ibnu-l-khattíb's Biographical Dictionary, I not only found the name of this poetess written with a *nún* and a *zayn,* (Nazhún,) but her biographical article classed among those of the poets whose names began with that letter. This decided me to adopt the former reading, especially as the transposition of one of the points was sufficient to produce that change.

" Nazhún," says Ibnu-l-khattíb, (*loco laudato,*) " was the daughter of Abú Bekr Al-ghosání. She was " better known by her patronymic القلعية *Al-kal'aiyyeh* or *Al-kal'aiyyah:* she was an eloquent poetess, " well versed in history and literature, and flourished in the sixth century of the Hijra. Her principal " merit consisted in the beauty of the similes which she used in her poems." See also Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 102), who makes her a native of Seville.

[83] Instead of Al-kal'aiyyah, B. reads القلاعية *Al-kalá'iyyah.* Both are patronymics from *Al-kal'ah* (Alcalá la Real), near Granada. They might also be referred to the diminutive *Al-koleiyyah* (Alcolea), in which case the patronymic ought to be pronounced القُلَيعية *Al-koleyiyyah.*

[84] Ibnu-l-khattíb has no separate article respecting Zeynab in his Biographical Dictionary, but he speaks of her under that of her sister Hamdah, who was also a famous poetess. He says that they were the daughters of Zeyád the bookseller, المكتب (*Al-muktib*), and that they inhabited وادي الحمة *Wáda-l-jammah* (*Al-hama?*) near بادي *Bádí,* in the district of Guadix. Ibnu-l-abbár (Ar. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 12) says that both were good poetesses, besides being well versed in all the branches of literature; that they were very handsome, rich, amiable, and modest, only that their love of science threw them into the company of learned men: the author observes, however, that they associated with them with the greatest decency and composure, and without violating the strict rules of their sex.

[85] Hafsah was the daughter of the Hájí (not Al-hejjáj, as in the text,) Ar-rakúní. She was a native of Granada, and died at Morocco towards the end of five hundred and eighty, or the beginning of the ensuing year (A.D. 1184-5). Her life occurs in Ibnu-l-khattíb's Biographical Dictionary of illustrious Granadians. She is likewise mentioned by Ibnu-l-abbár in his *Tahfatu-l-kádim.* See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 102.

[86] Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd was the son of Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd, Lord of *Kal'at Sa'íd* (now Alcalá la Real), between Cordova and Granada, and the grandfather of Abú-l-hasan Ibn

Sa'íd, the author of the *Mugh'rib.* He was Wizír to Abú Sa'íd Ibn 'Abdi-l-múmen, ruler of Granada. His life will be given at length in another part of the present work.

رعي الله ليلاً لم يرح بذمم ∴ عشية وارانا بحور مومل
و قدخفقت من نحو نجد اريحة ∴ اذا نفحت هبت بريح القرنفل
و غرد قمري علي الدوح وانثني ∴ قضيب من الريحان من فوق جدول

These verses are given with some variations in my MS. of Ibnu-l-khattíb at the life of Hafsah Ar-rakúniyyah. The first reads thus:

رعي الله ليلاً لم يرْع لمذمم ∴ رعانا وارانا بحور مومل

which rather alters the meaning—

'God has given us a happy night, such as He never gives to the vicious and low; He has preserved us, and shown us the cypress trees, &c.'

Instead of خفقت in the second verse I read نفحت There is likewise one verse more in my MS.

يري الروض مسروراً بما قد ∴ بدا له عنان وضم و ارتشاف مقبل

'The laughing stream winds loosely across the plain, and yet (its close banks) look like the contracted lips of a kissing mouth.'

لعمرك ما سرّ الرياض بوصلنا ∴ و لكنه ابدا لنا الغل و الحسد
ولا صفق النهر ارتياحاً لقربنا ∴ و لا صدح القمري الا لما وجد
فلا تحسن الظن الذي انت اهله ∴ فما هو في كل المواطن بالرشد
فما خلت هذا الافق ابداً نجومه ∴ لامر سوي كيما تكون لنا رصد

The third verse is altogether wanting in Al-makkarí. I have supplied it from my copy of Ibnu-l-khattíb. The translation is as follows:

'Thy thoughts even have not taken the right course; for they are not always properly directed.'

The last verse presents also a different reading, which considerably alters the meaning—

'Heaven has not deprived itself of its stars, except to let us observe it more freely.'

Maumal was a district in the meadow of Granada, so called from the name of Maumel or Maumal, an African, who was the Wizír of Bádís Ibn Habús, Sultán of Granada, and who, among other useful and ornamental works executed in that capital or its neighbourhood, made a public walk, planted with cypress trees, and called after him حور مومل *Hawar Maumal,* 'the cypress plantation of Maumal.'

دوح *dauh* is, according to Jeuharí, the name of certain large trees, for a description of which I have looked in vain in Ibnu-l-awam, Ibnu-l-beyttar, and other Arabian writers *de re rustica.*

Instead of Abú Merwán I think that Ibn Abí Merwán, *i. e.* the son of Abú Merwán, ought to be read, since there can be no doubt that Abú Ja'far is the individual intended.

[87] لوشة Loxa is a city fifteen miles east of Granada, the birth-place of the celebrated historian and Wizír whose life is the subject of Al-makkarí's work. باغة Beghah is a large town in the same province. Casiri was strangely mistaken when he translated *Beghah* by the Vega de Granada. See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 253.

Beghah was a town not far from Jaen, on the road to Granada. Ibn Iyás describes it in the following words :—" *Beghah,*" he says, " is a handsome city, abounding in running waters, and full of gardens " and orchards, where the olive tree and the vine thrive in a wonderful manner. Its territory, which is " excessively fertile, is comprised within the limits of the province of Jaen." This statement is confirmed by Yákút in his Geographical Dictionary, (Ar. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., Oxford, No. 909, voc. *Beghah.*) Idrísí, in his Geography, calls it *Beyghah;* he places it at a short march from *Al-ghoydék* or *Al-ghaydék,* (Alcaudete ?) in the district of Jaen.

[88] وادي الاشات *Wáda-l-eshat* or *Wáda-l-eshet.* It is now called the river of Guadix, a corruption from *Wáda* (river), and *Acci* (the name of the town under the Romans), وادي اش Marmol was wrong in supposing that the word *Guadix* meant 'the river of life.' See *Rebelion de los Moriscos,* Malaga, 1600, book iv. fo. 87, *verso.*

[89] Abú-l-hasan Ibn Nasr was a poet, born at Guadix in five hundred and seventy-two (A. D. 1176-7). He resided in Granada, where he held command under the Almohades. See Ibnu-l-khattíb's history of Granada.

[90]
وادي الاشات يهيج وجدي كلما ∴ اذكرت ما افضت بك النعمآء
لله ظلك للهجير مسلط ∴ قد بردت نفحاته الانداء
و الشمس ترغب ان تفوز بلحظه ∴ منه فتطرق طرفها الافياء
و النهر يبسم بالحباب كانّه ∴ سلخ نضته حيّة رقطاء
فلذلك محدره الغصون فيلها ∴ ابداً علي جنباته ايمآ

[91] The territory about Guadix was and is still famous for its medicinal plants. Ibnu-l-beyttar, who alludes to it often in his Botanical Dictionary, says that it was much frequented by physicians and naturalists in his days. Long after the expulsion of the Moors from Spain it continued still to be the scene of their rambles. As late as the end of the last century one of these wandering physicians, a native of Fez, used to come regularly every year, during the summer season, and, after herborizing for about a fortnight in the neighbouring mountains, return to Africa with a plentiful supply of plants.

[92] جليانة *Hisn Jaliánah.* This seems to be the same village which Marmol Carvajal mentions as still existing in his time under the name of *Julina.* It then belonged to the *Taa* or district of Luchar. (See *Rebelion de los Moriscos,* p. 81.) I ought to observe that the word *Taa,* meaning 'a district or jurisdictional territory of a city,' is Arabic, and comes from طاعة *tá'h,* which means 'obedience.' The word قرية *Kariah,* too, which I have translated by village, has been preserved in the Spanish *Alqueria,* which means

a hamlet, and more properly a cluster of agricultural buildings or farm-houses. There is a province in Spain still called *Alcarria,* since the time of the Arabs, owing to the great number of farm-houses that were scattered over its surface.

93 Ibnu Jazzí-l-kelbí is here called الذي رتب رحالة ابن بطوطة 'the editor of Ibn Battúttah's travels.' The life of this writer occurs in my copy of Ibnu-l-khattíb's history. His entire name was Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Yahya Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Jazzí-l-kelbí. He was a native of Granada, but his family were originally from ولمة Huelma, a village in the Alpuxarras. Ibnu Jazzí died in seven hundred and forty-one (A. D. 1340-1).

A son of his, named Ahmed, was still living, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb (*loco laudato*), in seven hundred and sixty-three (A.D. 1361-2), filling the duties of Kádí of the principal mosque at Granada, and preacher at that of the royal palace of the Al-hamrah in that city.

94 البشرة *Al-busherah,* that is, place of pasturage, from *basherah,* which means 'grass;' at least such appears to be the probable etymology of this word, which Marmol Carvajal thought to mean 'the quarrelsome' (ابو شرة I suppose), because, says that author, long after the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, the Christians held out a long time in the mountain passes for which that district is famous. (*Rebel. de los Mor.* p. 16.) Pedraza, the Granadian antiquarian, with his usual perspicuity, says that the Alpuxarras were so called from Abrahem Abuxarra, one of Taríf's officers, who subdued them! I need not show the extravagance of such etymology, which Pedraza borrowed from that amusing romance, *La perdida de España,* ed. of Valencia, 1646, p. 54. See *Hist. Eccles.* p. 89.

95 *Al-munékab,* or rather *Al-manákib,* is the plural of منقبة *Mankabah,* which means a 'gorge, a pass in the mountains,'—an etymology which agrees well with the situation of that town,—without plunging, like Conde, into an ocean of conjectures, and supposing the word Almuñecar to be a corruption of *Al-mune-caria,* which that author pretends means a garrison town, forgetting that the Arabs never prefix the adjective to the substantive. (*Geog. del Nub.* p. 224.) The author of the *Audhahu-l-mesálek* (fo. 157, *verso*) writes it thus, المُنَكَّب *Al-munnekkab,* which accounts for the Spaniards adopting the letter *ñ* in the pronunciation of that word. It was there that 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. landed from Africa when he came to the conquest of Spain.

Almuñecar is the same town which the Roman geographers designate often by the names of *Exi, Firmum Julium Sexi, Municipium Exitanum.*

96 I have already observed (see Note 69) that, owing to the system adopted by Al-makkarí in writing history, namely, transcribing the narrative of writers of various ages and countries, there must be considerable difference in the mode of spelling. For instance, the word *Toletalah,* which at times is written thus, طُلَاطَلَة is now distinctly written and pointed thus, طُلَيْطَلَة *Toleytolah,* or rather *Toletolah,* as the Arabs pronounced it. The same word is written طُلَيْطِلَة *Toleytilah* by the author of the *'Ajáyibu-l-makhlúkát,* 'the wonders of the creation' (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7504, fo. 26, *verso*).

97 The family of the Dhí-l-nún, or rather Dhí-n-nún, occupied the throne of Toledo from A. H. four

hundred and seven to four hundred and seventy-eight (A.D. 1016 to 1085). Al-makkarí was therefore wrong in saying the sixth instead of the fifth century.

98 It is not easy to guess what the author means by the word زليطة *Zaleytah*, (ذليطة *Dhaleytah* in another copy,) which he translates into Arabic by انت فارح 'thou art content,' especially as, the word not being pointed, it is impossible to say how it is to be pronounced. If the word be spelt as I have written it, it may perhaps be meant for the Latin word *delectas;* if, however, the first letter has a *dhamma*, thus—*dhuleytah*, it may easily be converted into *tu læta* or *tu lætus*, which is a close translation of *enta fárihon*. The author of the *Audhahu-l-mesálek* says that *dhaleytah* or *dhuleytah* mean انت فارغ 'thou art finishing or ending,' but as the copyist may easily have mistaken the غ for ح I believe the former reading to be the right one. Of all people in the world the Arabs are the most fond of giving sense to foreign words. It is a propensity in which Spanish historians have also most freely indulged. The *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah* (Arab. MS. in my possession) says that Toledo was founded by the Carthaginians, العمالقة 'Amalékah or Amalekites, as the Arabs called them, *loco laudato*, p. 25, *verso*.

99 اضحت طليطلة معطلة ∴ من اهلها في قبضة الصقر
تركت بلا اهل توسلها ∴ مهجورة الاكناف كالقبر
ماكان يبقي الله قنطرة ∴ نصبت لحمل كتايب الكفر

The author of these verses, 'Abbás Ibn Firnás, was a general of Mohammed I., son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., Sultán of Cordova. After a siege of six years, Mohammed took the city of Toledo (A.D. 859) from the rebels who, since his father's time, had strengthened themselves in it. See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 291.

The last hemistich of the last verse, which I have translated by 'through which the inhabitants held communication with the infidels,' might also be translated 'which served for the passage of the Christian troops,' for the word كتايب *katáyib*, plural of *katíbah*, means 'letters,' and 'bodies of cavalry;' and it is not unlikely that the inhabitants of Toledo sought and obtained the assistance of the Christians on this occasion. The verb نصبت too, seems to imply that a bridge of light materials had been thrown across the river for that purpose.

100 زادت طليطلة علي ما حدثوا ∴ بلد عليه نضرة و نعيم
الله زينه فوشح حصره ∴ نهر المجرة و الغصون نجوم

I find this second verse differently written in a collection of poems formed by 'Ala Ibn Mohammed Ibn Khaled Al-belátanisí, entitled *Nozhatu-l-abssár wa bahjatu-l-afkár*. It stands thus:

الله زينه فوشح حصره ∴ نهر المجرّة والغصون نجوم

'God has ornamented it, and given it the walls for a girdle, (while) the river is the milky way, 'and the branches of the trees (on its banks) look like the stars.'

Immediately after these verses there follow, in the principal manuscript, several odes, and other poetical compositions, of unusual length, touching more or less upon Spain, and praising in general terms its mild temperature, salubrious air, natural productions, fertility of the soil, &c. As the reader could not derive much information from the translation of these poems, some of which occupy many closely-written pages in the original, and have but a slight connexion with the main object of this work, I have thought myself authorized to suppress them, taking care to give here the names of their authors, with such accounts of them and their works as I have been able to collect elsewhere.

Abú I'shák Ibn Khafájah, a poet of the fifth century, and whose life has been given by Al-fat'h, both in his *Kaláyid*, fo. 71, and in his *Mattmahu-l-anfus*, fo. 174, *verso;* Ibnu-l-khattíb (see Note 11, p. 306); 'Abdu-l-málik Ar-ro'ayní, Ibnu Sa'íd, father and son (see Note 1, p. 309), &c. There is also a very long epistle, full of rhetorical beauties, containing a poetical description of some of the Spanish cities, addressed to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of the Sultán Yúsuf, and grandson of 'Abdu-l-múmen. The author is Abú Bahr Sefwán Ibn Idrís. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 97, 598.

101 *Kal'at-Rabáh* (the castle of Rabáh), which Conde (see notes to the description of Spain by the geographer Idrísí, fo. 211) translated by 'a capacious or roomy castle,' was so called from the name of its founder 'Alí Ibn Rabáh Al-lakhmí, an illustrious Arab, who is supposed by some to have been one of the followers of the Prophet who entered Spain with Músa.

102 It appears evident that Malaga and the surrounding districts were called by the Arabian settlers رية *Rayah*, from the name of a city and province in Persia called ري Rayya, much in the same manner as Jaen was called *Kennesrín;* Seville, *Hems* (Emesa); Granada, *Shám* (Damascus); Murcia, *Misr*, &c., after similar cities in the East. Rayya is the name of a district of Persia, whence, according to Ar-rází, who was originally from it, numerous settlers came to Spain, who, at the division of the lands among the Arabs, obtained for their share the country round Malaga. Adh-dhobí, in his *Bigh'yatu-l-multamis* (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 14, p. 160), says that part of the territory of Malaga was peopled by settlers from Al-urdán (Jordan), who gave it the name of their country, and called it *Al-urdán*. However, although Malaga and its territory may have been called Rayya, there must have been besides in the neighbourhood of that city another town, perhaps founded by the same settlers, and which received also from them the name of Rayya, for Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 103), in translating an article from Ibnu-l-khattíb, speaks of a town called Raya, belonging to the district of Archidona (Καρχηδών). This I believe stood on the site now occupied by the hamlet of Zafarraya, (the fields of Rayya?) eighteen miles from Archidona and twenty-five from Malaga, unless it be the town of Arrayate, which is at a few miles from the former city. Conde was wrong in supposing that Raya was Rute. See notes to Idrísí, p. 187.

103 All the copies read تيش but I know of no place on the coast of Malaga answering this description. Perhaps بالش *Bélesh* or بلش *Velez*, twelve miles east of Malaga, is meant. Al-bekrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 63) speaks of a sea-port called بَالش *Bálish* or *Bélish*, which stood opposite to Malaga on the African coast, and settlers from which founded in all probability the Spanish town.

104 One of the signs of royalty among the Arabs, Abú Zeyd Ibn Khaldún says, consisted in having their names and surnames woven into the skirt of their robes. Rich men were also allowed to use stuffs into which were woven passages of the Korán, or some favourite prayers. The stuffs thus prepared were

called طراز *tiráz*, a word meaning the skirt of a robe, and from which the Spaniards have derived *traza*, which signifies the edge of cloth. Upon the *tiráz*, and the use made of it by the Arabs, the reader may consult De Sacy's *Chrest. Arab.* vol. ii. p. 287, where he has given a translation of the passage of Ibnu Khaldún concerning this and other signs of royalty among the Arabs.

105 مالقة حييت ياتينها ∴ الهلك من اجلك ياتينها
نهي طبيبي عنه في علتي ∴ ما لطبيب عن حياتي نها

106 و حمص لاتنسي لها تينها ∴ و اذكر مع التين زياتها

The first hemistich is differently written in some copies: و لا تنس تين اشبيلية

107 رطل, *ratl* or *retl* is a pound of twelve ounces. The old Spanish words *arrel* and *arrelde* are derived from it. The word *retal*, a remnant of cloth, seems to have the same origin.

108 The Arabs call Canopus *Sohayl*. It is not improbable that in the mountains of Ronda, which are a continuation of the Sierra Nevada, and some of which have an elevation of nine thousand feet above the surface of the sea, that constellation may be visible.

109 بلش is the present city of Velez-Malaga. I think it was so called to distinguish it from another town also called Bélesh, which Al-bekrí places on the coast of Africa, opposite to the former. See Note 103, p. 356.

110 Nerja, which in the sixteenth century was called *Nárija*, (see Marmol, *loco laudato*, fo. 68,) is a sea-port between Velez and Almuñecar.

111 *Al-hamah* derives its name from the hot springs in the neighbourhood; *Al-hammah*, in Arabic, meaning 'hot springs' or '*thermæ*.' There is another town of the same name in the district of Almeria on the banks of the river Gergal, which is called Al-hama *la seca* (the dry) to distinguish it from the former.

112 *Kheyrán* was a Sclavonian eunuch and confidential servant of the famous Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, who, in reward for his services, conferred on him the government of the province of Almeria. On the death of his master, and during the civil wars that arose between the Africans and the Spanish Arabs, Kheyrán naturally embraced the party of the Sultáns of the family of Umeyyah, and, like the other generals of Al-mansúr, proclaimed himself independent in his government. He seems, however, not to have assumed the title of king, but to have contented himself with that of *Hájib* or prime minister, for, like the other rebels, he pretended to administer his possessions in the absence only of the legitimate sovereign of the house of Umeyyah. See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. pp. 593, 599, *et seq.* and vol. ii. p. 10. See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 206, c. 2, *et passim.*

113 There is a small river, or rather a mountain torrent, at Berja, which discharges its waters into the river of Adra, eight or nine miles before reaching the sea.

114 Dock-yard in Arabic is دارصنعة *dar-san'ah,* that is, 'house of construction,' a name which the Spanish Arabs applied not only to the dock-yards where ships were built or careened, but also to the magazines where weapons and other warlike implements were either manufactured or stored. From *dár-san'ah* the Spaniards have since made the word *atarazana,* which conveys the same meaning. The same word was further corrupted into *darsena* (a place in a harbour to repair ships), and *arsenal* (a dock-yard), which has also passed into French and Italian. There are still in some of the sea-ports of Spain buildings of this kind constructed by the Arabs, or erected by the Christians on their model, as the *atarazanas* of Malaga, Seville, Barcelona, Tarragona, &c.

Almeria was, during the empire of the Bení Umeyyah, the principal dock-yard on the coast of the Mediterranean. See Appendix B. at the end of this volume, where the reader will find, in a passage translated from Abú Zeyd Ibn Khaldún, much that is interesting upon the navy and maritime forces of the western Arabs.

115 ديباج *díbáj* is a generic word for all sorts of silken stuff dyed of various colours. The Spaniards have made from it the words *dibujo* and *dibujar,* which mean 'a drawing' and 'to draw.'

116 The meaning of the word *tiráz* has already been explained. Both Ibnu-l-wardí (*loco laudato,* fo. 15, *verso*) and the author of the *'Ajáyibu-l-makhlúkát* (fo. 24, *verso*) praise the city of Almeria for its manufactures of these royal dresses.

117 حُلل *holol,* or rather *holal,* the plural of *hillah,* means a species of silken robe worked in stripes.

118 A. reads اسقاطون *askátún;* B. more correctly اسقلطون *askalatún,* which means *scarlet.* That word seems to be the origin of the word *scarlatum,* which, according to Ducange (see *Gloss.* vol. vi. p. 202), was used in Low Latin. Spanish, *escarlata;* French, *écarlate;* Italian, *scarlàtto.*

119 Instead of عتابي *'Atábí,* or *'Itábí,* the principal MS. reads عنابي *'Anábí,* but I believe the former to be the correct reading, for I find in Ibn Bashkúwál that there was in Baghdád a street called عتاب *'Atáb,* in which there were several manufactures of silken stuffs, and it is likely that these were thus denominated from the spot of their fabrication.

The author of the *'Ajáyibu-l-makhlúkát* (fo. 24, *verso*) adds that there were at Almeria fabrics of candied fruits, of which a considerable exportation took place every year for the ports of Africa and Egypt; he adds also that at one time the number of baths and inns, *fondák,* (Italian, *fondaco,* Spanish, *fonda,*) amounted to one thousand, including only in this number those that had shutting doors مغلق

120 Abú Ja'far Ibn ختيمة Khatímah (but more correctly خاتمة Khátimah) is the author of a history of Almeria, which is often quoted by Ibnu-l-khattíb in his *Kitábu-l-ahháttati fí táríkhi Gharnáttati* (Arab. MS. in my possession), and the title of which is as follows: المزية المرية علي غيرها من البلاد الاندلسية (*advantages of Almeria over the other districts of Andalus*).

The life of the author himself was written in great detail by Ibnu-l-khattíb. His entire name was Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Mohammed. He was known by the surname of Ibn Khátimah, and used the patronymic 'Al-'ansárí.' He was born at Almeria in seven hundred and twenty-four (A.D. 1323-4). He was still living when Ibnu-l-khattíb wrote, viz., in Sha'bán, A.H. seven hundred and seventy (A.D. 1369).

There is still another history of Almeria which Ibnu-l-khattíb mentions repeatedly, and the author of which is said to be Abú-l-barkáh Ibnu-l-háj. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 310, c. 2.

121 The word برارید *barárid,* thus written, can be nothing else than the plural of بریدة *barrídah,* a word not to be found either in Jeuharí or Fírúzabádí, and which I believe belongs to some of the African dialects. I think it means either the floor or the sides of a room, which in most houses of wealthy people in Morocco are lined with marble flags to a height of three or more feet. It might also come from بر *barro,* which in Arabic as well as in Spanish means mud and clay, substances with which the floors of Moorish houses are generally strewed to this day, and over which the tiles or marble flags are placed. See Gråberg, *Specchio di Marocco,* p. 139.

The mountains in the neighbourhood of Almeria abound in agates of all colours. See Bowles, *Introduccion á la Historia Natural y Geografia Física de España,* pp. 125, 132, *et passim.* It is no doubt owing to this circumstance that the *Promontorium Charidemi* received its present name of *Cabo de Gata,* or cape of the agates. Samuel Bochart thought even that the word Καριδήμου was but a corruption of the two words *char* and *odem,* meaning, in the Punic language, the promontory of the cornelians.

122 *Wáda Bejénah* (the river of Bejénah), so called, no doubt, because it passed through or quite close to Bejénah, which I believe to be the same as the Bechina of Marmol (*Rebel. de los Moriscos,* fo. 85, *verso*), now Pechina, a village five miles from Almeria. It is probable, however, that in the eleventh century, when Almeria became the capital of a kingdom, both places were connected together by a continuance of buildings, for I find them frequently mentioned by the Arabian writers as being only one city. The author of the *Nashaku-l-azhár fí 'ajáyibi-l-akttár,* a geographical treatise described elsewhere (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7503, fo. 9, *verso*), says that Bejénah was the ancient name for Almeria. Yákút, in his great geographical dictionary, entitled *Mu'ajemu-l-boldán* (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., No. 909), writes thus, بجانة *Bejénnah,* and says that it was once a city belonging to the province of Al-bírah (Illiberis), but that in the course of time its inhabitants destroyed it and migrated to Almeria. Idrísí (*clim.* iv. *sect.* 1) has words to the same effect. "From Almeria," he says, "to Bejénah the distance is "six miles. Bejénah was once a famous city long time before Almeria had risen to importance, but the "inhabitants of Bejénah having migrated to the latter place, Almeria became a populous city, and the "former was deserted." Abú-l-fedá (see *Geog.* fo. 47, *verso*) is still more explicit; his words are, "Bejénah is now a small fortified town حصن at seven miles from Almeria. It was in former days the "seat of the government of the province, but, having decayed, Almeria in time rose out of its ruins."

I ought to observe that it is not uncommon to find, in geographical descriptions of Mohammedan Spain, the name of this town written thus بجاية *Bejáyah,* by a mere transposition of one point, and the addition of another—an easy mistake among illiterate copyists, who confounded the Bejénah of Spain with the Bejáyah or Bujáyah (now Bujeiah or Bugia) in the territory of Algiers. I may quote as a proof the copy of Ibnu-l-wardí's geographical work in the British Museum (No. 9590, fo. 15, *verso*), and the *'Ajáyibu-l-makhlúkát,* No. 7504 in the same library, fo. 24, as well as the Arabic text of Idrísí, printed at Rome in 1592. Conde, in his translation (*Geografia del Nubiense,* p. 31), fell also into the same error.

It is not easy to determine which was the ancient name of Bejénah. It must have been a city of some importance under the Romans, for Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his history of Granada, represents it as a large deserted place where, as late as the fourteenth century of our era, remains of great Roman buildings were still visible. Pliny and Ptolemy mention a sea-port called Vigi, in a situation answering to that of Almeria, and which gave its name to the *Vigitanus Golphus;* might not the word Bejénah be a corruption of it? However, it is evident that the Arabs did there what they were in the constant habit of doing wherever they settled in Spain. Not liking the situation of the Roman town, they built one of their own at a short distance along the coast, with the materials of the old one, and gave it a name purely Arabic, as is that of المرية *Al-meriyyah,* (a word meaning the 'conspicuous,' the 'visible,' no doubt because of its being seen far at sea.)

What the Arabs called "the river of Bejénah" is now "the river of Almeria." Higher up, and before it receives the waters of the Andarax, it is called *Rio Boloduy.*

123 ارض وطيتَ الدر رضاضاً بها ∴ والترب مسكاً والرياض جناناً

124 The Bení Maymún were a powerful family who played a distinguished part during the civil wars between the Almoravides and Almohades, following the party of the former. Some of them held Almeria, Cadiz, and other cities of Spain, as a fief of the Almoravides, until, by the entire subjection of Spain by the arms of 'Abdu-l-múmen, the first Sultán of the Almohades, they were compelled to submit. Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 292, speaks of a certain 'Abdullah Ibn Maymún, who was governor of Almeria in five hundred and forty (A. D. 1145); but a few pages lower (p. 298) he calls him *Muhamad ben Maymun.* See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 54.

During the occupation of Almeria and Cadiz by the princes of this family the maritime forces of the western Arabs were continually engaged in piratical incursions upon the coasts of France and Italy. See Appendix B. at the end of the volume, and Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins en France,* Paris, 1836, pp. 220-3, *et passim.*

125 فاذا تنبه رعته و اذا اغفا ∴ سلت عليه سيوفك الاحلام

126 Various testimonials tend to prove that during the middle ages, and especially after the formation of the kingdom of Granada, a considerable trade was carried on between the Spanish Arabs and the Genoese, the Pisans, and Catalonians, through the ports of Malaga, Almuñecar, and Almeria. Oil, wine, hemp, manufactured stuffs, pottery, and above all, raw silk, seem to have furnished the principal staple of a trade which poured immense wealth all along the shores of Granada. It was from their establishments on that coast, and chiefly at Almeria, that the Italian citizens first acquired that superiority in trade, and that proficiency in various branches of industry, which insured to them in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the universal market of Europe. The reader may consult on the subject Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana,* and Sismondi, in his history of the Italian republics, as well as Capmany, *Memorias Hist. de Barcelona,* Mad. 1779-92, vol. iii. p. 218; Marmol, *loco laudato,* fo. 86, *et passim;* and Pedraza, *Antig. de Granada,* fo. 101, *et passim.*

As this passage is important, and is somewhat obscure, I have thought fit to transcribe here the words of the author.

و بها كان محط مراكب النصاري و مجتمع ديوانهم و منها كانت تسفر لساير البلاد بضايعهم

و منها كانوا يوسقون جميع البضايع التي تصلح لهم و قصد بضبط ذلك فيها حصر ما يجتمع في
اعشارهم و لم يوجد لهذا الشان مثلها لكونها موسطة و متسعة قابية بالوارد و الصادر ∴

127 عذرا *Adra*, the Ἄβδερα of Strabo and Ptolemy, preserves its ancient name with a slight alteration. برجة *Berjah* is Berja, a town built on the banks of a small river, discharging itself into the Mediterranean at Adra. It is believed to be the *Bergi* of Pliny and Strabo.

128 اذا جيئت برجة مستوفراً ∴ فخذ في المقام و خلي السفر
فكل مكان بها جنّة ∴ و كل طريق اليها سقر

129 حصن شنش *Hisn-Shinsh.* The name of this town is variously written in the several manuscripts. A. has حضرة بكشنس *Hadhrah Bakshans.* B. and my copy حصن شنش as printed. I have chosen the former because it is that given by the *Audhahu-l-mesálek,* fo. 109, *verso,* as well as by Abú-l-fedá in his Geography, fo. 47, who places it at times in the province of Malaga, at others in that of Almeria; but I am not sure, even then, of having pronounced the word right, as it is written entirely without vowels. Marmol (*Rebel. de los Moris.* fo. 77) mentions among the villages of the *Taa,* or district of Berja, two whose names bear a slight resemblance to this—*Aynaxid* and *Bena Haxin.* With a slight alteration of the diacritical points in the word شنش thus, شهين or حشين the word *Haxin* may easily be obtained.

Nothing is so difficult as to fix the topography of small towns and hamlets mentioned by the Arabian historians and geographers. Besides their being almost universally written without vowels, and in a variety of ways, so as to make their real pronunciation rather a matter of guess than a certainty, the words themselves were so much vitiated by the pronunciation of the Christians that some of them scarcely retain any of the radical letters. The conquerors, too, in settling in the Moorish towns and villages, not unfrequently baptized their new place of residence, either by naming it after the country of their birth or by translating the name into Spanish. For instance, when, after the conquest of Seville by St. Ferdinand in Nov. A. D. 1248, the lands and villages about the capital were distributed among the noblemen and feudal lords who had assisted in the undertaking, scarcely one of the allotted districts retained its Arabian name. جليان *Jilián* was transformed into Villalba; فراط *Forát,* or Euphrates, into Tamariz; حرّة ابي سرّة *Harrat Abí Sarrah* into Molina; حصن زهرة *Hisn-zahrah* was translated by Peñaflor. I might multiply the examples of this kind, all taken from a curious old manuscript in the Brit Mus., Bib. Eger. No. 478, being a copy of the original distribution made of the lands about Seville immediately after the conquest. If to this be added that many of the towns and hamlets inhabited by the Arabs have, owing to the persecution of the Moriscos until their final expulsion in 1610, and the frightful decrease of population in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, totally disappeared from the surface, the reader will easily conceive the difficulties which the translator has had to encounter at every step to determine the modern names and situation of several places mentioned in this history.

130 جيّان *Jayyén* is believed to be the *Aurigi* of Pliny. It owes its modern name to the Arabs, who called it after a city of Persia of the same name. The territory of its jurisdiction was likewise called

Kennesrín because some Arabs of that country settled in it. In the old Spanish chronicles the name of Jaen is written thus, *Jahen*, and sometimes *Jayen*. See *Cronica de España por el Rey Don Alfonso*, fo. cccc.

131 ابعد من عنوق *ab'adu min 'onúki*, 'further than the Pleiades,' is an expression very much used by Arabian writers when they wish to enhance the distance of an object.

132 أعز من بيض الانوق *a'azzu min beydhi-l-anúkí*. The Arabs, like the Greeks, thought that the eggs laid by the pelican were nowhere to be found. This gave rise to the Arabic proverb, 'More scarce than the pelican's eggs.' Ad-demírí, in his *Hayátu-l-haywán* (Arab. MS. in my possession), describes the *anúk* (pelican) as "a bird of black plumage, having the top of the head bald, and with a short bill. "The female has four pouches, in which she deposits her eggs, which she never lays but on the top of "high and inaccessible rocks and in desert places."

133 As late as the sixteenth century the territory about Jaen was still famous for the rearing of silk-worms, and the land was completely covered with mulberry-trees. It is painful to remark that this useful branch of industry is now entirely abandoned. The translator of the history of Ar-rází calls Jaen '*Tierra del Sirgo*' (country of silk).

134 This passage is rather obscure, so that I am not sure of having translated it right. It stands thus in the principal MS. و ما كان بابذة من اصناف الملاهي و الرواقص المشهورات بحسن الانطباع و الصنعة فانهن احذق خلق الله باللعب بالسيوف و الدل و اخراج القروي و المرابطة و المتوجة

Instead of صنعة B. has صفة which reading I have adopted. The same copy reads الدلك instead of الدل but I think that neither reading is correct, and that الدلا or ادل ought to be substituted in my translation. The last sentence is altogether differently written in B. It reads thus و اخراج القرور و المرابط و المتوجد

CHAPTER III.

1 The Guadalquivir is frequently called by the Arabian writers وادي العظم 'the great river:' '*adhem*, however, is but a synonyme of *kebír*.

2 The MS. reads الاخوين 'the two brothers.' There is, not far from Seville, a hamlet called *Dos hermanas* (two sisters), the *Orippo* of the Antonine Itinerary, nine miles from Hispalis.

3 *Juliah-Romiyyah*. Seville is called on coins *Colonia Julia Romula*, *Romulea*, and *Romulensis*.

4 This account must have been transcribed from an author of the sixth century of the Hijra, since up to that time there was no bridge over the Guadalquivir at Seville. Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, the author of a

history of the Almoravides (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., Oxford, *Marsh.* 433), says that "in his time "the people living on both banks of the river could only communicate with each other by means of ferry-"boats, and that whenever a sudden overflow of the river, or the rapidity of the current, increased by the "autumnal rains, stopped the navigation, the inhabitants of Seville were exposed to famine, as the "markets of the city were chiefly supplied with grain and provisions by the peasants and farmers living "on the opposite bank." It was not until the reign of Yúsuf Abú Ya'kúb, son of 'Abdu-l-múmen, the second Sultán of the Almohades in Spain, that a bridge of boats was thrown across the Guadalquivir on the same spot where it now stands. It was completed in the space of a few months, and the troops passed for the first time over it on Tuesday, the eighth of Safar, A.H. five hundred and sixty-seven (11th October, A.D. 1171). During the siege of Seville by Ferdinand III. (August, A.D. 1247, to November, 1248) this bridge, the boats of which were connected together by means of strong iron chains, and defended by the garrison, opposed considerable resistance; and as the avenues to it by land were also strongly guarded, the Moors obtained supplies from the country, and the siege was considerably protracted. However, by means of two galleys, armed with iron prows and impelled by favourable winds, and a strong setting tide, the chains that joined together the bridge were broken asunder, and the boats sunk. See Mariana, book XIII. chap. vii. *Cronica General,* fo. ccccxix. *verso.* Caro, *Antig. de Sevilla,* fo. 33. *Cronica de San Fernando,* Valladolid, 1555, fo. xxvii.

5 *Axarafe* preserves its name to this day. It comes from شرف *sharaf,* with the article prefixed, which means 'a hilly country,' such being the nature of the ground here alluded to. Conde was wrong in deriving this word from *al-xarafe,* which he supposed meant 'tax, tribute.' The root from which the Spanish words *almoxarife, almoxarifar, almoxarifazgo,* are derived is a different one. They all come from خَرَفَ which means 'to collect the fruits of the land, to gather the harvest;' and as most of the land-taxes paid by the Spanish Arabs, and indeed all over the Mohammedan countries, were gathered in kind, hence the collector was called المُخَارِف *al-mokhárif.* As a further proof that the word *Axarafe* comes from الشرف and means a hilly country, I can adduce the testimony of Ibnu Bashkúwál, Ibnu-l-abbár, and other Arabian writers, who give a similar name to a district in the neighbourhood of Cordova, which to this day is called by the country people *los Axarafes.*

6 اطرايانا sometimes written طرايانة 'the suburb of Triana,' which is universally believed to owe its name to the Emperor Trajan, who was a native of Italica. I find it also called *má wará-l-nahr* (the *trans-fluvial* as it were), because of its being separated from the city by the Guadalquivir.

7 قبطال *Kabtál* was the name of an island on the Guadalquivir, at a short distance from Seville. See Abú-l-fedá's Geography, and Idrísí, *clim.* iv. *sect.* 1. It is now called *Isla minor* (lesser Island). There is close to it another island known to the Arabs by the name of قَبْطَوْر *Kabtaur,* now called *Isla mayor* (larger Island). Both are mentioned by the historians of the middle ages under their ancient names, *Captel* or *Captiel,* and *Captaur.* See Rodericus Toletanus *ad calcem* Erpenii, p. 22, and the *Cronica General,* fo. ccccxviii., as well as the *Cronica de San Fernando,* Valladolid, 1555; Caro, *Antig. de Sevilla,* fo. 126, *verso;* Morgado, *Hist. de Sevilla,* fo. 99, *verso.*

As these islands are not mentioned by the Roman geographers, it is impossible to say what their names

were; however, it is easily perceived that the words *Kabital* or *Kabtál* and *Kabtaur* are not Arabic, but corruptions of the Latin words *Capitolium* and *Caput Tauri*, which might well have been the names of the islands. Al-bekrí, in his *Mesálek-wa-l-memálek*, fo. 63, mentions a sea-port not far from Murcia called قبطيال (قبيطل ?) *Kabtiel Tudmír*, the capitol of Theodomír or Tudmír; and Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát (*loco laudato*) speaks also of a small island close to that of Kabital which he calls جزيرة السباع 'the island of the lions.'

8 قرمز *kirmiz* or *kermez* is the *coccus ilicis*, whence the Spaniards have made *al-kermes*, and the dye obtained from it is *carmesí*.

9 شق النسيم عليه جيب قيصه ∴ فانساب من شطيه يطلب ثاره
فتضاحكت ورق الحمام بدوحها ∴ هزا فضم من الحياء ازاره

The word *kamíss*, whence the Spaniards have made *camisa*, which has further passed into the French *chemise*, means any interior clothing made of linen or cotton, but not of wool.

Ibnu-s-saffár (the son of the coppersmith) is, I believe, the surname of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, who, according to Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 99), was a famous poet, born at Almeria, but residing at Seville. Al-makkarí (book v. fo. 111, *verso*) gives the life of a writer also called Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibnu-s-saffár, but he makes him a native of Cordova, and, although very learned in arithmetic and other sciences, he is not said to have been a poet. He lost his sight from over study, notwithstanding which he travelled to the East in search of knowledge, and arrived at Baghdád.

10 الانشام *al-anshám*, plural of نشم *nashm*, which, according to Golius, is a species of tree from the twigs of which bows are made.

11 اشبيلية عروساً وبعلها عبّاد
وتاجها الشرف وسلكها الواد

12 الشرف غابة بلا اسد ∴ ونهرها نيل بلا تمساح

غابة *ghábah* is a forest. In ancient Spanish *al-gaba* meant the same.

13 جبل الرحمة *Jebel-arrahmah*, 'the mountain of mercy,' no doubt so called from its fertility. It is a portion of the chain of the Sierra Morena, which reaches close to Seville.

14 القوطي 'the Gothic fig.' What sort of fig this is, I cannot decide. I believe, however, that it is meant for the fruit of the *cactus opuntia*, or Indian fig, as otherwise called. The Spaniards call it *higo de tuna*. On the coast of Algiers the same fruit is called *karamús al-ansarání* (Christian fig), while the Spanish Arabs called it *tín Fir'aún* (Pharaoh's fig), and *tín-al-hindí* (Indian fig). See Banqueri's

translation of Ibnu-l-awam's treatise on Agriculture, Mad. 1802, vol. i. p. 256. The author of the history of Africa known by the title of *Karttás*, treating of the agricultural productions round Fez, speaks of a fig called السبتي (the fig of Ceuta); it might be the same which is here intended. See the Portug. transl. by Antonio Moura, p. 43.

[15] الشعري *ash-sha'rí* (the hairy). In the treatise on Agriculture by Ibnu-l-awam, of Seville, translated by the learned Banqueri, mention is made of this species of fig. (See vol. i. p. 273). It is also mentioned by the author of the *Karttás*, although its translator, Moura, read *shí'ra*, and rendered it by 'Syrian.' See *loco laudato*, p. 43.

[16] خيال *khiyál* or *khayál*, which reading is to be found in all the copies. The figure and description of this instrument are entirely unknown to me, and the dictionaries say not a word on the subject.

[17] Music being a science almost unknown to the Arabs before their conquests, they necessarily borrowed from the subdued nations their knowledge of it, as well as the names of almost all their instruments. It is, therefore, a matter of the greatest difficulty to determine the form, use, and origin of those that are here mentioned, and many more that occur in the writings of the Arabs, unless we are made acquainted with some fundamental treatise on the subject. As I happen, however, to have with me a few extracts made from a work in the Nat. Lib. of Madrid (Gg. 41), entitled كتاب الامتاع و الانتفاع في مسيكة سماع و السماع (*the book of agreement and utility to command the hearing of the hearers*), and the author of which is Mohammed Ash-shalahí, of Seville, who dedicated it to Abú Ya'kúb Yúsuf, Sultán of the Almoravides, (see Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 527), I shall occasionally refer to it in the course of the present note.

The كربج *kerbehh.* This word is not found in the dictionaries. Perhaps it is a fault of the copyist, and كربال *kirbál* or غربال *ghirbál* ought to be read instead. If so, it is a sort of timbrel, which the author above referred to describes as an instrument of a circular shape, covered with a sheep-skin, and beaten with the hand or a stick. It was called غربال (*sieve*) from its similitude to that utensil. *Garbillo* in Spanish is a sieve, and *garbellar* is to pass through a sieve.

The *'oúd* is a well-known instrument, as the lute of the middle ages. It ought to be observed that the French *luth*, and the Italian *liuto*, are both derived from the Spanish *laúd.*

The روطة *rótteh.* This word is not Arabic, and not to be found in the dictionaries. Perhaps it comes from the Latin *rota*, a wheel, indicating the circular shape of the instrument which it is intended to designate.

رباب *rabáb* or *rebéb*, in Spanish *rabel*, and *arrabel*, in French *rebec*, is a species of viol, such as is now used in Egypt and other Mohammedan countries. (See Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 74.) The instrument now called *arrabel* in Spain is a sort of small viol, all in one piece, with only three strings, and is chiefly used by shepherds.

قانون *kánún.* According to Ash-shalahí (*loco laudato*) this is the Persian name for a species of dulcimer,

harp, or sackbut, the strings of which, from fifty to sixty in number, rest upon the bridges, and are touched with both hands without making use of any plectrum or bow. The word, however, comes from the Greek *κανών*. This instrument is differently described by Mr. Lane in his notes on the Arabian Nights (see vol. ii. p. 75) and *Modern Egyptians* (vol. ii. chap. 5), for, although the general idea seems to be the same, in the representation which that author gives of it, it is played without plectra.

المونس *al-múnis*. This word is Arabic, and means 'the diverting, the amusing,' and also 'a companion, a friend;' but the object to which it is applied is entirely unknown to me.

A. reads *Al-kannérah;* B. الكنيرة *al-kanírah;* my copy الكثيرة *al-kathírah;* but I have followed the former reading, as it is in two out of the three MSS. that I have consulted. The instrument here alluded to seems to be the كنّارة *kinnárrah*, which Golius translates by *chelis, cithara, tympanum,* (any instrument that is touched with the hand.) It might also be the same as the *kinnor* of the Hebrews, but then it would mean a guitar; on the other hand, *kitsarah* (cithara ?) might be identified with the *kathros* of the Hebrews.

غنار *ghinár*. This word appears to be nothing else but a repetition of the preceding, only with the change of ك into غ a thing of frequent occurrence among the Arabs.

زلامي *zalémí* or *źalámí*, the meaning of which is unknown to me. *Zulum* means an arrow without feathers or point, such as the pagan Arabs used in gaming.

الشقرة *ash-shakarah* (perhaps *ash-shukrah*, which means 'the red,') and نورة *núrah*, 'a flower,' we are told are two species of مزمار *mizmár*, 'flute or psaltery,' for the word *mizmár* is susceptible of both meanings. However, I incline to the belief that the word *mizmár* means flutes; for Mr. Lane (see *Mod. Egyp.* vol. ii. p. 75) speaks of a sort of hautboy called *zemr*, and of a reed-pipe *zoomárah*, which are both derived from the same root. The MS. in the Lib. of Madrid says, also, that the *mizmár* is a flute.

بوق *bók* or *búk* is generally admitted to be a sort of clarionet. The Spanish *albogue* is derived from it. Yet Cervantes tells us in his Don Quixote that this name was applied in his time to some brass plates made in the shape of a candlestick, which, being hollow, and beaten one against another, produced a sort of rustic music. John Martinez de la Parra, a learned Jesuit, in his *Exposicion de la Doctrina Cristiana* (vol. ii. p. 116), describes it as an instrument composed of several reeds joined together, which, being very hard to blow, made an unpleasant sound, and at the same time caused the cheeks of the player to swell and look red.

دُفّ *dúf*, whence the Spanish *adufe*, is a sort of tabret covered with a skin, but only at one end.

اقوال *akwál*. Hájí Khalfah mentions an instrument called *kawwál* in the chapter relating to works on the art of manufacturing musical instruments, but he gives no description of it. Prof. Fluegel translates it by *fistula*, a flute. See vol. i. p. 400.

برا *bará*, ابو قرون *abú karún*, and دبدبة *dabdabah*, are instruments used by the inhabitants of Súdán. According to Ibnu Khaldún (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., fo. 94, *verso*), the latter word (*dabdabah*) means, properly speaking, the noise produced by a sort of drum called by the blacks *dobdáb*.

حماقي *hamékí* or *hamákí*, in Arabic, means 'a stupid man, a fool.' However, the word in the text may be Berber, for ought I know.

I regret that, owing to the reasons which I have stated in the Preface, I was prevented from examining at leisure the Arabic MSS. in the Esc. Lib., or else I would certainly have consulted a treatise on music by Al-fárábí, marked No. 911, and which, according to Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 347), contains, besides the musical notes used by the Arabs, drawings of upwards of thirty instruments. I might then have given in this note something more solid and satisfactory than mere conjectures; I might also have decided whether the signs which Casiri took for musical notes were such or not, a question of some importance, since a late French writer (Viardot, *Hist. des Arabes*, vol. ii. p. 137) has not hesitated to advance, without any further authority than this loose assertion, that the Spanish Arabs were the inventors of the musical notes.

18 The expression here used by the author is مراكبها برّاً و جراً 'their vehicles by land and water,' *i. e.* their horses and boats. My copy adds وجواريها 'and their women or slaves.'

19 B. adds الوشاحين و الزجالين *al-washsháhín wa az-zajjálín*, which means 'poets who write two species of poems, called by the Arabs *al-muwashshahah* and *zajalah*.'

20 *Mojabénah* (in Spanish *al-mojabena* and *al-mojabana*) is a sort of cheese-cake, from *jaban*, which means cheese in Arabic.

21 Italica, a Roman town built or restored by Scipio Africanus at the close of the Punic war for the use of his wounded soldiers. It stood on the opposite bank of the Guadalquivir, at a short distance from Seville. In the distribution of lands made after the conquest of that city by Ferdinand III., it is still mentioned under the name of *Sevilla la vieja* (Old Seville), or *Campos de Talca*. The village of Santi Ponce now occupies part of its site, an extensive plain, which in the sixteenth century was still thickly strewn with imposing remains, such as a beautiful amphitheatre, temples, statues, and hundreds of standing columns, &c., but which has since been almost entirely deprived of its ornaments by the successive depredations of the inhabitants of Seville, who, like their predecessors the Moors, have appropriated them for their buildings.

Ornamented by the gifts of three Roman Emperors born within its walls (Adrian, Trajan, and Theodosius), Italica was raised to the first rank among the Roman cities in the Peninsula. It was a considerable town, and the seat of a bishopric under the Goths, but was probably destroyed or deserted by the Arabs, who employed its materials in the enlargement of Seville. The traveller Swinburne, who visited Spain towards the middle of the last century, says that the corporation of Seville having had occasion, some time previous to his visit to that city, for stones for the embankment of the Guadalquivir, which by its frequent inundations caused great damages to the city, ordered the amphitheatre of Italica to be knocked down, and many thousands were employed to batter the walls, and to blow up with gunpowder such parts as resisted the pickaxe!—Swinburne's *Tour through Spain*, London, 1740. On the Roman remains of Italica the reader may consult Caro, *Antig. de Sevilla*, 1634; Morgado, *Hist. de Sevilla*, Sev. 1587; Cean Bermudez, *Sumario de Antig.*, Mad. 1832; Ponz, *Viage de España*, 1787-94; Ambrosio Morales, *Antig. de las Ciudades de España*, Alcalá, 1575; Laborde, *Voyage Pittoresque*, Paris, 1807.

The statue here mentioned as having been found at Seville was undoubtedly one of Venus, since that goddess was worshipped there under the Phœnician name of Sambalona. See *Antig. de Sevilla*, by Rod. Caro, fo. 8, 147, *et passim*. Several marble statues representing Venus have been dug out at various times

from the ruins of Italica, and may now be seen in the Museum of Seville, where the antiquities discovered in the neighbourhood have been, since the beginning of this century, carefully deposited, and are daily increased by the extensive excavations which a better zeal on the part of the municipal authorities, and a greater love of art, have lately caused to be made on the site of Italica.

The verses here alluded to, and which the author has omitted, I find in a MS. of mine, being a collection of epigrams, odes, and other poems, made by an anonymous writer who lived at Seville in the thirteenth century of our era. They are as follow:

و دمية مرمر تزهي بجيد ∴ تناهي في التورد و البياض
لها ولد و لم تعرف خليلاً ∴ و لا المت باوجاع المخاض
و تعلم انها حجر و لكن ∴ تتيمنا بالحاظ مراض

'Look at that marble statue, beautiful in its proportions, surpassing every thing in transparency 'and smoothness.

'She has with her a son, it is true, but who her husband is I cannot tell, neither was she ever 'in labour.

'Thou knowest her to be but a stone, and yet thou canst not look at her, for there is in her eyes 'something that fascinates and confounds the beholders.'

22 حمام الشطرة the bagnio of *Ash-shatarah, Ash-shatrah,* or *Ash-shitrah,* since that word, not being pointed, may be pronounced in the three ways.

23 و وقود قد القي علي البحر متنه نوره ∴ فاصبح عن قود الجبال بمعزل
تعرض نحو الافق وجهاً كانما ∴ تراقب عيناه كواكب منزل

The first hemistich of the first verse is different in my copy.

و اقواد قد القي علي البحر متنه

'A mountain thrusting deeply its sides into the sea.'

24 Beja is the *Pax Julia,* or *Colonia Pacensis,* of Pliny. Its present name, Beja, is from *Bájeh,* a corruption of *Pace,* for the Goths seem, in almost every instance, to have adopted the ablative instead of the nominative case for the names of their towns, which names the Arabs afterwards still further corrupted; such as *Assido-ne* (Sidonia), *Tarraco-ne* (Tarragona), *Barcino-ne* (Barcelona), *Obulco-ne* (Porcuna). Another curious instance of a similar corruption occurs in the name of Hippo Regia, corrupted into *Hippone,* and afterwards transformed by the Arabs into *Bone,* now Bona. The city of Beja now belongs to Portugal.

25 Merida is the *Emerita Augusta,* a Roman *municipium,* built by Augustus for the use of his soldiers. It is seated on the banks of the Guadiana, over which it has a stately bridge, erected by Trajan.

Various are the etymologies assigned to the word *Guadiana.* Miguel de Luna, a Morisco, who was

interpreter to Philip II., says that it comes from *Guit dain,* meaning 'the river of the ewe,' and that it was thus named metaphorically, owing to the excessive smoothness of its waters. (*Hist. de Don Rodrigo,* part ii. p. 311.) Diego de Urrea, another Morisco, declared it to be *Guadí Anac,* which he translated into 'narrow river;' but who will not say at first sight that the word *Guadiana* is neither more nor less than a compound of an Arabic and a Latin word—*wádi* or *wáda,* meaning river, and *Ana* or *Anas,* the Latin name for the river, as if we said 'the river Ana?'

[26] بَثَلَيُوس *Bathaliós.* The name of this city, as well as the patronymic *Bathaliósí,* is differently written by the Arabian historians of Spain. I have often met with it written thus, بَظْلِيُوس *Badhliós* and بَظَلَيُوس *Badhaliós;* (see Idrísí, ed. of Rome, 1592, *clim.* iv. *sect.* 1.) The author of the *Audhahu-l-mesálek* and Abú-l-fedá write بَطَلْيَوْس *Batalyaus.* It is supposed to be the same city as that called *Pax Augusta* by Strabo, which name some writers pretend was corrupted by the Arabs into *Bathlios* or *Bathaliós,* now Badajoz. I confess that this conjecture, though supported by some writers of note (see Conde, *Geog. del Nub.* Mad. 1799, p. 195), seems to me rather hazardous, for although *Pax-Augus* or *Pax-Augos,* with the change of *P* into *B,* might easily have produced *Baxagos* or *Badagos,* until we find the name of that town written thus by the Arabs we cannot reasonably suppose that the بطليوس *Bathalios* of the Arabs is the same as Pax Augusta. Another etymology has been assigned to the word *Badajoz* by Morales, (*Antig. de España,* fo. 128,) and by the author of the small Vocabulary printed at the end of the Spanish and Latin Dictionary by Antonio de Nebrixa. Both pronounce the word to be Arabic, and to mean 'land of walnuts.' I need not state that the derivation is quite arbitrary; but it is but just to mention here a curious coincidence, namely, that one of the gates of Cordova, in the times of its greatest splendour, is said by Ibnu Bashkúwál (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 29) to have been called باب بظليوس *Bab Badhaliós* (gate of Badajoz), and باب جوز *Bab józ* (gate of the walnuts) likewise.

On the other hand much dispute has arisen among the antiquarians upon the names of *Pax Julia* and *Pax Augusta.* But there is, I believe, every reason to suppose that *Pax Julia* and *Pax Augusta* were two distinct towns in Lusitania, both mentioned by the Roman geographers, some identifying the former with Beja, and the latter with Badajoz, and others *vice versá;* others again having gone so far as to suppose that the *Pax Augusta* of Strabo, the *Pax Julia* of Ptolemy and Antoninus, and the *Colonia Pacensis* of Pliny, were the same town. See Wesseling in his notes to the Itinerary of Antoninus, p. 407, and Cellarius, *Geog. Ant.* lib. II. cap. i. sect. 1, § 18.

[27] Mohammed Ibn Moslemah, better known by the family surname of *Ibn Al-afttas,* was not the founder of the kingdom of Badajoz, as here stated, nor were his name and surname as here given by the writer. He was called Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Moslemah, and surnamed Al-mudhdhafer (the victorious). He succeeded his father, 'Abdullah Ibn Moslemah, on the throne of Badajoz, and great part of *Al-gharb* (Algarve), or the western provinces of Spain, in four hundred and fifty-two (A.D. 1060-1), or according to others two years afterwards, and 'Abdullah himself did not obtain the supreme command till after the death of Shabúr, the Persian, also King of Badajoz, whose Wizír he had been. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 212, 213, *et passim.* Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 13, *et passim.* Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique,* vol. ii. p. 192.

[28] Abú 'Omar Al-fallás was a famous poet, who flourished towards the end of the fifth century of the Hijra. He was Wizír to one of the Beni Al-afttas, King of *Al-gharb* (Estremadura).

بطليوس لا انساك ماااتصل البعد ∴ فلله ارض في جنابك كنجد
و لله دوحات تحفك ينعاً ∴ تفخر واديها كما شقق البرد

These verses form part of a long *kassídah* in praise of Badajoz and its district, by Abú 'Omar Al-fallás, which I find in the collection of the works of Sevillian poets to which I have alluded in a former note, (see Note 21, p. 368.) I there find these two verses, but the first is somewhat altered; it reads—

بطليوس لا انساك ماااتصل البعد ∴ فلله غور في جنابك و نجد

'O Badajoz! I shall never forget thee as long as I live: for, by Allah! there are in thy districts 'both *Ghaur* and *Nejd*.'

غَوْر *Ghaur* means the province of Tehámah, or lower region of Arabia, in opposition to *Nejd*, the upper or mountainous country. See Niebuhr, *Descrip. de l'Arabie*, Copenh. 1773, fo. 296. Abú-l-fedá mentions these verses in his description of *Batalyaus* or Badajoz. See Geog. fo. 46.

[29] *Ad-dakhírah* or *Ad-dakhíreh* (the treasure) is the title of a historical and biographical work, in three volumes, by Abú-l-hasan 'Ali Ibn Besám Al-besámí, a native of Santarem, in Portugal, who died in five hundred and forty-two (A.D. 1147-8). I shall treat more at length about this author and his writings.

[30] *Ash-shajarí* means, I suppose, 'amber collected from trees,' from a belief current among the Arabs that ambergris is a species of wax or gum, which distils from trees and drops into the sea, when it congeals and becomes a solid body. This opinion has been shared even by learned Europeans. See Cronstett's Mineralogy, p. 458.

[31] This bridge is the bridge of Alcantara in Estremadura. It was erected by Trajan on the Tagus, and it has hitherto resisted both the effects of time and the destructiveness of man. It rises to the height of two hundred and eleven feet and ten inches above the water; it measures in breadth twenty-seven feet six inches, and two hundred and sixty-eight feet in length. It rests upon six arches, of which the two central ones are no less than ninety-four feet wide; a triumphal arch, with an inscription in honour of Trajan, rises in the centre, and a mausoleum, constructed by the Roman architect for himself, stands at the extremity towards the town. Alcantara, which means 'the bridge' in Arabic, is the modern name of this town, called by the ancients *Norba Cæsarea*.

[32] *Dhú-l-wizárateyn* Ibn 'Omar (read Ibn 'Ammár). This is the same individual mentioned in Ash-shakandí's epistle, p. 38, and Note 43, Book I. Chap. ii. *Dhú-l-wizárateyn* means 'he who is intrusted with the two Wizírates,' and the title was given to Ibn 'Ammár because he held the office of prime minister to Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville.

[33] Ibn 'Abdún is the surname of Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-majíd, who was Wizír to Abú Mohammed 'Omar Ibn Mohammed Ibn Moslemah, the last King of Badajoz. After the violent death of his

sovereign, who, in four hundred and eighty-seven (A. D. 1094), was, together with his two sons, put to death by order of Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín, into whose hands he had fallen a prisoner, Ibn 'Abdún wrote a beautiful poem to commemorate the tragical events which attended the rise and fall of that dynasty. Two copies of this poem, with a learned commentary by Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Bedrún, the same individual here mentioned, may be seen in the Esc. Lib., marked Nos. 274 and 1769. There is likewise a copy of it in the Bodl. Lib. at Oxford. I possess also among my MSS. one entitled *Táríkh Ibni-l-athír*, being an historical commentary on this *kassídah* of Ibn 'Abdún, which the author, Isma'íl Ibn Ahmed Ibnu-l-athír, continued down to his own times. See Preface.

34 الدهر يفجع بعد العين بالاثر ∴ فما البكا علي الاشباح و الصور

The author quotes only the first hemistich, as given in the text; I have since supplied the second from the MS. in the Bodl. Lib. at Oxford, as well as from my copy of Ibnu-l-athír, which compels me to alter my translation thus: "Fortune afflicts (men) first with the calamity itself, afterwards with the memory "of it; what is the use then of crying over forms and images?"

35 Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah, of Badajoz, surnamed Ibnu-s-síd, is the same individual mentioned in Ash-shakandí's epistle, p. 37, where his name is spelt incorrectly Ibnu-s-seyd.

36 The text says تفاح *tefáh,* which, taken in a general sense, means 'apples;' but as it is not credible that this fruit could ever be grown of the size mentioned by the author, I am led to suppose that some qualifying adjective has been omitted, although Abú-l-fedá, who also mentions this circumstance under the word Lisbon (fo. 46), makes use of the very same expressions. *Tefáhu-s-sindí,* 'the apple of Sind,' means 'a water melon,' a fruit which, as is well known, grows to an enormous size in the south of Spain. From *sindí,* or *sindiyyah,* the feminine, the Spaniards have made *sandía,* the name which they give to that fruit.

37 A. reads اليا قوري *Al-yákúrí* B. الباقوري *Al-bákúrí.* I believe that neither is right, and that اليا قوزي *Al-yákúzí* ought to be read instead. Al-makkarí (in the 6th book, fo. 102, *verso*), and Makrízí, in his history of Egypt (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., 7317), speak of an Andalusian Arab, whose name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Ibráhím Al-yákúzí, who left Spain for the East, and was the bearer of a copy of the Korán which the Sultán of Maghreb, or western Africa, sent as a present to the temple at Mekka, and which they represent as being so large that it made the load of a mule. Although from the date assigned for the death of this Abú 'Abdillah, namely, six hundred and six (A. D. 1209-10), on his return from his pilgrimage, he cannot be the individual here alluded to, Al-mu'atamed, the last King of Seville of the dynasty of Abbád, having died in four hundred and eighty-eight (A. D. 1095), yet the fact of both writers (Makrízí and Al-makkarí) giving the spelling of the patronymic *Al-yákúzí,* which they derive from Yákúz, a hamlet in the west of Spain, induced me to substitute the reading as above.

CHAPTER IV.

[1] I have already remarked elsewhere that the Arabic word *safar*, i. e. copper, (in Spanish *azofar*,) seems intended for the translation of the Latin word *Æra*, meaning the era of Cæsar; and I have stated my reasons for believing that the original meaning of the word *Æra* was 'copper money.' Some writers, like Masdeu (*Hist. Crit. de España*, Madrid, 1783, vol. xvi. p. 24, *et passim*) and Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 296), are of opinion that the word *safar* is a corruption from the Hebrew *Safard*, meaning Spain among the Jews; and, therefore, that whenever that word is used by Mohammedans it means the Spanish era; but the etymology, although ingenious, is hardly justifiable. Be this as it may, the era of Cæsar was the general mode of computation in Spain up to the year 1383, when, in the Cortes held at Segovia by John II. of Castile, it was abrogated, and the Christian era, then generally followed throughout Europe, substituted for it. (See Medina, *Grandezas de España*, Alcalá, 1566, fo. 33.) It has often been confounded with the Christian and other eras, thereby giving rise to many anachronisms. Nicolas Antonio (*Bib. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 234) mistook it for the era of the martyrs.

The word *safar* means also a zero, and is the origin of the words *cifra*, Sp., and *chiffre*, Fr.

[2] *Cæsarea Augusta*. The resemblance of the word *Cæsarea* to the Arabic word *kasr* (in Spanish *alcazar*), 'a palace,' no doubt gave origin to this ridiculous derivation.

[3] I think I have discovered the circumstance which gave rise to this popular tradition, which I find recorded by almost every Arabian geographer who has treated of Spain. They relate that among the noble Arabs who came in the suite of Músa, when he invaded Spain, there was one who belonged to the class of the *tábi's* (or followers). His name was Hansh As-sana'ání; he lived and died at Saragossa, where his body is supposed to be interred. Now حَنَش *hansh* means 'a snake, a viper, any species of venomous reptile,' and it is probable that the Arabs, who consider as saints the *as'háb* (companions) and the *tábi's* (followers) of their Prophet, believed that the presence of the body of this holy man was a sort of talisman against reptiles.

[4] جِلَق *Jelk*. According to Abú-l-kásim Al-gharnáttí, in his commentary on the *Makssúrah* of Házem (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9579, fo. 112), this word, which he spells جِلَّق *Jellek*, was the name of a place in Syria, famous for the coldness and limpidness of its waters. It was inhabited by a tribe called the بني جفنة *Bení Jafnah*, who were the descendants of the Kings of Ghassán or Ghossán.

A. reads *bír* (a well), B. *nahr* (a river); supposing the latter to be the true reading, the author means, perhaps, the *Gallego*, a small river which discharges its waters into the Ebro, north of Saragossa. The Arabs calling the Galicians جلالقة *Jelalkah* from *Gallaici*, they may also have called the river *Jelek* or *Jelak* from *Gallaicus*; it is, therefore, not improbable that the similarity of the spot, as well as that of its name, brought to the mind of the conqueror the recollection of his native country. However, I merely offer this as a conjecture, for, I repeat, although B. calls it a river, both A. and the epitome call it بير (a well).

[5] Abú Ayúb Suleymán Ibn Húd Al-jodhamí, surnamed *Al-must'ain-billah* (he who seeks for the help of God), usurped the kingdom of Saragossa in the year four hundred and thirty-one of the Hijra (A.D. 1039), the empire remaining in the hands of princes of his family for upwards of a hundred years.

Suleymán did not, properly speaking, revolt against the Bení Umeyyah. When he took possession of Saragossa by force of arms (four hundred and thirty-one), that city and the territories attached to it had been for the space of twenty-six years in the hands of a rebel called Al-mundhir Ibn Yahya Ibn Huseyn At-tojibí, who, on the usurpation of the throne of Cordova by 'Alí, the Berber (A.H. four hundred and five), shook off all allegiance, and declared himself independent in his government.

[6] *Lerida* is sometimes written لاردة and at others لريدة It is the ancient Ilerda. *Tuteylah* is now Tudela, in Navarre. Abú-l-fedá (see Geog. fo. 47) describes it as مدينة محدثة الاسلامية 'a modern city built since the times of Islám,' but that author was mistaken, since it is well known to be the *Tutela* of the Romans. Perhaps, as in many other instances, a new city was built by the Arabs close to the Roman, and with its materials, to which they gave the same name. *Tarasónah* (now Tarazona) is the *Turiaso* of Pliny. *Weskah* (now Huesca) is the ancient Osca.

Kal'at Ayúb is the modern town of Calatayud, but what the author means by ومدينتها مليانة 'and its city (capital) is *Meliánah*,' I cannot guess. *Kal'at Ayúb*, being, as its name sufficiently implies, a foundation of Ayúb Ibn Habíb Al-lakhmí, a brother-in-law of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, is generally supposed to have been built close to the ancient Bilbilis, with the materials of the Roman city. It afterwards became a city of some importance, and the capital, as now, of a district. An eminence, still called by the natives *Banbola*, and a small river close to it known by the same name, are the only relics of the Roman Municipium of *Bilbilis Augusta*, so often mentioned by the classics. See Martial, iv. 55, *et passim;* Justinus, 3, 13, 44, *et passim.*

I know of no town in the neighbourhood of Calatayud whose present name bears any resemblance to *Melianah* except Molina, which, though likewise in Aragon, is nearly thirty-four miles from Calatayud, and too far to have formed part of its district: on the other hand, I may not be justified in reading Molina, since this word مليانة may equally be read Moliánah, Meliánah, Miliánah, &c. There was in Africa a city called *Meliana.* (See Al-bekrí, *loco laudato*, fo. 61, *verso;* Moura's *Karttás*, p. 221; and Idrísí, *apud* Hartmann, pp. 77, 117, 120, *et passim.*) It is the same city called *Meliana* by Leo, p. 516, *Miliana* by Marmol, vol. ii. fo. 213, and *Maniana* or *Maliana* by Shaw. See *Travels*, p. 79.

برطانية *Birtánieh.* Thus written. Idrísí makes no mention of this district among those of Aragon. I suppose it to be some error of the copyist, but know not what to substitute.

بروشقة *Barweskah* admits no other interpretation than *Bribiesca*, the *Virovesca* of the ancients, and yet this city not only does not belong to Aragon, since it always made part of Old Castile, but could never have been comprised within the limits of Saragossa. I would rather read باروشة *Beroshah*, or بُرُوشَة *Boroshah*, now Borja, a considerable district to the west of Saragossa. Indeed, one of the MSS. reads بروشق *Boroshk*, which sounds something like it.

[7] Merwán Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz was proclaimed King of Valencia in the month of Shawwál, A.H. five hundred and thirty-nine (March, A.D. 1145), but scarcely had he reigned two years when he was deposed by a popular insurrection. After several adventures, differently related by the Arabian historians, he contrived to escape to Africa, where he fixed his residence in Morocco. See Casiri,

Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc. vol. ii. p. 215, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. pp. 283, 298, *et passim.*

[8] الارزة This word, which I have written *al-arrozah* by mere guess, is not to be found in the dictionaries. Perhaps it ought to be written thus, الازرة *al-azrah,* for I find in the history of the Almoravides and Almohades, by Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., Oxford, *Hunt.* 464), that the Sultán Ya'kúb ordered to be brought from Granada to Seville, to be planted in the gardens of his palace, twigs of plum-trees of the species called by naturalists *komthorí,* those of another tree called *'abkar,* all sorts of apples, and the fruit tree called *al-azrah.*

[9] *Rissáfah.* This word, in its primitive sense, means 'a spot paved with flags' or made flat; hence the Spanish word *arrecife,* meaning 'a causeway.' The Rissáfah was a garden laid out in imitation of those which 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. planted at Cordova, and which he denominated thus after similar pleasure-grounds near Damascus. The word may be pronounced either *Russáfah* or *Rissáfah,* of both of which instances occur in Spanish topography. Close to Valencia there is a spot to this day called *Ruzáfa,* which, during the sixteenth century, was very much resorted to by the inhabitants of that city for its pleasantness and salubrious air; and there was also, at a short distance from Cordova, a convent called *San Francisco de la Arrizafa,* built, no doubt, on the site of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's garden.

[10] منية *Munyah* or *Minyah* means 'a garden' or spot of recreation, and not, as Conde thought, a fortified place (see his notes to Idrísí's Geography, p. 154). De Sacy (*Chr. Ar.* vol. ii. p. 3), Quatremère (*Mémoires sur l'Egypte,* pp. 1, 196), Jaubert, in his translation of Idrísí, and other authors, have written this word *Minyah,* but I have followed the former pronunciation, which was undoubtedly that of the Spanish Arabs, as may be proved by the names of many towns and villages, still existing in Spain, called *Almunia,* such as 'Almunia de Doña Godina,' 'Almunia de San Juan,' 'Almunia Madrada,' &c. The gardens alluded to in the text were called *Munyatu-bni Abí 'A'mir,* because of their having been planted by 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Abí 'A'mir, King of Valencia, and grandson of the famous Al-mansúr.

The verses at the bottom of the page are as follow:

بلنسية قرارة كل حسن ∴ حديث في شرق و غرب
فان قالوا محل غلا سعد ∴ و مسقط دميتي طعن وضرب
فقل هي جنّة خفت رباها ∴ بكر و هين من جوع و حرب

One of the copies reads حفت instead of خفت which would alter the meaning thus:

'Tell them that she is a garden whose high grounds are a field of battle, but whose valleys are 'nevertheless free from war and famine.'

[11] The lake here mentioned is one close to Valencia, to this day called *Albúfera* or *Albuhera,* a word derived from البحيرة *Al-buheyrah,* which in Arabic means 'a little sea, or a lake.'

Instead of *Al-mityáb,* 'a scent bottle,' from طاب 'to smell sweet,' I ought to have written *Al-mutyyab* (*i. e.* the bundle of odoriferous shrubs), for I find in Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad.,

Gg. 12) that such is the meaning of that word. "The Andalusians," says he, "call the city "of Valencia *Al-mutyyab*, namely, a bundle made of branches of all sorts of aromatic shrubs "and plants, such as نرجس daffodil, myrtle, &c., owing to the abundance of its fruit trees and the "fragrancy which their blossoms spread in the atmosphere." The life of Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mos'adeh occurs in my manuscript of Ibnu-l-khattíb. He was a native of Granada, and died at Malaga in six hundred and ninety-nine (A. D. 1299-1300).

12 The two quotations in verse which the author introduces here are as follow :

هي الفردوس في الدنيا جمالاً ∴ لساكنها و كارهها البعوض
ضاقت بلنسية بيّ و زاد عني غموض ∴ رقص البراغيث فيها غنا البعوض

ابن الزقاق Ibnu-z-zakkák means 'the son of the dealer in or maker of water-skins.' زق *zak* (in Spanish *zaque*) means 'the skin of a goat prepared to receive liquids.' The names, patronymic, and age of this poet are otherwise unknown to me.

بلنسية اذا افكرت فيها ∴ و اياتها اسني البلاد
و اعظم شاهدي منها عليها ∴ و ان جمالها للعين باذي
كساها ربها ديباج حسن لها ∴ علمان من بحر و وادي

13 *Shátibeh* or *Shátibah* (Xativa) is the *Sætabis* of Pliny. It was already famous in the time of the Romans for its linen manufactures, and became more so during the middle ages for its paper-mills.

Whether the Spanish Arabs had or had not the honour of introducing into Western Europe the manufacture and use of paper has long been a controverted point, but one, in my opinion, easily settled. There are in the Escurial Library several MSS. written in Spanish, as early as the tenth century, upon cotton paper, and specimens of linen paper abound likewise in MSS. of the following age. Idrísí, who wrote towards the middle of the twelfth century, mentions the city of Xatiba as already famous for its manufactures of paper (*clim.* iv. *sect.* 1), and every thing tends to prove that the Arabs were the introducers of the use and manufacture of paper into Spain. From the Spanish Arabs this useful invention passed to their Christian neighbours, among whom paper manufactures were introduced as early as the close of the thirteenth century by the efforts of King Alfonso X. of Castile, although it is not uncommon to find in Spain manuscripts of still earlier date written on paper, brought, no doubt, from the manufactures in the Moslem dominions. Of this number is one written A. D. 1178, and which, according to Mayans (*Mem. Hist.*), is preserved in the royal archives of Barcelona. From Spain the art of making paper passed successively into France, Germany, and England. Italy was the last of the European states to receive that beneficial art, the first manufactures ever established in that country being those of Padua and Treviso, about the middle of the fourteenth century; and yet Tiraboschi, a writer who has often been swayed by a partiality for his own country, has not hesitated to attribute the origin of linen paper manufacture to the Italian Trevigi. See *Istoria della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. v. p. 87; Andres, *Origine é progressi d'ogni Letteratura*, part i. cap. 10; and Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 9.

Abú-l-kásim (and Abú Mohammed Kásim) Ibn Feyrroh Al-mokrí Adh-dharír Ar-ro'ayní was born

in Xativa in five hundred and thirty-eight (1143-4). He resided at Valencia, where he filled the situation of reader of the Korán in the principal mosque. He also travelled to the East, made his pilgrimage, and, on his return from Mekka, settled at Cairo, where he died in Jumádí I., five hundred and ninety (A. D. 1193-4). The word فيرة *feyroh,* which, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, in the life of this individual, signifies in Spanish 'iron' (ferro), ought to be written with a *teshdid* on the ر thus, فيرّة *feyrroh.* The life of this writer may be read in Ibn Khallekán (No. 548, *Tyd. Ind*). See also De Sacy's learned *Mémoire* inserted in the eighth volume *des Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bib. du Roi.*

The two works here alluded to حرز الاماني and عقيلة are both poems upon the manner of reading the Korán.

[14] 'The island on the Xucar,' *i. e.* Alcira, which is but a corruption of *Al-jezírah.* The river Xucar, which waters a considerable portion of the province of Valencia, was called *Sucron* by the Roman geographers, and the island formed by it *Sætabicula.* It is situated about twenty miles south of Valencia.

[15] دانية Denia, the *Dianium* or *Artemisium* of Pliny and Ptolemy, owing to its famous temple consecrated to Diana.

[16] لبسوا الحديد الي الوغر ∴ و لبستم حلل الحرير عليكم الوانًا
ما كان اقبحهم و احسنكم بها ∴ ما لم يكن ببرطنة ماكانًا

[17] This passage being rather obscure, I here give the text: مدينة اندة التي في جبلها معدن الحديد و اما رنده بالرا فهي متوسط الاندلس و لها حصن يعرف باندة ايضًا ∴

Ronda was not comprised in the central, but in the western division; besides, I am not aware that the castle or citadel commanding that town was ever called *Ondah.* Ronda is the ancient *Arunda.*

[18] *Wádiu-l-abiadh* or *Wáda-l-abyádh,* now *Guadalaviar,* with the final *d* changed into *r,*—a frequent corruption in Spanish words derived from the Arabic—means 'the white river.' It is the *Turia* of ancient writers, to which the Arabian settlers gave a name of their own, no doubt in remembrance of a river so called in their native land, for I find that the Syrian Arabs settled in the territory of Murcia, and Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 323) mentions a river also called *Wáda-l-abyádh,* close to Hamadán in Syria.

The author, however, has fallen into a strange mistake. The river which passes close to Murcia is not the Guadalaviar, but the Segura, which presents none of the phenomena here ascribed to it. The *Guadalaviar,* on the contrary, which discharges its waters into the Mediterranean close to Valencia, is subject to periodical inundations, which fertilize the territory through which it flows.

تدمير *Tudmír* was the Arabic name for Murcia, but this circumstance being unknown to the generality of the Spanish writers, the most serious mistakes have been committed, both by historians and antiquarians. Casiri, who found the words بلاد تدمير occurring often in his extracts, translated

them by 'land of palms,' instead of 'land of *Tudmír*.' (See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 343, 372.) Conde (*Geog. del Nub.* p. 189) read Tadmor, and thought that the district round Murcia was so called from its being peopled by Arabs from Tadmor or Palmyra. The word *Tudmír*, which is to be written thus, تُدْمِير is meant by the Arabian writers for the name of Theodomir, one of Roderic's generals, who having, at the time of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, obliged them by his bravery and skill to grant him favourable conditions of peace, was left in possession of the province of Murcia, which he governed during his lifetime, and which passed afterwards into the hands of his son, Athanagild. The dominions of this Goth were therefore called *Belád Tudmír* (the country of Theodomir), the city of Murcia (the *Murgi* of Pomponius Mela), or some other city contiguous to it, where he fixed his residence, being naturally called *Medínah Tudmír* (the city of Theodomir), and *Hadhrat-Tudmír*, the court or residence of Theodomir.

According to the author of the *Audhahu-l-mesálek* (fo. 151, *verso*), Murcia was entirely built by the Arabs, with the materials of a Roman city in the neighbourhood. Abú-l-fedá (Geog. fo. 47, *verso*) says that this took place during the reign of the Bení Umeyyah at Cordova. See also Ibn Khallekán, at the life of Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibnu-l-hoseyn (No. 634, *Tyd. Ind*).

[19] شقورة *Shekúrah.* The *s* of the Latins was invariably rendered by a ش among the Arabs. This is the reason why the Moriscos, who wrote Spanish with Arabic characters, invariably rendered the Spanish *s* by their *shin*, thus, *losh hombresh shaben shacar fuershas de falakeza.* Segura is the *Tader* of Pliny, also called *Terebis* by Ptolemy, and *Seræbis* (no doubt a corruption from the latter) by Mela. It is likely that its present name is due to the Arabs, who named it after that chain of mountains where the river was supposed to rise from the same source as the Guadalquivir.

[20] الوشي الثلاثات in B. I read in A. الوشي الثالثة *Al-washyu-th-thálithatu*, which, literally translated, means 'the triple colour of a robe.' Perhaps موشي *maushí*, which means 'a variegated robe,' is to be substituted, in which case the word *thálithatu* might be applied to the number of threads used in the weaving of the stuff. Murcia had still in the sixteenth century a great number of hands employed in the weaving of silks on patterns left by the Moors. See Cascales, *Discursos Historicos de la Ciudad de Murcia*, ib. 1614, fo. 266, *et passim.*

[21] الدواميس *Ad-dawámís* seems to be a plural of the form فواعيل *fawá'íl*, perhaps from داميس or داميسة although I have never met with it in the singular. It is a word often used by Al-bekrí and other African writers to designate a certain stone building which stood in the midst of the ruins of Carthage, and which, by its description, appears to have been a naumachy. See the *Mesálek wa-l-memálek* by that geographer, fo. 39, and p. 489 of the French translation.

[22] This account, which is transcribed from Ibnu-l-wardí (see Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., 9590, fo. 16), is also, if I am not mistaken, to be found word for word in Ibn Haukal, probably the first geographer who, misled by the similarity of the names, mistook the Carthage of Africa for that of Spain. As the Arabian geographers make no scruple of copying each other servilely, the error has since crept into many geographical descriptions of Spain which I have perused. It has been adopted by the author

of the *'Ajáyibu-l-makhlúkát* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7504, fo. 25), by the writer of the *Tohfatu-l-'ajáyib* (*ib.*, No. 7497, fo. 45), and by Ibn Iyás (*ib.*, No. 7503, fo. 10 and 166).

[23] In four hundred and eighty-three of the Hijra (A.D. 1090) the Almoravides, under Yúsuf, subdued Murcia, together with the districts of Lorca, Alicante, Orihuela, Elche, &c., which Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville, had snatched from the hands of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed, the ruler in those districts, and added to his own dominions.

[24] *As-sahlah* means 'a plain or a flat country.' It was the name of an extensive territory, now called *Corregimiento de Albarracin*, which was erected into an independent principality, not by Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Razín, as the author erroneously states, but by his father, Hudheyl Ibn Razín, after the overthrow of the Umeyyah dynasty. (See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 42, 134, *et passim.*) The capital of his states was the city of Santa Maria, which the Arabs called "Santa Maria Ibn Razín," to distinguish it from another city of the same name in the western part of Spain. Hence its present name of Albarracin. (See a previous note, p. 320, No. 38.) The district of Albarracin was likewise called *Al-kartám* and *Al-karátim*, owing to the abundance of *kirtim* (*carthamus cæruleus*, or bastard saffron,) which grew on its territory. The Spaniards call it *alazor* from the Arabic word *az-zohor* (flowers).

CHAPTER V.

[1] The text of all the copies reads ''Alí Ibn Músa Ibn Maymún;' but I believe that *'Isa* is to be substituted for *Músa*. (See a previous note on the Bení Maymún, No. 124, p. 360, and the Appendix B. at the end of this volume.) According to the author of the history of Africa entitled *Karttás*, the event here recorded took place in five hundred and forty (A.D. 1145-6); his words are as follow: "In "this year 'Alí Ibn 'Isa Ibn Maymún Al-lamtumní pulled down the idol and tower of Cadiz."

[2] *Al-khálidát* (the eternal). These are, to all appearance, the Canaries or Fortunate Islands of the ancients. Ibnu-l-wardí, *loco laudato*, fo. 55, says that they are only two. Idrísí says six. See *Geog. clim.* i. and ii.

[3] I find that Ibnu-l-wardí, *loco laudato*, fo. 55, attributes the erection of these towers to Dhú-l-menár Al-himyarí, one of the Tabbábahs or Kings of Yemen, whom he identifies with Dhú-l-karneyn (Alexander), not the king mentioned in the Korán, but the Greek hero.

[4] *As-sa'ádát* (the fortunate). This is a remarkable instance of the looseness of Arabic translations made from the Greek, and the numerous errors thereby introduced into geographical works. It is evident that by the *eternal* and the *fortunate* the same group of islands are designated, only that some translated *fortunatæ* by سعادات *sa'ádát*, and others by خالدات *khálidát*. Abú-l-fedá, Ibnu Sa'íd, and other geographers, who were not aware of the mistake committed by former writers, tried to establish a distinction between the two names by applying the first to the Canaries and the second to the Madeira islands. Others, like Ibn Iyás, whom Al-makkarí follows, thought that *sa'ádát* was the

name for the British islands. However, Al-bekrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 78, and p. 578 of the French transl.) calls them فرطناتش *Fortunátash.* Idrísí calls them also *Fortunátash*, and adds that the meaning of that word is the same as *Sa'idát* in Arabic. See edit. of Rome, *clim.* i. and ii.

The author of the *Audhahu-l-mesálek*, fo. 71, *verso*, quoting the geographer Ibnu Sa'íd, says that the islands called *As-sa'ádát* lie between the *Khálidát* and the coast of Africa.

[5] شلطس *Shaltis* is the small peninsula formed by the confluence of the rivers Gibraleon and Tinto, where the town of Huelva stands, about sixty miles west of Seville, for although there is an island opposite to it called *San Francisco de la Rabida*, it is too small to have ever contained a city so populous as Shaltis is represented to have been by the Arabian geographers. (See Idrísí and the writers already quoted.) In old Spanish maps of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this peninsula is called *Saltes*. Conde, in his notes to Idrísí's Geography, pp. 180 and 205, says that *Shaltis* is for *Tarsis*, *Tartis*, or *Tartesia*, the country where Argantonio reigned, a fabulous King of Spain who is said to have lived one hundred and fifty years. I need not labour to show the unsoundness of such a conjecture. The reader will find in the work of Francis Carter, an English traveller who resided long in Spain, much that is really interesting and curious upon the Phœnician and Greek settlements along the south-western coast of the Peninsula: (A Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga, 8vo., London, 1772.) *Onóba* is now Gibraleon (*Jebal-'ayún*, or 'the mountain of the spring);' *Liblah* (now Niebla) is the ancient Ilipla.

[6] There are two authors known by the surname of *Ibnu-l-labbánah* or *labbénah* (the son of the milk-maid) in Casiri's *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* One is *Abu Bekr Ebn Alabana*, from Denia, (see vol. i. p. 105); the other (*ib.* p. 128) is also called *Abu Bekr Ben Allabanat*, but Cordova is said to be the place of his birth or residence. They appear to me to be the same person, inasmuch as I find in the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán*, by Al-fat'h, (Arab. MS. in my possession,) that *Ibnu-l-labbánah* resided both at Cordova and at Denia. His entire name was Abú Bekr 'Isa, and he was known by the surname of ابن اللبّانة Ibnu-l-labbánah: he filled the post of Wizír to Al-mu'atamed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville.

بلداعارته الحمامة طوقها ∴ وكساه حلة ريشه الطاووس

[7] يابسة *Yébisah*, from *Ebusa* or *Ebyssa*, the ancient name for one of the Balearic islands.

[8] The island of Iviza being very woody, the principal industry of the inhabitants consists in making charcoal, which they ship to Barcelona and other ports of the Mediterranean. Close to it is a smaller island, called by the ancients *Ophiusa*, now Formentera. These islands, however, were known among the Greeks by the collective name of *Pytiusæ*, from πίτυς (a pine tree).

[9] *Barshelónah*, from *Barshenóna* (Barcinone). The author of the *Audhahu-l-mesálek* (*loco laudato*, p. 53) writes *Barshenona*, the alteration of *n* for *l*, and *vice versá*, being frequent among the Arabs. He says that it was the court of a king called *Barsheloní*, whose subjects were the قبطلان *Kabtalán* (Catalonians).

[10] Barcelona was taken from the Christians by Al-mansúr in three hundred and seventy-five (A.D. 984), but it was soon retaken by the Christians, and, with the greatest part of Catalonia, separated for ever from the Moslem dominions.

[11] *Kitábu-l-'ajáyib,* 'the book of the wonders,' is too common a title of Arabic geographies to decide with any degree of certitude on the work to which it belongs. 'The wonders of creation' is one by Abú Hámid Al-andalusí. (See Preface.) Ibn Jezzár or Ibnu-l-jezzár is also the author of a geographical work entitled *'Ajáyibu-l-ardh,* 'the wonders of the world,' and Hájí Khalfah, in his *Bibl. Ind.* (see voc. *ja'ráfiyyah* and *'ajáyib*), gives the titles of many geographical works that begin with the word *'ajáyib.* However, I am inclined to believe that the latter is the one here intended, as I find the passage said to be borrowed from the *Kitábu-l-'ajáyib* in a geographical work entitled *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah* (Arab. MS. in my possession), which I have already described in the Preface, and the author of which borrowed considerably from Ibnu-l-jezzár.

[12] This description of the dead lake of Galicia, which appears to be no other than the river *Lethe* of the ancients, is likewise found word for word in the *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah.* I ought to observe here that among the *tábi's* (followers of the companions) of the Prophet who invaded Spain with Músa there was one named طاوُوس Tawús (peacock). This might have given origin to this popular tradition, in the same manner that the body of another *tábi',* whose name was *Hansh* (snake), was believed to preserve Saragossa from venomous reptiles. See a preceding Note, p. 372, No. 3.

[13] Ibráhím Ibnu-l-kásim Al-karáwí (from Cairwán), was a geographer of the fifth century of the Hijra. I find his name mentioned often by Ibnu Khaldún, and by the author of the *Karttás.*

[14] Every thing tends to prove that this unnatural trade was carried to a great extent in France during the middle ages, for the object here specified by the writer. During the repeated and savage incursions of the Hungarians and other northern nations, such prisoners as remained in the hands of the Franks were taken to the Spanish frontier, and there sold to the Moslems, as we learn from the testimony of several Christian writers themselves. See Reinaud, *Invasion des Sarrazins,* p. 236.

Once in Spain, these northern prisoners, whom the Arabian authors designate under the collective name of *Sakálibah,* pl. of *Sikláb* (Sclavonians), were educated in the Mohammedan religion, and, like the Janissaries of the Turkish empire, formed the principal body-guard of the Khalifs. 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. is well known to have had several thousands of these northern barbarians, magnificently arrayed, to mount guard in his palace, and accompany him in his hunting and military expeditions. We see them occasionally playing a principal part in the affairs of Mohammedan Spain, and founding independent kingdoms, which they transmitted to their posterity. Zohayr and Kheyrán, both Kings of Almeria, were Sclavonians. Wadha and Naja, the former Wizír to Hishám II., Sultán of Cordova, and the latter the confidant and prime minister of Hasan Ibn Yahya Ibn Idrís, Sultán of Ceuta and Malaga, belonged to the same race.

The importation of slaves into Spain must at one time have been very considerable, since we are told by Ibn Haukal and other writers that it formed a great branch of exportation, and the principal staple of trade between Spain and other countries held by the Moslems. "The commodities," says that geographer (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., No. 993, fo. 85), "which traders generally export from Andalus and bring "to Maghreb, Egypt, and other Mohammedan countries, are amber, saffron, gold, silver, lead, iron, "quicksilver, seal-skins, raw and manufactured silks, and, above all things, male and female slaves taken "in war with the Franks and Galicians, besides Sclavonian eunuchs, who are very much esteemed. "These are brought from the country of the Franks, where they are castrated, and bought by Jewish "merchants."

I find a similar account in another ancient geographer, named Al-beládhorí, who wrote a description

of the world, entitled *Kitábu-l-boldán* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7496). The passage may be found at fo. 23, towards the end, in a very interesting chapter treating about the commerce between Mohammedan Spain and Africa. The statement is likewise confirmed by Idrísí, Ibnu-l-wardí, and other geographers, who undoubtedly borrowed it from the work of Ibn Haukal.

CHAPTER VI.

1 The aqueduct of Tarragona, constructed by the Romans, was repaired by the Arabs, and destined to the purposes for which it was first erected. The reader may consult Icart, *Grandezas de Tarragona*, Lerida, 1572, fo. 212, *et passim;* Cean Bermudez, *Antig. Rom. de Esp.;* and Laborde, *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1807.

2 ناحية الاصنام 'the district of the idols.' The word *sanam*, which I have generally translated by 'idol,' is, properly speaking, a statue, but among Mohammedans, who are averse to human figures, the word is synonymous with idol. By 'the district of the idols' the author no doubt means the site of the temple of Hercules, a rock at the mouth of the river Santi Petri, which, as late as the sixteenth century, was thickly strewn with fragments of statues, columns, and other vestiges of Phœnician and Roman domination, the whole of which were either washed away by the sea, or used afterwards for building the modern fortifications of Cadiz. (See Salazar, *Historia de Cadiz*, Cad. 1610, p. 177.) As late as 1773 some of the foundations of the temple were still visible at very low tides. See Bowles, *Introduccion à la Historia Natural de España*, Madrid, 1775, p. 67, *et seq.*, and *Cadiz illustrada*, Cad. 1690.

3 According to Salazar this aqueduct took its waters from a spring close to Xerez, called *la Fuente de Tempul*. But this is hardly credible, the distance being upwards of thirty-three miles. However, there can be no doubt that the aqueduct passed over an estuary inundated by the sea at full tide. No traces of it are visible at the present day; but several of the connecting piers were still standing when the above-mentioned historian (Salazar) wrote his description of Cadiz. See *ib.* p. 127.

4 This military road, which connected Cordova with the sea shore, is still visible at intervals, and is used by muleteers. The part close to Cadiz is called by the country people *Calzada de Hercules*.

I must observe that the word حشر *Heshar* means 'one who is still-born,' and seems intended for Cæsar. It is, however, the first time that I meet with the name of the Roman emperor thus rendered. Idrísí calls him جاشر *Jéshar* (see *clim.* iv. *sect.* 2), but his usual name among the Arabs is *Kayssar*.

5 I have carefully collated the whole of this passage with the copy I possess of the *Kitábu-l-'ajáyib*, where the description of this tower, together with that of the aqueduct, said to have been built by a Grecian king, named *Santi Petri*, occupy nearly six quarto pages.

6 My MS. says twelve, instead of four.

7 If the face of the statue was turned towards the west, it is evident that the figure could not stand with his back to the north. My MS. says that he was turned to the west, with his finger pointing to the mouth of the Straits.

8 Mes'údí treats of this tower in the first volume of his *Morúju-dh-dhahab*, in the chapter entitled 'a description of the sea of Rúm, and the countries washed by it.'

9 *Al-jabbár* means 'a giant, demi-god, or hero of antiquity.' It is an epithet generally given by the Arabs to Hercules.

10 *Anfa*, written 'Anáfa' in the maps, is a sea-port on the western coast of Africa, at forty miles west from Rabát. It is the Anafe or Anf of Gråberg, *Specchio di Marocco*, p. 53. Idrisi, Leo, and Marmol call it *Anfa*; the natives, *Dáru-l-beydhá* (the white house).

11 'Alí Ibn 'Isa Ibn Maymún. (See a preceding note, p. 360, No. 124). During the civil wars that broke out between the Almoravides and Almohades, this chief seized upon the port of Cadiz, where he ruled for a while independent.

12 قراقر *karákir* seems to be a plural of قرقر *karkar*, a word which is not Arabic, and might easily be the *carica* used in Low Latin to signify the load or freight of a vessel; whence the Spanish words *cargar* (to load), and *carraca* (a ship), are no doubt derived.

13 The invasions of the Northmen appear, from the account of their historians, to have been periodical. See the History of the Expeditions of the Northmen, by Depping, vol. i. p. 96, an excellent work, to which I shall occasionally refer in the second volume of this translation.

14 Al-bekrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 73, and p. 557 of the French translation) speaks of a port on the coast of Africa called *Mersa-l-majús*, as well as of a spot on the coast of Spain, close to Cape Trafalgar, where several of their vessels were cast on shore by a storm. The same geographer (fo. 77, and p. 569 of the French translation) says that the western extremity of the bay of Azilah was called in his time *Bábu-l-majús* (the gate of the Majús), owing to some of their vessels having been there dashed against the rocks.

15 There is, close to Cabra, a considerable town in the kingdom of Cordova, a large gap in the earth, supposed by naturalists to be an extinct volcano, but to which wonderful circumstances are attached by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country.

16 قلعة اوراك which means 'the castle of the halting,' from *warada*, 'to halt.' The modern name and situation of this place are entirely unknown to me.

17 Notwithstanding the author's objection, there seems to be some foundation for this tradition. Major David Price, in his *Chronological Retrospect of Mohammedan History*, London, 1811-21, vol. i. p. 157, mentions, on the authority of the *Habeibu-s-seyr*, an expedition made into Spain by the troops of Africa in the year twenty-seven of the Hijra (A. D. 648), the result of which is said to have been the

entire subjection of southern Spain. The general who commanded the Moslems on this occasion is there called *Abdullah Rauffia*, but his real name was 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'd, as may be seen in Ibn Khaldún, the *Karttás*, and Al-makín. Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 262) likewise mentions an incursion made by the Arabs into Spain under the Khalifate of 'Othmán Ibn 'Affán, as here stated. I find also in Sebastianus Samalticensis (*apud* Flores, *España Sagrada*, vol. xiii) that during the reign of Wamba—a period answering to the epoch here fixed—a body of Arabs landed on the coast of Spain, and committed all sorts of depredations. (See also *Cronica General*, by Ambrosio Morales, Alcalá, 1577, vol. iii. p. 185.) Lastly, Isidorus Pacensis (or *De Beja*, as he is called by the Spaniards) not only confirms the statement, but adds that the invasion took place at the instigation of Count Ervigius, who succeeded Wamba on the throne of Spain. (See Isidori Pacensis Chronicon, *apud* Flores, vol. viii.) There is therefore every reason to believe that some piratical incursions upon the coasts of Spain preceded the great Saracen invasion. However, the author is right in condemning the notion that the expedition started from Cairwán, since it is evident that that city was not built until the time of 'Okbah Ibn Náfi', during the Khalifate of Mu'awiyah. See Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique*, vol. i. p. 31, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 16.

I think proper to correct here a singular mistake committed by Erpenius in his translation of Al-makín. That author, treating of the conquests made by the Mohammedans in the year forty-six of the Hijra, mistook *Kastiliyyah*, a town in Africa, for *Castilla*, a province in Spain, and said 'Muslimi Hispaniam invadunt.' *Kastiliyyah* is the name of a district and city in Africa proper. (See Al-bekrí, *loco laudato*, fo. 47, *verso*; Idrísí, *Geog. clim.* ii. *sect.* 5; Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afr.* vol. i. p. 119.) Quatremère, in his French translation of Al-bekrí (p. 509), read Kastinah, or Constantina, instead of Kastiliyyah.

18 Abú-l-kásim Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, better known by the surname of الزرقال Az-zarkál, was a famous astronomer of the fifth century of the Hijra. He is said to be the author of an hypothesis to account for the diminution of the sun's eccentricity which he thought had taken place since the days of Ptolemy, and the motion of the sun's apogee. (See Lalande, *Astronomie*, tom. i. pp. 120, 127.) He passes likewise as the inventor of an instrument much used in astronomical observations during the middle ages, and called *Zarcalla*, after his name. D'Herbelot (*Bib. Or.* voc. *Zarcallah*) gives to this eminent astronomer a different name and surname. He calls him *Aben Isac Ebn Iahia Annakashi Alandalousi.*

19 *Bábu-l-dabbághín* (the gate of the tanners), from *dabagha* (to tan or prepare skins). The Spanish word *adobar*, which in ancient writings is found thus, *adobgar*, is derived from it. Pisa, in his *Descripcion de la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo*, Tol. 1617, (fo. 21, *verso*,) speaks of this gate, which he says was still called by its Arabic name, '*Puerta de Adabaquin.*'

The word which I have translated by 'water-clocks,' and which in one manuscript is written thus, البيلتان *al-bíltán*, in another البيلثان *al-bílathán*, and البيتان *al-bítán* in a third, is not to be found in dictionaries. But from the description here given of this artifice I have not hesitated in translating the said word as above, as there can be no doubt of its being the clepsydra, used by the Chaldæans and the Greeks to measure time, by the flowing of water, in astronomical observations. A contrivance of this kind was used in Europe, up to the time of Copernicus, by Tycho Brahé himself.

I find these tanks or reservoirs often mentioned by the historians of Toledo, who all give them the same origin. (See Pisa, *Descrip. de Toledo*, lib. i. c. 27; Rojas, *Hist. de Toledo*, part II. lib. iv.) There are still remaining, at a short distance from Toledo, and in the very spot here marked, on the right bank of the Tagus, the ruins of a building, called by some *Las Casas de la Reina* (the pleasure-gardens of

the Queen), and by others *Los Palacios de Galiana* (the palace of Galiana), where two tanks similar to those here described are still visible. Tradition has ascribed their building to a fabulous King of Toledo, named Galafre, who is supposed to have been a contemporary with Abdu-r-rahmán I., Sultán of Cordova, whose tributary he was. This Galafre, we are told, wishing to shake off the allegiance due to his sovereign, invited Charles Martel, others say Pepin, King of France, and Fruela, King of Asturias, to visit his dominions, and join him in an expedition against 'Abdu-r-rahmán; upon which the Christian kings, mustering their armies, traversed Spain without the least resistance on the part of the Moslems, and arrived at Toledo. While they were there, being splendidly entertained by their guest, Pepin is said to have fallen desperately in love with Galiana, the daughter of Galafre; and, after killing in single combat Bradamante, King of Guadalajara, who pretended likewise to the hand of the princess, to have espoused her with the consent of her father, who built them a sumptuous palace outside the walls of his capital. The adventures of Pepin, Galiana, and her father Galafre, form the subject of many a popular Spanish ballad, whence they were borrowed and improved upon by Ariosto. See Pisa, *Descripcion de Toledo*, fo. 27, *verso*; Rojas, *Hist. de Toledo*, p. 585; and Marmol, *Hist. de Africa*, vol. i. fo. 95.

I need not remark that the above account is wholly fabulous; Spain was not invaded either by Charles Martel or by Pepin, but by Charlemagne, who ravaged the northern provinces only, and did not cross the Ebro. There was no independent kingdom of Toledo at the time; the sons of Yúsuf Al-fehrí, who rebelled against 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and obtained a temporary possession of that city,—and one of whom has been identified with Galafre,—had names too dissimilar to render the corruption at all probable, one being called Mohammed, the other Kásim. And yet this fable has been countenanced by the best historians of Spain! See Marmol, *Hist. de Africa*, vol. i. fo. 95, *et seq.*; Garibay, *Hist. de España*, lib. xxxvii. c. 15; Morales, *Cronica General*, lib. xiii. c. 20.

As to the palace here described, it was a pleasure-house belonging to the kings of Toledo, of the family of Dhí-n-nún, and probably the same which, in another part of this work (see p. 239), is said to have been built by Al-mámún Ibn Dhí-n-nún, who filled the throne of that city until four hundred and sixty-nine (A. D. 1076-7). After the taking of Toledo by Alfonso, the royal house, together with the adjoining gardens and lands, was given in the division to the city. It is now converted into a farm-house, the walls of which are still covered with Arabesque tracings of the most exquisite designs. I visited it in 1836, and found in the yard adjoining to it the two tanks here alluded to still visible, notwithstanding the heaps of rubbish which have been accumulating for centuries. There is also a subterranean vault leading from the house to the river, and some years ago a large quantity of leaden pipes, communicating with the tanks, were dug up by the present tenants of the farm-house.

As stated above, it is probable that these clepsydræ were built for the purpose of astronomical observations. Al-mámún Ibn Dhí-n-nún, King of Toledo, is reported, both by the Arabian and Christian chroniclers, to have been a monarch much addicted to science, which he fostered and promoted in his states by inviting to his capital the learned of other countries. He seems to have bestowed all his care and attention upon the revival of the mathematical sciences, which, since the overthrow of the Cordovan Khalifate, had nearly been extinguished in Spain by the fanaticism and ignorance of the African conquerors. See the Appendix C. at the end of this volume. Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 45, 214, *et passim*. Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. pp. 46, 56, *et passim*. Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Esp.* vol. ii. p. 158.

[20] Alfonso VI., who conquered Toledo, never evinced a taste for the sciences. It is therefore probable that the author means Alfonso X., surnamed *el Sabio* ('the learned,' and not the *wise*, as he has been

improperly termed), who, by his astronomical tables, known by his name, and composed with the help of Jewish and Arabian astronomers, greatly advanced and facilitated the study of that science in Europe.

There is in the National Library at Madrid a manuscript marked L. 97, containing various treatises on astronomy and mathematics, translated from Arabic into Spanish for the use of Alfonso X., King of Toledo, the celebrated author of the Alfonsine tables. Among them is one containing the following treatises:

Fo. 175. *Modo de usar un instrumento que compuso Ali, hijo de Jalaf, para el Rey Maimon, dividido en cinco partes.* (A treatise, divided into five parts, upon the manner of using an instrument which 'Alí, son of Khalaf, made for the King Al-mámún.)

Fo. 275. *Libro del relogio del agua por Rabi Çag.* (The book of the *clepsydra* or water-clock, by Rabbí Zag.)

Fo. 299. *De como se debe hacer el palacio de las horas.* (How the palace or mansion of the hours is to be constructed.)

The following account of Az-zarkál occurs likewise at fo. 204. "Agora queremos *hablar de laçafeha*[i] "*que fizo Aserquiel*[k] *el sabio astrolabiano de Toledo a honrra del Rey Almemón que era entonces Señor* "*de esta Cibdad, y nombrola por ende Almemonia, y despues fue a Sevilla e hizo esta açafeha en otra* "*manera mas complida e mas acabada, e hizo otro si el libro de como se debe hazer, e de como deben* "*obrar por ella e todo esto lo fizo a honrra del Rey Muhammad Aben Abet que era Señor desa Cibdad* "*en dicho tiempo y nombrola por eso Alhabedia.*" (We are now going to treat about the *azafeha*, which the learned constructor of astrolabes, Az-zarkál, an inhabitant of Toledo, made for King Al-mámún, then ruler of this city, and which he named *Al-mámúniyyah*, in honour of the said monarch. After which he passed to Seville, and constructed another *azafeha* in a more finished and perfect manner, and wrote a treatise showing how it was to be made and used, which he entitled Al-'abbádiyyah, in honour of Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád, then Sultán of Seville.)

21 There is here a contradiction of what precedes. Alfonso VI., the conqueror of Toledo, reigned from A. D. 1065 to 1109. The date (A. D. 1133-4) can therefore only be applied to Alfonso VIII., whose reign lasted from A. D. 1126 to 1157. It is thus impossible to determine which of the Alfonsos is here meant.

22 حنين *Honeyn*, or *Honayn*, the Jew. I have looked in vain in Castro's *Biblioteca de Escritores Rabinos Españoles*, Mad. 1781-6, and Bartolocci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, for the name of this individual. My copy of the *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah*, where the description of these clepsydræ occurs also word for word, reads differently the name of this Jew, who is there called حميس بن زبرة Hamís Ibn Zabrah. What the author means by conveying all the baths or natural springs of hot water to Toledo I cannot guess; the text is as follows: الذي جلب حمام الاندلس كلها لطليطلة

23 Here again the author must allude to Alfonso IX., whose son, Ferdinand III., took Cordova (A. D. 1236) and Seville (A. D. 1248) from the Moslems.

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i *Açafeha*, from صفيحة *safíhah*, 'a brass plate.'

k *Aserquiel* is Az-zarkál, or, as pronounced by the Spanish Arabs, Az-zarkél.

CHAPTER VII.

[1] The first Sultán of the Almoravides, also called *Al-mulaththamún* (i. e. the people of the veil), because they hid the lower part of their faces with a triangular piece of cloth, called *latham*, belonged to the tribe of *Masúfah*, one of the five divisions, according to Ibnu Khaldún, of the great Senhájah family. They inhabited the deserts bordering upon Súdán or Nigritia, where the traveller Ibn Battúttah found them still in the eighth century of the Hijra. Prof. Lee, who was not aware of this circumstance, read every where in his MSS. اهل مسرقة instead of اهل مسوفة thereby translating that expression by 'merchants,' instead of 'the people of Masúfah.' See *The Travels of Ibn Batúta*, London, 1829, p. 233.

This comparison of Spain to a bird is much in the taste of the Arabs. Some of their geographers have compared the world to an eagle, making China and India the head; Turkey and Tartary the right wing, and the territories of Gog and Magog the left; Syria, Asia Minor, and Hejáz, the breast; Western Europe and Africa the tail. See the *Kitábu-l-boldán*, by Al-beládhorí, (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7496, fo. 2.)

Conde inserted the above anecdote in the second volume of his *Hist. de la Dom.* p. 187, but he evidently misunderstood the text of the Arabian historian from whom he borrowed it. He likewise read *Musafah* instead of Masúfah, and called 'Alí 'prince of the believers,' instead of 'prince of the Moslems,' which is quite a different thing. (See *ib.* p. 99.) I may observe here that the Spanish translator did not always pay sufficient attention to the titles of *Amíru-l-múmenín* and *Amíru-l-moslemín*, assumed by the princes of the various dynasties that ruled over Spain and Africa, often mistaking one for the other, and making no distinction whatever between the two. It does not appear from history that Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín, or any of his successors, ever took the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín*, which was reserved for the Khalif or Vicar of the Prophet in the East; they seem, on the contrary, to have contented themselves with the more modest title of *Amíru-l-moslemín*, 'prince of the Moslems' (of Africa and Spain). The Sultáns of Cordova themselves, though descended from the stock of the Bení Umeyyah, and so closely allied to the family of the Prophet, dared not assume that honorific title until the family of 'Abbás had nearly been extirpated in Asia by the Turks; even then the assumption was considered sacrilegious by some of the theologians in Cordova and other great cities of the Peninsula.

[2] See a preceding note (p. 309, No. 1). It is to be regretted that the work from which these extracts are taken is not known in Europe. To judge from the contents of this and the following chapter, which are mostly borrowed from it, our information on the state of manners and society, the civil and military regulations, the productions of the soil, and the extent of the revenue, of Mohammedan Spain, might have been considerably increased by the judicious remarks of a writer such as Ibnu Sa'íd.

[3] Ibnu-l-himárah, literally 'the son of the she-ass.' The name of this Wizír is Abú-l-huseyn 'Alí. Ibnu-l-khattíb, who speaks of him, says that he lived at Granada, and that he was the last philosopher of Andalus.

The verse is as follows:

لاحت قراها بين خضرة ايكها ∴ كالدر بين زبرجد مكنون

[4] When Ibnu Sa'íd wrote, the Christians were not only in possession of both Castiles, and the greatest

part of Estremadura and Aragon, but the capital of the Mohammedan empire, Cordova, had also fallen into their hands.

[5] Thus in the text: حتي قيل ان عدد القري التي علي نهر اشبيلية اثنا عشرالف قرية Although the number of towns and villages said to have once lined the banks of the Guadalquivir is evidently much exaggerated, there can be no doubt that it must have been considerable, if we consider the fertility of the land which the Arabs occupied, their superior abilities in all the operations of husbandry, and, above all, the continual influx of population, either from Africa, or from the districts gradually reduced by the Christians.

The Frenchman, Cardonne, was, I think, the first who borrowed this statement from the Arabian writers. (*Hist. de l'Afrique*, tom. i. p. 338.) Incredible as it is, it has been blindly adopted by Viardot, Chenier, Aschbach, Dunham, and other European writers. Conde, who borrowed it from another writer, says that twelve thousand hamlets, farms, and castles, were scattered over the regions watered by the Guadalquivir. A modern writer, who to a most exquisite erudition unites a singular criticism,—I mean the author of the History of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain,—has lately remarked that "the length of "the Guadalquivir, not exceeding three hundred miles, would scarcely afford room for the same number "of farm-houses." The observation is correct, but the text here admits of no other interpretation; it can only be said to be one of the many exaggerations of which Arabian writers, especially geographers, are so often guilty. Ibnu-l-wardí (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9590, fo. 13, *verso*) says that the district of Seville, now called *Axarafe*, which has been described elsewhere, (see pp. 56, 58, and Note 5, p. 363,) contained eight thousand towns, villages, and farms. But what shall we say when we find the Spanish writers themselves dealing in the same coin, and telling us that the same district contained twenty thousand! See Caro, *Antig. de Sevilla*, fo. 219; *Cronica General del Rey Don Alonso*; and Botero, *Relaciones universales del mundo*, Valladolid, 1603.

[6] The sugar cane is one of the plants for the introduction of which Spain is indebted to the Arabs. (See Banqueri, *Agricultura*, vol. i. p. 392.) It is still cultivated at Motril, Nerja, and other places along the coast of Granada. The word سكّر *sukkar*, whence the Latin *saccharum* is derived, has passed into the Spanish *azucar*, and found its way into every language of Europe. It comes no doubt from شكر *shakar*, a Persian word, unless it be from the Hebrew שכר 'an inebriating liquor distilled from the sugar cane.'

The fruit I have translated by 'banana' is موز in Spanish *moz*, *mussa*, or *mossa*, the Indian plantain, or *musa sapientium*. It was extensively cultivated in Spain. See Banqueri, *loco laudato*, vol. i. p. 394, and Idrísí, *apud* Hartmann, p. 74.

[7] *Safarí*. There is a species of pomegranate which the Spaniards to this day call *Granada çafarí*. Ibnu-l-awam, in his treatise on agriculture, (Mad. 1802, vol. i. p. 273,) gives two reasons why it received that epithet; first, because it was first introduced into Malaga and Granada by a man named Safar, who procured the pip from the royal gardens at Cordova; and secondly, because the first pomegranate came from Syria, and was called سفري *safarí*, 'the traveller.' Cavarrubias was therefore wrong in supposing that the word *çafarí* meant a thing from Africa or Algiers. (See *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana*, vol. i. p. 178.) There is also a sort of fig called *higo çafarí*. The author of the history of Africa entitled *Karttás* mentions this fruit among the productions of the soil about Fez. See the Portuguese translation, by Padre Moura, Lisbon, 1828, p. 43.

8 *Mahleb.* I find no mention of this plant either in Jeuharí or Fírúzabádí, but Ibnu-l-beyttar describes it in the following words: "*Mahleb,*—neither Dioscorides nor Galenus have described this plant. Abú "Hanífah says that it is a shrub, rather dry in appearance, having a white blossom, and bearing a fruit "which is used as a perfume. According to the 'Nabathæan Agriculture' it grows to the height of a "man, and its leaves are similar in shape to those of the apricot tree, although somewhat smaller. The "branches spread considerably and support the fruit, a species of small nut, which has a very "fragrant smell, and is used for the confection of several medicaments. Ibn Hossán says that it "resembles a willow tree both in leaves and stem, only that the latter is a little shorter; that it abounds "in Andalus; that its fruit is circular, and has a shell of a colour between red and black, which encloses "another, very rough and hard. In the centre is the fruit, which tastes something like an egg, but "rather bitter. It has, moreover, a very sweet smell. Ibn 'Amrán says that the *mahleb* is of various "kinds, white, black, and green,—the small-grained, and that having the seed of the size of a pea; the "latter sort grows in Mesopotamia, the small-grained in Andalus. The most esteemed for its fragrancy "grows in Adharbiján."

9 قصب الذريرة *kassabu-dh-dharírah,* literally, 'the odoriferous reed,' the *calamus aromaticus* or *acorus* of botanists. Ibnu-l-beyttar describes it in the words of Dioscorides and Galenus, which he translates without adding any new fact or stating in what countries it grows.

10 التولج *at-tólaj* in all the MSS., for which I think الخولنج *al-khúlanj* ought to be substituted; if so, it is the *galanga* or *galangal,* an odoriferous root introduced into Europe by the Arabs, and which came originally from India. See Dr. Roxburgh's *Flora Indica,* vol. i. p. 28, ed. Wall.

11 قسط *kost* is the *costus* or *costmary,* an aromatic plant.

12 The MS. reads اكشونية *Okshúniah,* which, by the suppression of one point, is easily converted into *Oshunoba,* the Ossonoba of Pliny and Ptolemy, now Estombar, in Portugal. The name of that town during the Gothic domination was Exonoba. See Florez, *España Sagrada,* vol. iv. p. 256.

13 Amber is one of the maritime productions of the Peninsula. It is to be found in large quantities all along the south-western coast, but especially between Cadiz and Gibraltar, as here described.

14 The passage here alluded to by the author is to be found in the *Murúju-dh-dhabab,* or 'golden meadows,' by Mes'údí, in the chapter treating about the seas.

15 Both Ptolemy and Strabo speak at length of the mineral riches of Spain. There is, however, reason to believe that they were very much exaggerated by the ancients. From the manner in which gold is here alluded to, and the spots where it is said to have been found, it seems evident that the Spanish Moslems extracted it, not from the mine itself, but from the sands of rivers.

I have collated this passage with a copy of the geographical work here quoted, in my possession, and have found it agree in every respect.

16 Both the Greeks and the Arabs believed that there were only seven species of metals, to each of

which they gave the name of one of the seven planets then known, and which were supposed to exercise an influence over them.

17 This *Al-hamah* is *Al-hama la seca,* not the town of the same name which is so celebrated for its hot springs, and still more for its towering ramparts, the scene of so much heroism and bloodshed during the eventful period of the last wars of Granada.

18 كرتاش *Kartásh.* There is no place of this name in the whole province of Cordova. At Guadalcanal, however, a district under the jurisdiction of that city, there are extensive silver mines, now worked, and in which traces of the works made by the Romans, and after them by the Arabs, are still visible. See Bowles, *Introduccion à la Hist. Nat. de Esp.* pp. 5, 7, *et seq.*

19 In the district here mentioned, *viz.*, the town of Estombar, in Portugal, there are, according to Ressende and Miñano, mines of tin and iron.

20 Paterna is the name of a small town in the province of Granada. Among the mineral productions of that kingdom, its historian, Ibnu-l-khattíb, mentions the tutty, توتيا *tutiá,* (in Spanish *atucia.*) See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 248.

21 The name of *al-sofar,* or rather *as-sofar,* which means 'yellow,' and 'gold,' has been applied by the Arabs to a species of yellow metal, or brass, now called by the Spaniards *azófar.*

22 I believe that the word شباب *shobáb, shabáb,* or *shibáb,* means 'alum.' Al-bekrí and Idrísí mention it among the natural productions of Súdán.

23 حضرة الورقة literally 'the verdant spot.' Perhaps there is a point wanting on the ح which would alter the meaning thus,—'the verdure of the leaves.'

24 شحيران *Shaheyrán* in the principal MS. Another copy reads شخيران *Shakheyrán.* Taking away the initial ش *shin* it will give *Kheyrán,* the name of one of the Sclavonian kings of Almeria. See a preceding note, p. 357.

25 The Arabs call the beryl-stone بلور *al-ballaur,* a word sometimes used as a synonyme for glass or crystal. The Spanish *abalorio,* meaning 'glass beads,' appears to me to be derived from it.

26 The author of a history of Malaga, entitled *Conversaciones Malagueñas,* Malaga, 1789-93, vol. i. p. 89, speaks of a mine of rubies in the neighbourhood of that city.

27 The golden markasite was very much prized by the Arabs, who used it to ornament the pommels of their saddles, and the hilts and scabbards of their swords. It was also much used by women, who made necklaces and bracelets of it. It is to this day considered an ornament among the lower classes in Spain. It is called in Spanish *marquesita,* and *marquesita de oro* also, to distinguish it from another sort which seems to contain particles of silver, and is therefore styled *marquesita de plata.*

[28] The word *al-ma'tisisá*, thus written, المعتيسيسا is not to be found in the dictionaries. I have also looked in vain for it in the *Kitábu-l-mughni fí-t-tab*, by Ibnu-l-beyttar (Arab. MS. in my possession), as well as in Ibnu-l-wardí, who, at the end of his geographical treatise, gives a list of the principal productions of nature in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms.

[29] The meaning of the word *arrobes*, from the Arabic *raba'*, has already been explained; one of the MSS. reads one hundred and eighty, instead of eighty: I have adopted the latter reading as that which savours less of exaggeration.

[30] *Kariatu Násherah*, 'the hamlet of Násherah,' the Nixar of Marmol, a few miles from Almeria. See *Reb. de los Moriscos*, fo. 85, *verso*.

[31] الناجادي *An-nájjádí.* I have looked in vain for this word in Ibnu-l-beyttar.

[32] الشادنة *Ash-shádenah*, or الشاذنة *Ash-shádhenah*, as written in another copy, is synonymous with the سارنج *saranj* or 'blood-stone.'

[33] I am not sure that I have seized the author's meaning; و يستعمل في ذلك التذاهيب literally 'and it is used or employed in the gilding.'

[34] By Jewish stone the Arabs mean the *lapis alagi*. See the Arabic text of Avicenna (Ibn Síná) Rome, 1493, p. ١٨.

[35] Niebla is the Ilipa or Ilipla of Pliny and Strabo, from which the Arabs made *Libla*. The change of *l* into *n*, and *vice versá*, is frequent in words corrupted either by the Arabs or the Spaniards; so from *Nebrissa* they made Lebrixa, and from *Liblah*, Niebla.

What the author calls زاج 'glass' must be 'vitriol.' Not far from the spot here alluded to, at Cazalla, there is a mine of vitriol. See Bowles, *Introduccion*, &c. p. 66.

[36] It is not easy to say what is here meant by طفل *tafal*. The word is not to be found in any of the printed or manuscript dictionaries I have consulted. Jeuharí, it is true, says that *tofál* means 'dry clay,' but the word is spelt differently, طفال Besides, the expression نبت *nabata*, 'to grow as a plant,' which the author here uses, cannot be applied to earth or clay. I have likewise had recourse to my copy of Ibnu-l-beyttar's dictionary of plants and simples, as well as to a botanical dictionary by Ibn 'Abdún, also in my possession, but in vain. On the other hand, there is hardly an Arabian geographer among those who have described Spain who has not directly or indirectly treated of the *tofál* or *tafal*, which was to be procured at Toledo, and which all describe as a sort of eatable clay, very much used in medicine. The author of the *'Ajáyibu-l-makhlúkát*, fo. 26, says, treating about Toledo, "close to this city is a very fine town "called مقام *Makám*, the soil of which is a species of clay which people eat, and which is considered as "one of the most precious specifics on the whole earth. It is exported in large quantities to all "countries." Ibn Iyás, fo. 12, says "the town of Makám is famous for a certain clay which people "are accustomed to eat to aid the digestion." Words to this effect may likewise be read in the

Tohfatu-l-'ajáyib (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7497, fo. 48, *verso*), and in the *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah* (Arab. MS. in my possession).

For these reasons I am inclined to believe that *tafal* or *tofál* means that sort of earth known among the Greek physicians by the name of *terra sigillata* or *terra Lemnia*, and which Galen describes at length. The Arabian naturalists knew it also under the name of طين مختوم *tín makhtúm*, 'sealed clay.' See Ibnu-l-beyttar, *loco laudato*.

[37] The territory about Almeria is famous for its quarries of marbles of all qualities and hues. These are principally to be found in the neighbouring mountains called *Sierra de Gador* and *Sierra de Filabres*. Agates abound also, so as to have given a new name to the Charidemi Promontorium (now called *Cabo de Gata*), a corruption from *Cabo de Agathas*, or Cape of Agates. Bowles found granates and amethysts between Almeria and that cape. See *Introduccion à la Historia Natural y Geografia Física de España*, pp. 125, 132, *et passim*.

[38] From the Latin *lupus*, 'a wolf;' in Spanish *lobo*.

[39] The word which I have translated by 'jackal' is ذيب *dhib*, in Spanish *adive*.

[40] The animal called وبر *wabr* by the Arabs is, I believe, an otter, but it might also be a seal; indeed, the descriptions given by Ad-demírí and other naturalists whom I have consulted are so contradictory, that it is impossible for me to say which of the two animals is meant. Ad-demírí, in his *Hayyátu-l-haywán* (Arab. MS. in my possession), describes it in the following terms. "The *wabr* "is a small quadruped of the feline species, of an ashy colour, has no tail, and builds habitations "to live in. Such are the words of Jeuharí, but by that expression (he has no tail) the author "undoubtedly meant that its tail was small; for it has one, although short, and exceedingly fat, like "that of our young lambs. The *wabr* is likewise called by the vulgar *ghanam bení Isráyil* (the sheep of "the sons of Israel); it resembles in many respects the hare, for, like that animal, it feeds upon plants "and vegetables, owing to which its flesh is a delicious food." As far as this goes the beaver is meant, but, on the other hand, Ibnu-l-beyttar (Arab. MS. in my possession) says that it is a quadruped larger than a dog, and living mostly in the sea, although it now and then comes on shore.

[41] A jacket made of sheep-skin is still called in Spain *zamarra*, a word which bears a strong resemblance to سمّور *sammúr*, meaning in Arabic 'a weasel' or 'a marten,' and also the skin of that animal, but which, according to Ad-demírí, is a synonyme for the *jendu-bádastar* or beaver. Ibn Haukal, in his Geography, speaks of these *sammúr* as being found at Toledo. Sir William Ouseley translated that word by 'sables or martens.' See *Ibn Haukal's Oriental Geography*, p. 27.

[42] The life of this physician occurs in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7340, fo. 139, *verso*). His entire name was Abú Bekr حامد Hámid (not Hamíd, as in Al-makkarí) ابن سمجون Ibn Samjún: he was an excellent physician, and had great knowledge of all the simples employed in medicine. "His treatise on simple medicaments," says Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, "is considered to be a most "elaborate and useful performance, since he not only described all the simples known before his time, "and collected whatever information the ancients had given on them, but added much of his own. Abú "Yahya Alisa' Ibn 'Isa Ibn Hazm Ibn Alisa', in his work entitled *Kitábu-l-mu'arib* (or *mu'rib*) *'an*

" *maháseni ahli-l-maghreb* (the book of the speaker according to the rules of grammar on the excellences of " the western people), says that Ibn Samjún wrote the above work during the administration of the Hájib " Mohammed Ibn Abi 'A'mir Al-mansúr, who, as is well known, died in the year three hundred and " ninety-two (A. D. 1001-2), whence we conclude that he flourished in the fourth century of the Hijra. " Besides the above treatise on the simples employed as medicaments, Ibn Samjún wrote a work " entitled كتاب الاقراباذين 'the book of the antidotes.'"

43 A similar account is to be found in Strabo, as well as in the Greek physicians. The word *wabr* (seal or otter) is again used here, although it is evident that the beaver is meant. Whatever Al-makkarí's accomplishments as a historian may be, it is evident that he was no naturalist, or else he would not have confounded, as he has done here, the seal, the otter, and the beaver.

44 This quadruped is described by Ad-demírí in the following words. " The *jendu-bádastar* is an " animal resembling the dog, but not the sea-dog. It is only to be met with in the country of النخف " An-nakhaf[1] and its environs. It is also called قندر *kandar* and سمّور *sammúr*, and resembles in " shape a fox. Its colour is red; it has neither hands nor feet, but its head resembles that of a man, " having a round face. It crawls like a reptile, and has four genitals, two inside and two out, from " which the remedy called *jendu-bádastar* (castoreum) is extracted.

This is no doubt the beaver, whose inguinal gland, known under the name of *castoreum* to the ancients, was until very lately considered a specific in many diseases. According to Strabo (lib. iii.) Spain abounded at one time in beavers, which produced *castoreum*, although inferior to that of Pontus. They are not now found. The beaver lives on the banks of rivers and lakes, but not in salt water, as here expressed. The whole of this passage, indeed, is a tissue of error and contradiction. Ad-demírí himself, who, as I have already observed elsewhere, wrote a Zoological Dictionary, entitled حياة الحيوان (Ar. MS. in my possession), did very little else than collect together, and dispose in alphabetical order, all the absurd and superstitious notions, all the traditions, and all the wonderful accounts he could meet with in the writings of his countrymen, together with some indigested learning borrowed from the Greek writers.

45 The word which I have translated by 'sashes' is شاشات *sháshát*, which, according to the *Kitábu-l-mughrib fí-l-loghat* (a MS. Arabic Dict. in my possession), means also 'a narrow and long stripe of muslin,' of various colours, which common people used to wind round their head in the shape of a turban. In Spain, where they are very much worn by the peasantry, they are called *faxa*, from the Latin *fascia*.

46 تنتلي Tentalí. (See p. 69.) Another MS. reads تنتالي *Tentálí*, from Tentálah. No place of this name now exists in the province of Murcia.

47 الملبد *al-mulabbad*, a verbal adjective from *labbada*, which means 'to stuff,' seems to be the name for certain stuffed gowns or pelisses which the Spanish Moslems used to wear in winter.

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[1] Another copy reads النقحاف *An-nak'háf*.

48 A. has العاجر الدهشة The epitome المعجز My copy المعجز الدهشة Perhaps المعاجر الدهشة العقول is to be substituted, which would alter the meaning thus: 'turbans for women which were so beautiful that the fineness of their texture and the brightness of their colours made men lose their wits.'

49 Several towns in the province of Murcia are still in possession of this branch of industry. At Albacete, especially, there are several manufactures of well-tempered scissors, daggers, and knives, which are reckoned the best of their kind in Spain, and which, by the shape and ornament of their blades and handles, betray their Moorish origin. Since the expulsion of the Moriscos the Spaniards have kept up this manufacture, but with so little variation and improvement that it is not uncommon to meet with daggers and knives manufactured at Albacete as late as the end of the last century, still bearing Arabic inscriptions and verses from the Korán, rudely burnt into the blade. I cannot account for this very curious circumstance otherwise than by supposing the Spanish manufacturer to have copied and reproduced the old models, either out of superstitious reverence, or more probably believing them to be ornamental designs, and forming as it were an inherent part of the article. I have seen in London one of these weapons, which on one side of the blade bears the following inscription: انا لاقتل عدايك بعون الله 'I shall certainly kill thy enemies with the help of God;' and on the reverse, *Fabrica de Navajas de Antonio Gonzalez, Albacete*, 1705 (manufacture of knives by Antonio Gonzalez, at Albacete, 1705).

50 This word is differently written in every MS. A. and B. have المفضض *al-mufadhadh*. My copy المفض *al-mufadh*. The epitome المفصص *al-mifssass* or *al-mafssass*. I have not hesitated to follow the latter reading, which means 'a spot strewn with (or a thing composed of) small pebbles or stones' (فصوص *fossús*), and hence a mosaic; which, as I shall have occasion to show in an ensuing note, is also called by the Arabs *foseyfasá*.

51 الزليج *az-zulaj* is the Spanish *azulejo*, a sort of painted tile, which is very common all over Spain, and with which the floors of the Alhambra, at Granada, and the Alcazar, at Seville, are paved.

52 All the Arabian geographers describe the city of Bourdeaux, in France, as being famous for the manufacture of certain well-tempered swords called *al-bordheliat*, from *Bordhil* or *Bordhal*, the name of that city among the Arabs. Frequent allusions are made by the poets and historians of Mohammedan Spain to these blades, which seem to have been much esteemed by the Spanish Arabs. The author of a geographical work entitled *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah* (Ar. MS. in my possession), in a short description of France, mentions this fact. He adds that the city of Pisa was renowned for its manufactures of defensive and offensive weapons, which were imported into Spain. I here translate the passage, which is extremely curious:—

"Further to the east is the port of جنوة Genoa, whose inhabitants are very expert in navigation, as "well as in the construction of ships, with which they furrow the seas from the coasts of Syria to the "*Bábu-z-zokák* (Straits of Gibraltar). Close to them are the people of بيجة Pisa, who are the most "enterprising sailors among the Franks, as well as the most skilful in geometry, and in the science of

" navigation. They are very expert in the construction of منجنيق war-engines, ابراج wooden towers, " and other warlike implements, and deeply versed in the stratagems of war; the various modes of " fighting a ship, throwing with naphtha الرمي بالنفط and so forth. They have vessels of all sizes, " which they build in their dock-yards, and are famous for their manufactures of every variety of " weapons and steel armour, such as breast-plates, helmets, spears, bows, arrows, &c. It is from Pisa " that we receive the famous blades called *al-bíját*, (from Pisa,) which, although not so hard tempered " as the Indian blades, cut full as well or better. They manufacture likewise armour for horses, and for " the protection of every limb in a man's body in time of war, so that when a horseman among them " goes to battle he is completely clad in steel, as well as his charger, and the two look like a mountain " of iron."

CHAPTER VIII.

[1] الشهب الثاقبة في الانصاف بين المشارقة والمغاربة This appears to be the title of one of the chapters into which Ibnu Sa'íd divided his great historical work, which will be more fully described hereafter.

[2] One of the copies reads ' third century of the Hijra.' But it is a mistake, since Ibn Haukal did not visit Spain until the time of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., who began to reign in three hundred of the Hijra (A. D. 912), and died in three hundred and fifty (A. D. 961).

[3] The entire name of this geographer is Abú-l-kásim Ibn Haukal An-nassíbí. We have an English translation of his work made from the Persian by Sir William Ouseley, and published in 1800. But the Persian being only a version of an epitome, and the readings being particularly defective, it becomes indispensable that the original work (copies of which exist in the Bodleian and in the Royal Library at Paris) should be translated and illustrated with notes.

[4] The unfavourable opinion expressed here by Ibn Haukal was evidently caused by the animosity which all Eastern writers seem to have borne towards Spain, owing to her separation from the mother country. At the time when Ibn Haukal visited Spain the throne of Cordova was occupied by 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násssir lidín-illah, under whose able administration the affairs of the Spanish Moslems were as prosperous as ever; and although the Galicians and Leonese on one side, and the Navarrese and Catalonians on the other, repeatedly assailed his territory, they were unable, during the whole length of his reign, to detach a single foot of land from his dominions.

[5] لسان الحال في الرّد انطق من لسان البلاغة .

[6] Ibnu Sa'íd, writing in the seventh century of the Hijra, or thirteenth of our era, must have been contemporary with the principal events of the wars of the Crusades.

7 During the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., the eighth Sultán of the house of Umeyyah (three hundred to three hundred and fifty of the Hijra), the Christians made little or no progress. It is true that Ordoño II. and Ramiro II., two of the ablest and most warlike monarchs that Gothic Spain ever had, sometimes contended successfully against his arms; that Ferran Gonzalez, first count of Castile, laid the foundations of a separate kingdom; that Zamora, Talavera, and other important cities were taken, and for a while held by the Christians; but these successes were more than balanced by similar incursions on the part of the Moslems, and their territory remained untouched during the whole of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's long reign.

8 بنو الخلايف 'the sons of the Khalifs,' no doubt because they were the descendants of the Khalifs of the house of Umeyyah, who had long occupied the throne of the East.

9 أمرآء ابنآء الخلفآء 'Amírs, sons of the Khalifs.' The geographer Ibn Khordádbah (Ar. MS. in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon. No. 963, fo. 17) gives the same title to the sovereigns of the house of Idrís, who reigned in Mauritania from one hundred and seventy to three hundred and seventy five of the Hijra, and who were the descendants of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib.

10 *Molúku-t-tawáyif*, 'kings of bands, parties, or small states.' See a preceding note, No. 20, p. 330, where the meaning of this expression has already been explained.

11 The *khotbah* is a prayer for the reigning sovereign, which it is customary to read every Friday in Mohammedan mosques.

12 Ibnu Rashík. There were in Africa two writers of this name, who took their patronymics from Cairwán. One was 'Abdullah Ibn Rashík, a native of Cordova, but who settled at Cairwán; he died at Cairo in A.H. 419, on the return from his pilgrimage. The other, Abú 'Alí Al-hasen Ibn Rashík, a native of Cairwán, who wrote the انموذج في اللغة and died in A.H. 459. See Hájí Khalfah, voc. *anmúdaj*.

The MS. A. adds also the following distich by Ibnu Rashík, alluding to what is said about the titles assumed by the rulers of independent states.

مما يزهدني في ارض اندلس ∴ اسمآ معتمد فيها و معتضد
القاب مملكة في غير موضعها ∴ كالهر يحكي انتفاخا صورة الاسد

'Nothing gives me a better idea of the names assumed by the people of Andalus than to hear 'there is a Mu'atamed and a Mu'atadhed:

'Both titles of kings whose estates were not in that country; and the present bearers of which 'resemble the cat in the tale, who tried to swell himself out to look like a lion.'

These verses are also quoted by Ibnu Khaldún in his prolegomena (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9574, fo. 115, *verso*), but are there attributed to a poet named Ibn Sherf.

13 Al-mu'atadhed-billah was the surname of the sixteenth Khalif of the house of 'Abbás, who succeeded Al-mu'atamed 'ala-illah in two hundred and seventy-nine of the Hijra.

14 The Bení Hamúd were originally from Africa, where their ancestors the Idrísites had long occupied the throne of Maghreb. They were the descendants of Hamúd, son of Maymún, son of Ahmed, son of

'Alí, son of Obeydullah, son of 'Omar, son of Idrís, who, having fled from Africa and taken refuge in Cordova during the administration of the Hájib Al-mansúr, was well received by that general, who gave him a command in the armies of the Khalif Hishám. See Al-bekrí (Brit. Mus., No. 9577, fo. 88, *et seq.*); Ibnu Khaldún (*ib.*, 9575, fo. 100, *verso, et seq.*); and D'Herb. (Bib. Or. voc. *Edressah.*)

[15] منشد *munshid* (from *nashada*, 'to recite extempore,') is a title given to a certain class of poets, who attended the courts of Mohammedan princes, and recited ancient poetry, or their own compositions, in their presence.

[16] The author has here committed a mistake. Idrís, who reigned in Malaga from A. H. four hundred and seventeen to four hundred and thirty-one (A. D. 1026-1039), was not the son, but the brother, of Yahya. Both were the sons of 'Alí Ibn Hamúd, the first king of that family who reigned in Cordova. After the death of their father, who was strangled while in the bath by two of his Sclavonian eunuchs, their uncle, Al-kásim Al-mámún, usurped the Khalifate to their prejudice till four hundred and fourteen (A. D. 1023), when Yahya succeeded in dethroning him. Idrís, however, was only able to maintain himself in Malaga and the surrounding districts as far as Algesiras.

[17]
و كان الشمس لها اشرقت ∴ فانثنت عنها عيون الناظرين
وجه ادريس بن يحي بن علي ∴ بن حمود امير المومنين
انظرونا و نقتبس من نوركم ∴ انه من نور ربّ العالمين

I may here make the same observation with regard to these verses which I have made in the note immediately preceding this. The poet was mistaken when he made Idrís the son, instead of the nephew, of Yahya. The contrary may be fully proved, on the authority of Al-bekrí, *loco laudato*, fo. 89; Ibnu Khaldún, fo. 101; Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 211; Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 8; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 87.

[18] Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd, a descendant from the Tojibites, who held for some time the kingdom of Saragossa, raised the standard of revolt against the Almohades (A. D. 1228), and succeeded in establishing his rule in all the provinces of Mohammedan Spain. His reign, however, was of short duration; after a most turbulent life, spent in defending his states against the Christians, as well as against his Mohammedan foes, he was strangled in his bed in six hundred and thirty-five (A. D. 1237-8). Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 440, *et seq.*, and vol. iii. pp. 4, 16, 20.

[19]
امور يضحك السفهآء منها ∴ و يخشي من عواقبها اللبيب

Shakspeare has said, "Now this, overdone, or come tardy off, though it make the unskilful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve."—Hamlet, Act III. Scene ii.

[20] This alludes, no doubt, to a passage which Al-makkarí did not insert. It is to be regretted that the whole of this valuable and interesting chapter should not have been preserved, for it exhibits a criticism and an erudition which are seldom found in Arabian writers, and the account in its original form might have afforded us much useful information upon the social and political condition of the Spanish Moslems. The work of Ibnu Sa'íd, from which this is a quotation, may, for aught I know, lie unknown and unread

in some public library in Europe, for it is not always that printed catalogues give us an exact and correct idea of the nature and contents of Oriental works.

21 I believe the author means the same Ibn Húd mentioned in a previous note. We might also suspect an allusion to Ibn Mardanísh (see Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 55), whose rebellion was attended with circumstances very similar to those here detailed, and whose rash conduct occasioned the death of several of his partisans, and, among others, of a relative of the author, Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd (see p. 163, *et seq.* of this translation); but the expression *'in our times'* renders this conjecture inadmissible, since the revolt of that chief took place sixty years before the birth of the author.

22 حصن ارجونة Hisn-Arjónah, or, as pronounced by English writers, *Arjúnah*, now Arjona, is a town on the road between Cordova and Jaen.

23 Abú Merwán Al-bájí (from Beja) revolted against Ibn Húd, and obtained possession of Seville in six hundred and twenty-nine (A.D. 1231-2). Two years afterwards Ibnu-l-ahmar, (A. D. 1234,) having entered that city peaceably under the pretence of giving him his daughter in marriage, and assisting him in his rebellion against Ibn Húd, whose sworn enemy he was, slew Al-bájí, and took possession of the city. This Abú Merwán Al-bájí, whose name was Ahmed, must, however, not be confounded with the theologian mentioned at p. v. of the Appendix A., who had his same names and surnames.

24 When Ibnu Sa'íd wrote, (A.H. six hundred and sixty,) Mohammed Ibnu-l-ahmar, the founder of the kingdom of Granada, reigned without a competitor over the whole of Mohammedan Spain.

25 The author does not mean that the post of Wizír became hereditary in families, for this was never the case in Spain, although instances of it were not uncommon in the East, but that the title of Wizír was often conferred on several members of the same family, so as to render that dignity almost an inheritance in certain noble families who had influence at court. But it ought to be observed that the Wizírate, under the Khalifs of the house of Umeyyah in Spain, was more an honorary title than an office, for, as the author himself explains a few lines lower down, the Wizírs were officers who had entrance into the council-room, a sort of councillors who took part in the deliberations, but who had no share whatever in the administration. The Wizírate appears to have been an honour conferred by the Mohammedan princes on all those who, either from the nature of their duties, or the favour in which they were held, had often occasion to enter the room in which the monarch sat. So it was that the chief physicians of the Almoravide and Almohade Sultáns were generally invested with that dignity. (See the lives of Ibn Roshd, Ibn Zohr, &c. in the Appendix A.) From the Arabic word *Al-wazír* the Spaniards have made *Alguazil*, by changing the *r* into *l*.

The reader will find in the Appendix B., at the end of this volume, a chapter translated from the work of Ibnu Khaldún, in which the duties as well as prerogatives attached to the office of Wizír in Africa and Spain are circumstantially detailed.

26 Many among the revolted Wálís, who, after the overthrow of the Umeyyah dynasty, shook off the yoke of the capital, and declared themselves independent in their governments, assumed the modest title of Hájib of the Bení Umeyyah, which they retained even long after they had been fully and firmly established in their kingdoms. Of this number were Zohayr, and his successor Kheyrán, both Kings

of Almeria; Mohammed Ibn Al-afttas, King of Badajoz; Habús Ibn Mákesan, King of Granada; 'Abdu-l-'azíz, King of Valencia, and many others.

27 كتابة الذمام *kitábatu-dh-dhimám:* the Christians and Jews living under the dominion of the Moslems were called اهل الذمة *ahlu-dh-dhimmah* (the people of the patronage, or protection), because, by paying the customary tribute, *i.e.* the خراج *kharáj*, or land tax, and the جزية *jiz'yah*, or capitation tax, they became the clients of the Moslems. The *kátibu-dh-dhimám* was, therefore, an officer who had under his care the regulation of all affairs concerning the Christian and Jewish population living in Mohammedan cities.

كاتب الجهباذة *kátibu-l-jihbádheh.* According to De Sacy the word *jihbádheh* is of Persian origin. It comes from كهبذ meaning a 'money-changer,' a 'banker,' a 'tax-collector.' See *Chrest. Ar.* tom. ii. p. 328, *et seq.*

28 It is to be regretted that the author has not been more specific in describing the situation of the Christians under their Mohammedan conquerors, as the information we possess on the subject is but scanty.

29 *Sáhibu-l-ashghál.* It was only by having recourse to Ibnu Khaldún, who has given a whole chapter on the duties of this officer, that I was enabled to determine the branch of the administration intrusted to his care, as the two words صاحب الاشغال *sáhibu-l-ashghál* have no definite sense in themselves, meaning only 'the master of the functions,' without determining what these functions were. I presume that originally there was an epithet affixed to *ashghál*, perhaps حسبانية *hasbániyyah*, a word which means any thing connected with the keeping of accounts or the collection of taxes, and that in time the adjective was suppressed to make the appellation shorter.

The functions of this officer, as defined by Ibnu Khaldún, will be found in the Appendix B.

30 صاحب الشرطة *Sáhibu-sh-shartah* or *shortah* means, literally translated, 'the master or executioner of the law,' and also the captain of a certain guard called اهل شرطة generally attached to the head magistrate or governor of a city. Among the Eastern Khalifs it constituted a sort of body-guard, not numerous, but composed of liberated slaves, clients, and men entirely devoted to their master, and who executed with the greatest celerity his private orders, arresting and putting to death criminals, &c. The captain of this body-guard was named *Sáhibu-sh-shortah.* The office is very ancient, and existed among the first Khalifs after Mohammed. Nosseyr, the father of Músa, the conqueror of Spain, was *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* to Mu'awiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán, the first Khalif of the race of Umeyyah in the East. See Ibn Khallekán's life of Músa (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 758).

In Spain the duties of the *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* seem at first to have been similar to those of that functionary in the East, and no material change took place under 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. and his son Hishám I.; but when Al-hakem I. and his successors surrounded their persons with a splendid body-guard, composed of several thousand Sclavonians and Berbers, the command of these forces was generally intrusted to a prince of the blood, who held the highest rank in the state. The office of the *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* was then converted from a civil charge into a military one; and instead of watching as before over the safety of the Khalif, the functions of the holder became those of a police magistrate, his duties consisting in detecting and

punishing crimes against the public morals, or the civil regulations of the city or district intrusted to his care. The inspection of public works was also occasionally given to him, and it is not uncommon to see the name of the *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* commemorated on inscriptions; for instance, in one existing at Ezija, on an aqueduct built in the year three hundred and sixty-seven, under Hishám II., Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Músa is said to have been the *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* under whose inspection the work was erected. The celebrated historian Abú Merwán Khalf Ibn Hayyán (see a preceding note, p. 310, No. 3) was *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* of Cordova.

[31] The reader will find an interesting passage translated from Ibn Khaldún respecting this office. See Appendix B.

[32] محتسب *Mohtesib* or *Mohtaseb*, whence the Spaniards have derived their word *Almotazen*, by changing the final *b* into *n*, a change of frequent occurrence in Spanish words. Strange to say, this office is still in existence in Spain,—especially in the southern and eastern provinces, where the Arabs and Moors made a longer stay,—and, what is still more extraordinary, the officer charged with it exercises the very same functions here described. It is now called ***Fiel Almotazen de pesos y medidas*** (i. e. officer having care of the weights and measures).

[33] The sale of bread, meat, oil, and most of the articles of food, is still subject in Spain to the inspection of government, which fixes, by means of its delegates, the prices at which they are to be sold. The office of *Mohtesib* exists at present in Turkey, and its holder is called *Mohtesib Agá*. Its duties consist in inspecting the shops of the city, and punishing all defaulters, according to the quality of the offence, either with imprisonment and torture, or by covering their heads with the entrails of beasts, or nailing their ears and noses to a plank, &c. See *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the seventeenth century, by Euliya Effendí*, translated from the Turkish by Hammer, London, 1834.

[34] Why these watchmen should be called in the East اصحاب الارباع *As'hab-arbá'*, or اصحاب الاربع *As'hábu-l-arbu'*, I have been unable to ascertain. I have, it is true, met once or twice in Al-jera'í's history of Damascus with an allusion to these watchmen, but nowhere is the origin or the meaning of the name given to their office explained. In the absence of any positive fact I may, perhaps, be allowed to hazard a conjecture. The word أربع *arbu'* is the plural of ربع *rab'u*, which means 'a house' or habitation of any kind; and it is not improbable that these watchmen had small watch-houses or sentry-boxes appropriated for their use, whence they might sally at night to make their rounds, or whenever their presence was required in any quarter of the city. Hence these people in the East might have been called, according to the genius of the Arabic language, 'the people or the masters of the watch-houses,' in the same manner as they were styled in Spain 'the gate-keepers,' because of their taking care of the various gates or wards which connected the different quarters of Mohammedan cities one with another in the day time, and separated them at night,—a custom since observed in Spain, where Cordova, Seville, Granada, and other Moorish capitals, preserve to this day evident traces of this internal division.

[35] قايد الاساطيل *Káyidu-l-asátíl*, (the commander of the fleet.) An interesting chapter, detailing

the duties of this officer in Africa and Spain, and giving, besides, a concise account of the origin, rise, and decay of the Mohammedan navy in the western settlements of the Arabs, will be found in the Appendix B., as translated from the work of Ibnu Khaldún.

36 This was Al-hakem II., surnamed *Al-mustanser-billah* (he who implores the aid of God), ninth Sultán of Cordova. Conde, in his *Hist. de la Dom.* (vol. i. p. 466), says that the order was actually carried into execution throughout the Mohammedan dominions of Spain, leaving only one-third of the vines for the sake of the fruit, and in order to make the species of sweetmeat called by the Arabs *ar-rob,* and by the Spaniards *arrope.*

37 Al-hakem I., the third Sultán of Cordova, was surnamed *Ar-rabadhí* (he of the suburb), owing to a rebellion stirred up during his reign by the inhabitants of the southern suburb of Cordova, and which he quelled with a severity of which but few instances occur in history, since he not only put thousands of the inhabitants to the sword, but razed the suburb to the ground, and expelled from his dominions the remainder of the population, eighty thousand in number. Casiri, who did not understand the meaning of the word الربضي *rabadhí,* read instead الرضي *ar-radhí,* which means 'the benevolent or the mild,' thus giving Al-hakem an epithet which his tyranny and cruel disposition belie, and which is in direct contradiction to the nickname given him by his oppressed subjects, ابو العصي *Abú-l-'asi,* (*i. e.* the father of cruelty.)

38 Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí is the same eminent theologian alluded to elsewhere. See p. 40, and p. 343, Note 54.

39 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Habíb; the epitome adds السُّلمي *As-solamí,* which, as I have said elsewhere, was his true patronymic. See Note 55, p. 343.

40 'The executors of a will;' الوصايا *al-waséyá,* a word which has been preserved in the Spanish *albacea.*

41 وابناء الملوك خضارم سادة ∴ صغيرهم عند الانام كبير

42 Ibn Haukal, at least in the copy consulted by me (Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., No. 963), says no such thing. That geographer, treating of the revenues of Spain in general, estimates those of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir lidín-illah, the Sultán under whose reign he visited that country, but nowhere does he allude to those of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., as stated by Al-makkarí; besides, Ibn Haukal's statement is so different from that here attributed to him by our author, that I doubt whether Al-makkarí ever possessed a copy of his work: his words are as follow: و مما يدلّ بالقليل منه الي كثيره ان سكة دار ضربة علي الدنانير و الدراهم دخلها في كلّ سنة مايتي الف دينار تكون عن صرف سبعة عشر درهماً ثلثة الف الف درهم واربع ماية الف درهم هذا الي صدقات البلد و جباياته و خراجته و

اعشاره و ضماناته و الاموال المرسومة علي المراكب الواردة و الصادرة و الجوالي و الرسم علي بيوع الاسواق .·.

"And to give an idea of the amount of their revenue, judging of the much by the little, I shall say that "every year two hundred thousand dinárs enter the royal mint for the purpose of coinage, which, "calculated at seventeen dirhems for each dinár, make three millions and four hundred thousand dirhems; "this being part of the produce of the alms, the land taxes, the tributes, the tithe, the duties imposed "upon goods imported or exported by sea, the tolls, the sums raised from the sale of articles of "food, &c."

The same author (Ibn Haukal), a little lower down the page, estimates the revenues of Cairwán at eight millions of dinárs. It is, therefore, quite absurd to suppose that he could ever make so low a computation respecting those of Spain, a country which far outstripped Africa in point of resources and civilisation.

زكاة *zakah* (in Spanish *azaque*) means, properly speaking, 'that part of his property which every true believer offers to God.' The only legal tax to which a Moslem was by law subjected was the صدقة *sadakah* (alms). This consisted, 1st. In the tithe of the products of the land. 2nd. In the payment of one out of forty from cattle, sheep, &c. 3rd. In a toll levied on goods imported and exported, amounting generally to a duty of two and a half per cent. on the value of the merchandize. Ornaments of gold, silver, and precious stones were exempt by law from the payment of tithe, if used in swords, spears, and other weapons, horse furniture, books, or the bracelets and rings worn by women on their wedding; all other property was subjected to the payment of the tithe.

[43] الاوسط *al-ausatt*, meaning 'the middle one,' is the epithet under which 'Abdu-r-rahman II., son of Al-hakem I., fourth Sultán of Cordova, is generally designated.

[44] My copy of Ibn Khallekán estimates the revenues of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. at fifteen millions (not five, as here stated,) four hundred and eighty thousand dinárs. It may be a mistake of the copyist, for all the copies of Al-makkarí consulted by me read distinctly five millions. If we calculate the dinár at about ten shillings of English money, this branch only of the revenue will be found to amount to nearly three millions sterling, an enormous sum of money for the times.

[45] As Ibnu Khaldún observes, the splendour with which the Khalifs surrounded their court, the necessity of keeping considerable armies on foot to resist the attacks of the Christians, the creation of a navy, and other exigences of the state, rendered it necessary for the Sultáns of Cordova to tax their Moslem subjects beyond the limits marked by their religious code. New contributions were established, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of a few strict theologians who inveighed bitterly against this open violation of the text of the law, whenever the capitation tax imposed on Christians and Jews was found insufficient to cover the public expenses and to maintain the costly household of the Khalifs, the Moslems were oppressed and taxed either by direct taxation or by duties imposed upon the sale of articles of food. These illegal modes of raising money were comprised under the general denomination of المستخلاص *al-mostkhaláss*, a word meaning 'illegal exaction,' or جبايا *jabáyá*, 'tribute.'

In a chapter of his *Historical Prolegomena* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9574, fo. 165), treating

of the legal and other taxes paid by the Moslems, Ibnu Khaldún states the amount of the revenue collected under several dynasties of Africa, such as the 'Obeydites, the Bení Hafs, the Bení Merín, &c., but he gives no details as to the amount of taxes levied in Spain under the Bení Umeyyah, although, strange to say, he calculates the revenue of a Christian sovereign, Alfonso XI. of Castile, son of Ferdinand IV. I here translate the passage, which is exceedingly curious. "I once met a Jew who "was tax-collector to Alfonso, the Christian king, in whose hands is now the greatest part of Andalus, "and he told me what the amount of his collection was. The Jew being a man on whose statement I "can place implicit reliance, I hesitate not in reproducing it. He said to me that his master's revenue "at the time he spoke to me, namely, the middle of the eighth century of the Hijra, amounted to sixty-"five *komt* قُنْط (cuentos), each *komt* among them being five *kintars* (or hundred weights) of gold, that "is to say, nearly two hundred *kintars*."

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

[1] Abú 'Amru 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Amru Ibn Mohammed Al-auzá'eí was born in Ba'lbek in the year eighty-eight of the Hijra (A. D. 706-7), others say in ninety-three (A. D. 711-2). He was deeply versed in traditions, which he held from the mouth of the most illustrious among the companions of the Prophet, and his doctrines were generally followed in Syria, whence they were introduced into Spain by the Arabs of Damascus, continuing in full vigour until, as stated here, they were superseded by those of Málik Ibn Ans. Al-auzá'eí died, according to Ibn Khallekán, on a Sunday, the 29th of Safar of the year one hundred and fifty-seven of the Hijra (Jan. A.D. 774); or, according to other authorities, in the month of Rabi' I. (February, *ejusd. an.*), in the city of Beyrút. See Ibn Khallekán's Lives, and D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* voc. *Auzai.*

[2] The author of an historical work entitled كتاب نبذ المختصر من كتاب مرات الزمان في تواريخ الاعيان 'small particles extracted from the (book called) mirror of the times on the history of the illustrious,' (see Hájí Khalfah, voc. *marát,*) relates this event differently. He says, under the year one hundred and seventy-one of the Hijra, fo. 251, *verso*, "in this year died 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn "Mu'awiyah Ad-dákhel, King of Andalus, who introduced into his dominions the sect of Málik Ibn Ans, "for before his time the Andalusians followed that of Al-auzá'eí. The cause which induced 'Abdu-r-"rahmán to take this determination is thus related by Ibnu-l-'askár. They say that Málik once asked an "Andalusian doctor what were 'Abdu-r-rahmán's habits and mode of living, and that the doctor "answered him, ''Abdu-r-rahmán wears woollen cloth, eats rye-bread, and fights for the cause of God;' "and that he then began to enumerate his other good qualities, upon which Málik was so much pleased "that he exclaimed, ان زين حرمنا به 'May the Almighty God ornament our harem with him!' (make "him one of our sect;) and that when this wish of Málik was communicated to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, he "expressed great satisfaction, and ordered that the religious opinions of Málik should be admitted and "observed throughout his dominions, whence they afterwards spread into Africa, Sicily, and other "countries conquered by the Moslems."

However, notwithstanding what this author says, I do not think it probable that the sect of Málik Ibn Ans was introduced and followed in Spain before the reign of Hishám I., the son and successor of 'Abdu-r-rahmán. Málik Ibn Ans was contemporary with 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., whose death, according to Ibn Shihnah (Arab. MS. in Dr. Lee's collection), happened eight years after that of that theologian. See also Pococke, *Sp. Hist. Ar. ed. nov.*, p. 288; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* tom. ii. p. 66, and *Not. Hist.* 68, 69, *et passim;* D'Herb. voc. *Malek ben Ans, Maoutha,* et alibi.

[3] The three theologians here mentioned lived in the days of Al-hakem I., and played a considerable part in the affairs of the time. Of the first two some account has already been given (p. 343, Notes 54 and 55). The third was called Zeyád Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Zeyád Al-lakhmí, better known by the surname of شبطون *Shabatún.* He is said, in another part of this work (fo. 100, *verso*), to have been the first theologian who introduced into Andalus the sect of Málik Ibn Ans. A more ample notice of these doctors will be given in the course of this translation.

[4] The دروازة *darwázah,* from *daraza,* 'to patch,' or perhaps from the Persian دروش *durúsh,* 'a piece of cloth,' is a sort of garment generally worn by faquirs and derwishes in the East.

[5] Ar-rá'ií, whose entire name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Isma'íl, and who received in the East the honourable surname of *Shemsu-d-dín* (sun of religion), was born in Granada in the year seven hundred and eighty-two (A.D. 1380-1), or thereabout. He quitted his native country for the East when still young, and arrived in Cairo in eight hundred and twenty (A.D. 1417-8). He wrote several works on rhetoric and grammar, which were very much commended and admired by the learned of his time. According to Al-makkarí, who gives his life, he died in eight hundred and fifty-three (A.D. 1449-50), at his dwelling in that quarter of the city of Cairo called الصالحية *As-sálehiyyah.* The same writer (book VI. part i. fo. 200) attributes to this Ar-rá'ií several works on various topics, and among others the work here alluded to, كتاب الفتح المنير في بعض ما يحتج اليه الفقير—Casiri calls him *Mohamad Ben Mohamad Alansari;* (see vol. i. p. 37.) He wrote also a commentary on the grammatical work entitled *Ajrúmiyyah,* of which there is in the Esc. Lib., No. 161, a copy made in the lifetime of the author. The text of this work was published at Rome in 1592.

[6] The name of this individual, who is said to have been Kádí-l-kodá of Granada, is not correctly given by Al-makkarí. He was called Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-hasaní As-sebtí. His life, together with that of his two sons, Abú-l-ma'álí and Abú-l-'abbás, occurs in my manuscript of Ibnu-l-khattíb, whose preceptor he was. That author places his birth in six hundred and ninety-seven (A.D. 1297-8), and his death in seven hundred and sixty (A.D. 1358-9), although it is there remarked that القسيطني *Al-kasmítaní',* in his work entitled 'obituary of illustrious men,' places this event one year later. Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Makssúrah*) followed the former statement. See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 300.

[7] خزرجية *Khazrajíyeh,* or more correctly *Khazrajiyyah,* is the title of a poem so named after its author, Dhiyáu-d-dín Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed *Al-khazrají* Al-málikí Al-andalusí. Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Kassídah*) gives the title of this poem, as well as those of three commentaries upon it, but that of Abú-l-kásim, quoted by Al-makkarí, was unknown to the Arabian bibliographer. A copy of the *Khazrajiyyah,* with a very full and learned commentary by Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Abí Bekr Ibn 'Omar Al-makhzúmí, is in the Esc. Lib., No. 408. The subject of this poem, which I find also mentioned by Khayr Ibn Khalífah in his Bibliographical Repertory (Ar. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1667), is the rules of prosody.

The مقصورة *Makssúrah* is also the title of a poem by Abú-l-hasan Házem Ibn Mohammed Ibn Hasan Ibn Házem Al-ansárí Al-kartajéní, of Carthagena. There are in the Escurial Library two copies of this poem, marked 380 and 452. They have, however, been badly described by Casiri, who strangely

mistook their contents. He says (see *Cat.* vol. i. p. 132) that No. 452 is a poem in praise of Abú Temím Al-mustanser-billah, Sultán of Egypt, to whom the work was dedicated by that poet, without considering that only a few pages before (*ib.* p. 112) he describes the very same work (No. 380) as having been dedicated by its author to Abú 'Abdillah Al-mustanser-billah, Sultán of Africa and Spain, who lived nearly two centuries after. It happens that in the introduction or preface to the work the former of those sovereigns, who reigned in Egypt from A.H. 427 to 487, is incidentally mentioned by the commentator; but the late Librarian of the Escurial, who, as I shall have more than one opportunity of showing in the course of these notes, was not too scrupulous in his descriptions of works and authors, did not hesitate to pronounce the work to be dedicated by its author to a sovereign who preceded him by two hundred years. The fact is that the poem was written in praise of, and dedicated to, Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Al-hafsí, surnamed Al-mustanser-billah, Sultán of Africa, son of Abú Zakariyyá Yahya Ibn Abí Mohammed 'Abdi-l-wáhed Ibn Abí Hafs, who reigned from A.H. 647 to 675.

A very handsome and carefully written copy of this commentary on the *Makssúrah* (so called from the fact of all its verses ending in a short *elif*) exists in the Library of the British Museum, marked 9579. It is bound together with the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán* by Al-fat'h, with the *Lámiyyatu-l-'arab*, and with a short poem by the Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb, the celebrated Granadian writer whose life forms the subject of the book from which the present is a translation, the whole being transcribed in a very neat Maghrebí hand, in the month of Ramadhán, A.H. 1122, corresponding to February, 1710, of our era, by Ahmed Ibnu-l-hasan Ibn Mohammed Al-warshán Al-mekúdí Al-fásí.

I ought to observe that the expression "the people of this world and of the world to come" is of frequent use among Mohammedans, who by the former term mean all those who, practising the duties of religion, find, nevertheless, a pleasure in enjoying the comforts of life, while they apply the latter to men of austere habits, who lead a life of penance and privation in the hope of deserving the rewards promised in future life.

8 زاوية المحروق This was, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, a convent or religious house in the neighbourhood of Granada. Monastic institutions were frequent among the Spanish Moslems, especially in later times, and, with a few exceptions, their rules and interior arrangement were similar to those of the religious orders of Christendom. I translate here, from a manuscript in my possession, an account of one of these religious communities near Malaga, as described by an African traveller who visited Spain in the fourteenth century of our era. "I saw on a mountain close to this city "(Malaga) a زاوية convent, which was the residence of several religious men living in community, and "subject to certain rules which I shall now specify. They are generally men of piety and learning, fully "conversant with the principles of *Súfism;* they have a superior to preside over them, and one or more "servants to attend to their wants. Their internal regulations are really admirable; each faquir lives "separately in a cell of his own, and meets his comrades only at meals, or prayers, &c. Every morning "at day-break the servants of the community go round to each faquir, and inquire of him what provi-"sions he wishes to have for his daily consumption; these are procured and dressed, and then each faquir "goes down into a refectory, where he is provided with a loaf and some food in a dish, to every man "his ration, so that two may not eat out of the same plate: they are served in this way with two meals a "day. Their dress consists of a coarse woollen frock, two being allowed yearly to each man, one for "winter, another for summer. Each faquir is furnished, likewise, with a regular allowance of sugar, soap "to wash his clothes, oil for his lamp, and a small sum of money to attend the bath, all these articles "being distributed to them every Friday. They are, likewise, provided from the funds of the establish-

" ment with a yearly income to defray their personal expenses, varying from twenty to thirty dirhems. " Most of the faquirs are bachelors, a few only are married. These live with their wives in a separate " part of the building, but are subject to the same rule, which consists in attending the five daily " prayers, sleeping at the convent, and meeting together in a lofty vaulted chamber, where they perform " certain devotions, each of them squatting on a mat in the spot allotted to him. For instance, in the " morning each faquir takes his Korán, and reads the first chapter, then that of the *king;* and when " the reading is over, a Korán, previously divided into (*hizbah*) sections, is brought in for each man " to read in turn until the lecture of the whole is completed. After this, they converse together on " the subject of their lecture, and finish by reading the Korán in the eastern fashion. On Fridays and " other festivals these faquirs are obliged to go to the mosque in a body, preceded by their superior. " The servants of the convent go early in the morning and take the kneeling-mats of the community, " which they place in a particular spot of the mosque, one by the side of the other, so that when their " owners arrive they may find them all ready. After the service is over, and the people gone, the faquirs " stay for a while reading the Korán in the manner above described, and return to the convent, preceded, " as before, by their superior. They are often visited by guests, whom they entertain for a length of " time, supplying them with food and other necessaries: the formalities observed with them are as follow. " If a stranger present himself at the door of the convent in the garb of a faquir, namely, with a girdle " round his waist, his kneeling-mat suspended between his shoulders, his staff in his right hand, and his " drinking vessel in his left, the porter of the convent comes up to him immediately, and asks what " country he comes from, what convent he has resided in, or entered on the road, who was the superior " of it, and other similar particulars, to ascertain that the visitor is not an impostor. If he find that " his answers bear the stamp of truth, he opens the gate, admits him into the interior, and points out " to him the place where he may spread his carpet at prayer time and perform his ablutions. This " done, the visitor goes to the station allotted to him, spreads his carpet, unlooses his drawers, and " prays two *reka's;* after which, he goes and shakes hands with the superior and the rest of the com- " munity who may be present at the time; he then sits down, and takes part in the conversation.

" This convent was plentifully endowed with rents for the support of its inmates, for, besides the " considerable revenue in lands with which it was provided by its founder, a wealthy citizen of Malaga, " who had been governor of that city under the Almohades, pious men were continually adding to the " general fund, either by bequests in lands or by donations in money."

[9] By *Al-búní* the author means, no doubt, Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Abí'-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf Al-korayshí, a Mahommedan divine of great repute, who wrote several treatises on the occult sciences, the art of divination, and the manner of constructing talismans. There is a work by him in the Escurial Library (No. 920), entitled *Shemsu-l-ma'árif*, treating of the names and attributes of Divinity, copies of which may be found in the Brit. Mus. There is besides a work by this author in the Bodleian (*Nic. Cat.* No. 55), entitled اللمعة النورانية في الاوراد الربانية—*Al-búní* means 'the native of Bónah,' the *Hippo Regia* of the ancients; Bónah being nothing more than a corruption of *Hippone*. Treating of this city, Albekrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 49) says, و مدينة بونة هي ازلية وهي مدينة اقشتين العالم بدين النصرانية " Bónah is an ancient city, the residence of Augustin, the celebrated Christian divine." Nos. 938, 939, 940, 941, and 976, in the Escurial Library, are also works by Al-búní, who died, according to Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Muntekhab* and *Shems*), in 625 of the Hijra (A.D. 1227-8).

On the religious principles of the Súfís the reader may consult the lives of the Mohammedan Súfís by Jámí, translated by De Sacy in the twelfth volume of the *Notices et Extraits*, p. 287.

[10] The author means Abú 'Abdillah Ahmed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Húd Al-jodhámí, a descendant of the royal family of the Beni Húd, which had occupied the throne of Saragossa for a period of upwards of a hundred years. This prince, who by the ruin of his family had been reduced to enter into private life, was living quietly at Escuriante, near Granada, when the Andalusians, who were anxious to shake off the heavy yoke of the Almohades, proclaimed him their king in six hundred and twenty-five (A. D. 1228), under the title of *Al-mutawakel-billah*. He, however, did not long enjoy the empire, for he was strangled in his bed in six hundred and thirty-six (A. D. 1238), by a treacherous governor, in whose castle he had been hospitably received and entertained.

This passage is very important, as it gives us the date of Ibnu Sa'íd's work, which must have been written between six hundred and thirty-four of the Hijra (A. D. 1237),—the time of Ibn Húd's greatest power,—and the accession of his rival Ibnu-l-ahmar in six hundred and thirty-six or six hundred and thirty-seven (A. D. 1239-40). See Casiri, *Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 211, *et passim;* and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. iii. pp. 4, 20, *et seq.*

At the time when Ibnu Sa'íd wrote it was the fashion in Egypt for theologians and Kádís to wear very high turbans. Ibn Battúttah, in his original travels, speaks of a doctor named Fakhru-d-dín, whom he met in Alexandria, and who, he says, wore so high a turban that when sitting in the mosque, close to the *mihráb*, the top of it almost reached the ceiling of the place so called in the Mohammedan places of worship. The inhabitants of the eastern provinces of Spain, such as Valencia, Murcia, Catalonia, and part of Aragon, still go bare-headed. They use, instead of hats, a cotton kerchief, of gay colours, generally red or yellow, twisted round their heads in the shape of a turban.

[11] طيلسان *taylasán* means 'a sort of short cloak,' as it was used in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a little closer to the body and less ample than that which is at present used, and having, besides, a small cape or hood. I find in the *Kitábu-l-mugh'rib fí tartíbi-l-mu'arib* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7438, p. 104), of which I possess also a copy, the following description of this dress. "*Taylasán* is a corruption from تالشان *táleshán*, a sort of dress used by the Persians; "it is generally black and cut round; hence the expression so common among the Arabs, *ya ibnu-t-"taylasán,* (O son of the *taylasán!*) meaning a Persian, since the people of that nation, we repeat, "commonly wear it. *Taylasán* forms its plural thus, طيالسة *tiyálisah*." Ibnu-t-taylasán is also the surname of a famous Cordovan historian who flourished in the sixth century, and whose entire name was 'Abdullah Ibn Ahmed Ibn Suleymán Al-ansárí. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 129, c. 2. See also a learned note of M. De Sacy, in vol. ii. of his *Chr. Arab.* p. 269.

In Spain, it appears, it was principally worn by theologians and faquirs, and the same happened in the East. Two copies of a small treatise containing the history and description of this dress, and entitled الاحاديث الحسان في فضل الطيلسان 'entertaining anecdotes on the excellence of the *taylasán*,' are to be found in the Esc. Lib. under the Nos. 1787, 1809.

[12] This passage may be found in the extracts given by Casiri (vol. ii. of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* p. 257), taken from the history of Granada by Ibnu-l-khattíb. But as the text printed by Casiri is full of faults, and the translation incorrect, I have deemed it necessary to reproduce this passage, after collating it with a copy of the same work in my possession. It reads thus: و جندهم صنفان اندلسي و بربري والاندلسي منها يقودهم رايس من القرابة او خصيا من شيوخ المالك و زيّهم

في القديم شبه بزيّ اقتالهم واضدادهم من جيرانهم الفرنج اسباغ الدروع و تعليق الترسة وجفا البيضات و اتخاذ عراض الاسنة و بشاعة قرابس السروج و استركاب حملة الرايات خلفه [خلفهم] كل منهم بصفة [بسمة] تختص سلاحه و شهرة يعرف بها ثم عدلوا الان عن هذا الذي ذكرناه الي الجواشن المختصرة و البيضات المرهفة والسروج العربية و البيت اللمطية والاسل اللطيفة

"And their army (the author is speaking of the Kings of Granada) is of two kinds, Andalusian and "Berber. The Andalusian is generally commanded by a prince of the blood, or by some noble of the "kingdom who is in favour with the court. Their dress and accoutrements in ancient times were "similar to those of their neighbours and foes among the Franks; they were clad in complete mail, "they wore the shield slung at the back, steel helmets, huge spears with broad ends, and saddles "rudely constructed and projecting very much in front and behind. The riders rode with pennons "fluttering behind them, each man in his rank being known by his arms, or some other distinction "about his person. However, in our days military men have left off these customs, and, returning to "their old practices, have taken short and slender breast-plates, light head-pieces, the Arabian saddle, "leather bucklers called *lamattí*,[a] and long and slender spears."

[13] ابن بصال Ibn Bassál, according to A.—B. reads ابن بطال Ibn Battál. I know of no writer of this name on agriculture. Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 345) mentions the death of a theologian named *Abu-l-hakem ben Batal*, who might be the individual here alluded to.

[14] Instead of *muwashahát* I think *muwashshahát* is intended. The text simply says اخترعوا الموشحات 'they invented or found the use of the *muwashshahát*,' without explaining whether that word is applied to a new metre, or to a poetical composition. On the other hand, I have looked in vain in Arabic dictionaries, manuscript as well as printed, for the real meaning of the word موشحة which cannot but be correctly written, since it not only occurs very frequently in this MS., but is to be found alike in all the copies of the same work which I have consulted. I find also that there is in the Escurial Library (see No. 432 in Casiri's catalogue) a volume represented to be a collection of poems, called *Muwashshahát;* and Ibn Khallekán, in the life of Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Zohr (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 683), quotes the words of an Andalusian writer (Ibn Dih'yah), who says: و الذي انفرد به شيخنا و انقادت لحيلة طباعه و صارت النبهاء فيه حوله و اتباعه الموشحات وهي زبد الشعر و نجيبه و خلاصة جوهره و صفوته و هو من الفنون التي اعزمت به اهل المغرب علي اهل المشرق و ظهروا فيها كالشمس الطالعة و الضياء المشرق ∴ ∴

"But the art in which our Sheikh (Ibn Zohr) most distinguished himself, and in which he shone most "conspicuously, becoming the centre of the most illustrious poets of his age, was the composition of

[a] These shields were manufactured from the skin of a species of antelope, called *lamat* or *lamt* in the dialect of the natives, and found at Dar'ah and other places of Africa bordering on Súdán. The author of the *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah* (Ar. MS. in my possession), from whom the preceding information is borrowed, adds that "shields covered with one or two "skins of this quadruped proved impenetrable to either spear, arrow, or sword." However, Ibnu Khaldún (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., fo. 52) says that Lamtah is the name of a tribe of the great family of Senhájah, and that these shields were so called from their being manufactured in the country which they occupied.

"*muwashshahát*, which are an addition and an improvement to poetry, being among its brightest and "most esteemed jewels; an art in which the people of the West always surpassed those of the East, "shining in it like a rising sun, or like the rays of that luminary in its apogee." Lastly, Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. iv. p. 493) mentions a poet named Abú Bekr Yahya Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Baka, who became famous for his proficiency in the *muwashshahát*, a word which Reiske translated by *variegata striis et orbiculis carmina.*

The verb وشّح *washshaha*, in the second form, means, according to Jeuharí in Golius, to put on the swathe called *washáh*. Now the word وشاح according to the *Kitábu-l-mugh'rib fí tartíbi-l-mu'arib fí-l-loghah* (an Arab. Dict. in my possession), signifies 'a girdle made of leather, ornamented with studs.' The writer adds that, "according to Al-leyth, the *washáh* is an ornament used by women, and consists of "two bracelets made out of two strings of pearls and precious stones, placed in opposite ways, one of the "two strings being inclined towards the other; the verb *washshaha* is therefore used to express the action "of wearing the above-mentioned ornament." ذكر الليث ان الوشاح من حلية النسآ كرسان اي نظمان من لولو و جوهر مخالف بينهما معطوف احدهما علي اخر تتوشح به المراة ∴

I may now, perhaps, hazard a conjecture. It is well known that the Arabs call poetry in general نظام *nidham*, that is, a string of pearls, and that to write poetry is called among them to 'string together the pearls of speech.' The word مُوَشَّحَة *muwashshahah*, which is a feminine adjective, meaning 'a woman or thing ornamented with bracelets set in pearls and jewels,' might well have been applied to a species of descriptive poem (*kassídah*), such as those appear to be that received that name. As far as my own observation goes, the few instances that I have met with of poems so called resemble in every respect the *kassídah*, only that they are generally descriptive of heroes, women, fruits, slave-boys, love, &c. But this, I repeat, is merely a conjecture of mine, and unless the explanation of this word be found in some work hitherto unpublished, the doubt must always exist. The Arabic dictionaries that we possess are, generally speaking, insufficient, but when used in the translation of works written in Spain, where the language was so much altered as to become almost strange to Arabs newly arrived from Syria or Yemen, they are indeed of little or no assistance, being all written in the East. It is only by means of dictionaries written in Spain or Africa, of which there are several in the Escurial, that difficulties like this can be surmounted.

[15] Ibnu Sa'íd being in Africa when he wrote the work from which the present extracts are taken used the expression في هذه العدوة 'on these shores.' I ought to observe here that the word عِدْوَة *'idwah*, which means 'a shore,' 'the bank of a river,' 'any thing diametrically opposed to another,' and hence the coasts of Spain and Africa, has not been properly translated either by Casiri or Conde, who mistook it for عَدُوَّة *aduwwah*, the 'enemy's country.' It is essential to know that for writers residing in Africa the word *'idwah* always meant the opposite coast, that is, Spain, and *vice versâ* for those who lived in the latter country. I find this word used by Al-bekrí (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus. fo. 77, *et passim*), and by other ancient writers; it agrees exactly with the words *aquende* and *allende*, so often used in a similar sense by Spanish writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the former designating Spain, the latter Africa.

What Ibnu Sa'íd relates here of the superior culture of the Andalusians who settled in Africa is confirmed by the author of the *Karttás* (fo. 54, *et seq.*), as well as by Marmol, Leo Africanus, and other writers.

16 Water-mills are called in Arabic *ná'úr* or *nawá'ír*, both plurals of ناعورة *ná'úrah*, in Spanish *anoria*.

17 الحق احق ان يطبع literally 'truth is the truer (path) if followed.' I find in the collection of proverbs by Al-meydání, *Jámi'u-l-amthál* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7289, p. 97), الحق خير ما قيل 'truth is the best thing that is said.'

18 و لو ابصروا ليلي اقرّوا بحسنها ∴ و قالوا بانّي في الثنآء مقصر

19 Abú Zakariyyá Yahya, the second Sultán of the dynasty of the Bení Hafs, succeeded his father, Abú Fáris, on the throne of Túnis, the capital of that part of Africa called by the ancients *Carthaginensis*, or *Marmarica*, and *Ifrikiyyah* (or Africa proper) by the Arabs. This monarch was very fond of building. See Leo Afric. *apud* Ramusium, lib. v. fo. 216, and Casiri, *Bib. Arab. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 226.

CHAPTER II.

1 Zaryáb is the surname of Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Náfi', a celebrated musician. Al-makkarí has given his life in the fifth book of the first part of his work, counting him in the number of those who came from the East to settle in Andalus. I translate the passage entire, as it is very interesting: "Zaryáb "was formerly a freedman of the Khalif Mahdi, the 'Abbassí. According to the author of the *Muktabis* "(Ibnu Hayyán) Zaryáb was an appellation given to Abú-l-hasan by the people of his native town, owing "to his dark complexion, the eloquence and suavity of his speech, and the amiability of his temper; "*zaryáb* being the name for a very rare and valuable bird,[b] of dark plumage, which is to be found in "that country, and has a very sweet note. He was likewise an excellent poet, for nature had also "favoured him with talents for poetry, and he composed in the most tender strains; he had a son named "Ahmed, who inherited from his father the taste for poetry." The occasion of his coming to Andalus

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[b] Ad-demírí, in his *Hayyátu-l-haywán*, describes this bird, but he does not say how the word زرياب is to be spelt; I am not sure, therefore, of having written it right, as it might as well be pronounced *Zoryáb*, *Zeryáb*, or *Zaríyáb*. Indeed Cardonne, who mentions this musician and relates an anecdote which happened to him with Ar-rashíd (*Hist. de l'Afr.* vol. i. p. 283), calls him Zeriab. As to the bird itself, Ad-demírí mentions it, but his description is so obscure and unsatisfactory that it is by no means easy to determine to what family it belongs. The words of that naturalist are as follow:

"The *zaryáb* is said in the work entitled *Mintaku-t-teyránah* (the language of the birds) to be the same as the ابو زريق "*abú zorreyk*, (another copy says 'as the *zorreyk*.') It is a bird of very quick intellect and easy to teach, surpassing even "the parrot in memory and clearness of enunciation, so much so that when well trained it will talk so distinctly as to "make those who hear it believe that they are listening to a man."

is thus related: "Zaryáb was the pupil of Is'hák, of Maussal, the famous musician, who lived in "Baghdád during the reign of Hárún Ar-rashíd. Under the tuition of this celebrated professor "Zaryáb learnt music and singing; but he soon made such progress in that science, and displayed "so fine a voice, united to a good ear and exquisite taste, that he shortly surpassed his own master, "and all the people of Baghdád gave his songs the preference over those of Al-maussalí. However, "his master remained long unconscious of his pupil's superiority, until Ar-rashíd having once sent for "him asked him, as is well known, to make him acquainted with a fine singer and good performer, "whose name should not be known to him; when Al-maussalí mentioned Zaryáb, his pupil, and "added—'He is a freedman of thy family; I once heard him sing in so tender a strain, and with so "much soul, that I did not hesitate to take him with me, and make him my disciple; he has since very "much improved, and whatever he knows he owes to me, who found out his talents, and brought them "to light: so great has been his improvement under my discipline, that I have predicted that he will live "to be a famous musician.' Ar-rashíd then answered, 'That is the very man I want; bring him here "to me, and I will tell him what I want him for.' Zaryáb accordingly appeared before Ar-rashíd, who "began to converse with him, and was very much struck with the sweet melody of his voice and his "excellent pronunciation. He then asked him, 'What are thy performances in music? Dost thou "know how to sing a song?' 'Yes, O prince of the believers!' answered Zaryáb, 'I approve of what "people like; but I like many songs which the people do not approve of. I feel confident, however, "that thou wilt like them, and if thou give me leave to sing thee one which I have reserved for thee, "and which no ears have ever yet heard, I am sure thou wilt be pleased.' Immediately Is'hák's lute "was sent for; but when presented to him Zaryáb said, 'Pardon me, O prince of the believers! but "I have a lute of my own, constructed with my own hands, and finished according to my method, "and I never play on any other instrument; if thou allow me I will send for it; it will be found at the "door of thy palace.' This request being readily complied with, Zaryáb's own lute was produced; but no "sooner did Ar-rashíd cast his eyes on the instrument, than, seeing it entirely like that which Zaryáb "had refused, he could not help remarking, 'What made thee refuse to play on thy master's lute?' "'Please your highness,' replied Zaryáb, 'had the prince of the believers desired me to sing one of my "master's songs I would have made use of his instrument; but since it was my lord's pleasure that I "should sing one of my own composition I had no choice but to play on my own lute.'—'What "difference is there,' said Ar-rashíd, 'between thy instrument and thy master's? for me, I see none; they "seem to me perfectly alike.'—'So they are, in appearance, O prince of the believers!' replied Zaryáb, "'but they are very different in voice; for although mine is equal in size, and made of the same wood, "yet the weight of it is greater by nearly one-third, and the strings are made of silk, not spun with "hot water procured by a woman,[c] while the second, the third, and the fourth strings[d] are made of "the entrails of a young lion, which are known to be far superior to those of any other animal in point "of strength, deepness of tone, and clearness of sound; besides, they will bear much longer pulsation "without being injured, and are not so easily affected by the changes of temperature.' Ar-rashíd was "delighted with Zaryáb's explanation of his instrument; he ordered him to sing, and, having tuned his "instrument, Zaryáb tried it, and began the following song:—

'O thou fortunate king, born under a happy star! men come to thee morning and evening.'

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[c] و اوتاري من حرير لم يغزل بمآء سخن يكسبها اناثة

[d] The text reads و رخاوة ونبها و ومثلها which conveys no sense whatever. I have substituted و رخاوه و ثناءها و ثلثها

"No sooner had Zaryáb finished this first verse than he was interrupted by Ar-rashíd, who began to "repeat the air, and said to Is'hák, 'By Allah! were it not that I consider thee a veracious man, and "believe that the talents of this youth were entirely unknown to thee; were it not for his protestations "that thou hast never heard this song from him, I would have thee punished immediately for not ac-"quainting me with his abilities; I order thee to take him under thy special direction, and give him all "the instruction thou art capable of, and I shall be the judge of his progress.' When Is'hák heard the "Khalif utter these words he was greatly vexed, and he repented that he had ever mentioned his name,—"envy lodged in his heart, and he hated Zaryáb. Some time after the adventure we have just related, "Is'hák closeted himself up with his disciple, and addressed him in the following terms: 'O Abú-l-hasan! "hear my words. Envy is one of the basest vices, and yet one of the most common in this world, and "principally among people following the same profession. It is in vain that men struggle against it; "they never can conquer it. I cannot but confess that I am myself the victim of its attacks; I feel "envious of thy talents, and the high estimation in which thou art held by the Khalif; and I see no way "to free myself from it unless it be by depreciating thee and denying thy abilities; but in a short time "hence thy reputation will increase, and mine will gradually vanish, until thou art considered my superior "by every body. This, by Allah! I will never suffer even from my own son, much less be the in-"strument of it. On the other side, thou art aware that if thou possess any abilities, it is all owing to "my having taken care of thy education, and fostered thy talents; had I not taught thee all my "secrets, thou wouldst never have arrived by thyself at thy present eminence. I have, therefore, to "propose to thee two expedients,—either to leave this country immediately and go and settle in distant "lands, whence the fame of thy name may never arrive here,—or to remain in this city against my will, "living upon thy own resources, having me for thy implacable enemy, and being in perpetual fear and "anguish at my enmity. If thou decide for the first, and engage thy word never to return to this "country as long as I am alive, I promise to provide thee with every necessary for thy journey, and give "thee, besides, whatever sum of money and other articles thou mayest ask from me; if, on the contrary, "thou resolve upon staying, beware! I shall not cease one moment attacking and harassing thee with "all my might, and I shall spare no trouble or expense to obtain thy perdition; nay, I will risk my "life and my property to ensure it. Now consider, and choose.' Zaryáb left the room, and, having "weighed attentively in his mind the reasons given by his master, returned soon afterwards and "determined upon leaving the country. Is'hák then kept his word; he provided Zaryáb with every "necessary for the journey, gave him, besides, a very considerable sum of money, and, thus provided with "feathers to his wings, Zaryáb took his flight, and left his master, who felt thereby relieved of a great "oppression on his heart.

"However, it happened that Ar-rashíd one day, after hearing Is'hák sing, remembered Zaryáb, and "earnestly inquired about him: Is'hák then said, without appearing at all disconcerted, 'Whom does the "prince of the believers mean? that insane youth who pretends to hold conversation with the Jinn, and "to learn his songs from them? who thinks that he has not his equal in this world, and that the gifts of "the Khalif are to be poured profusely upon his head? Well, some time ago he took it into his head to "forsake the path which promised him so many advantages; he conceived a dislike to his profession, he "began to despise that which would have been a source of honour to him, and he quitted me without "telling me whither he was going; and this I consider quite providential for the prince of the believers, "since he was of late subject to attacks of insanity, during which his expressions were exceedingly "furious, and his manner so violent that he terrified all those who looked at him.' Ar-rashíd seemed "satisfied with this explanation, and never afterwards inquired about Zaryáb."

[2] بلاط حميد *Balát Hamíd.* This place is entirely unknown to me. The words I have translated 'in the furthest frontier' may also be rendered by 'the upper end of Aragon;' since the word ثغر *Thagher* is, as I have remarked elsewhere (Note 11, p. 314), susceptible of both meanings, and 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. and his predecessor made considerable conquests on the other side of the Pyrenees.

The passage here quoted from Al-bekrí may be found in the copy of his *Kitábu-l-memálek wa-l-mesálek* in the Lib. of the Brit. Mus., No. 9577, fo. 87, *verso*, in the chapter treating about the Bení Idrís, which, although extremely interesting, does not appear in the extracts published in French by M. de Quatremère (see the 12th vol. *des Not. et Ext. du MSS. de la Bibl. du Roi*), and will be found translated in the Appendix to the second volume of this translation.

[3] كُنّا في ترقيب السلطان say both copies, as well as the original, which seems to imply that they were flying from his anger.

[4] كسائك الغليظة that is, 'thy rough or thick coat;' instead of which I read in my copy بردة *burdah,* a word which means the same thing, and whence the Spaniards have derived the words *burdo* and *burda,* adjectives given to a cloak made of very coarse cloth, and to the cloth itself.

[5] Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn مردنيش Mardanísh was the name of an independent chieftain who rose in the eastern districts of Andalus during the civil wars between the Almoravides and Almohades. He embraced the party of the former. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 54, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. pp. 280, 299, 373, *et passim.*

[6] اذ اكرّ علي الكتيبة لا ابالي ∴ احتفي كان فيها او سواها

Instead of الكتيبة B. reads الكثيفة which changes neither the meaning nor the measure.

[7] This anecdote is related by Ibnu-l-khattíb in his Biographical Dictionary of illustrious Granadians (Arab. MS. in my possession), in the life of Hátim Ibn Sa'íd, uncle of Ibnu Sa'íd, the author of the *Al-mugh'rib,* who is there mentioned as the person to whom these words were addressed by Ibn Mardanísh. It is said to have happened in A.H. 560, at the battle of الجلاب *Al-jeláb,* in which the troops of Ibn Mardanísh were defeated by the Almohades. See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 372.

[8] The name of this warrior is differently written in the various copies. A. reads Abú 'Abdillah Ibn قدوس Kadús; B. قادوس *Kádús;* my copy قادس *Kádis.* I find no mention of him either in Casiri or Conde, nor, as far as I know, in any of the old Spanish chronicles. But looking some time ago over a manuscript in the Bodleian Library (No. 105 in Nicoll's Catalogue), entitled سراج الملوك (*lamp of the kings*), and treating of the science of government, the raising of armies, and every thing connected with war, I was not a little surprised to find this and the following anecdotes word for word.[e]

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[e] The hero is there called ابن قيجون Ibn Kayjún, and said to have been one of the generals of Al-muktadir Ibn Húd, King of Saragossa, who, knowing his merit, used to reward him with five hundred gold dinárs for every great battle he fought with the Christians.

As the author of the said work, Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibnu-l-walíd Al-fehrí At-tortoshí (of Tortosa), lived before Ibnu Sa'íd, and even before Ibn Ghálib, there can be no doubt that he was the authority for this and other anecdotes which, together with many more of the same kind, may be read in his very interesting work. The copy in the Bodleian is a small octavo of about four hundred pages, badly written in a large, careless, *neskhi* hand; diacritical points are often wanting, and the numerous blunders which, at every step, meet the eye, show that the copyist was one of those illiterate transcribers with whom the East has at all times been infested, to the utter discomfiture of the Oriental scholar. The life of the author is to be found in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 616). His entire name was Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibnu-l-walíd Ibn Mohammed Ibn Khalf Ibn Suleymán Ibn Ayúb Al-korayshí Al-fehrí At-tortoshí Al-andalusí. He was also known by the surname of ابن زندقة Ibn Zendakah, which that biographer says is a Frank word, meaning رد تعلي 'he has denied the Omnipotent,' but which, in all probability, is nothing more than the feminine of the word *zendik*, and means 'the son of the fire-worshipper, or unbeliever.' At-tortoshí was born in four hundred and forty-five, or, as in other copies, in four hundred and fifty-one (A.D. 1053-9); he died at Alexandria, in five hundred and twenty-one (A.D. 1126-7).

[9] Haríz Ibn Hakem Ibn عكاشة 'Okkáshah (the son of the spider) was a general of Al-mámún Ibn Dhí-n-nún, King of Toledo. His life occurs in the *Kitábu-l-hollati-s-seyrá* (or silken vest), a biography of illustrious Moslems, by Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1654, and also in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 12). He is represented as a warrior of undaunted courage and great abilities, and a man of great physical strength, colossal size, and uncommon dexterity in handling all the weapons of war. He made his first campaign under Abú-l-walíd Ibn Jehwar, Wizír of Cordova, whose party he followed during the civil wars which distracted that kingdom towards the middle of the fifth century of the Hijra. "When "Cordova was taken by treachery by the troops of Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville, (A.H. "435,) Haríz was seized, with other Cordovan chiefs who were obnoxious to the usurpers, and "cast into prison, but he contrived some time afterwards to make his escape. He took refuge at "the court of Al-mámún, King of Toledo, whence he soon returned to Cordova at the head of a "powerful army, besieged that city, and killed Seráju-d-daulah Ibn 'Abbád, son of the King of Seville. "Haríz continued to govern Cordova until the death of Al-mámún, King of Toledo (A.H. 469), "when Al-mu'atamed, anxious to revenge the death of his son, appeared again in sight of Cordova "with a considerable camp, and pressed the siege with great ardour. After a most obstinate defence "of several months, Haríz was at last obliged, through the want of provisions, to abandon the city. "He accordingly sallied out at the head of a few followers by the gate of Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár, while "the victorious troops of Al-mu'atamed were making their way into the town by that of Algesiras; but, "being closely pursued by Al-mu'atamed, who thirsted for revenge, he was overtaken, and transfixed "by a lance which the King of Seville thrust at him: his head was then severed from his body, paraded "through the streets of Cordova, and, at last, nailed by the side of a dog to a wooden plank, where it "was left exposed to wild beasts and the birds of prey.

"Haríz left one son, named Ahmed, who inherited his courage and military talents, and whom "Yahya, son of Al-mámún, King of Toledo, appointed to be governor of Calatrava, in consideration "of his father's services. Ahmed, however, was not long in sharing his father's fate; he was "assassinated in the year four hundred and eighty (A.D. 1087-8), by the order of Al-mu'atamed." See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 45; and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol ii. p. 38, *et seq.*

The last-mentioned writer, with his usual negligence, calls this general at times *Hariz ben Alhakem Alcasha* (see p. 38), at others *Haris Ben Alhakem* (see p. 27), and *Hariz Ben Okeisa* (p. 56).

10 ادفونش *Adfonsh*, or *Adefonsh*, from *Adefonsus*, — as this word was written and pronounced in the middle ages,—was the name of several Kings of Castile and Leon. The present can be no other than Alfonso VI., who, after the assassination of his brother, Sancho II. of Castile, before the walls of Zamora, in 1072 of our era, united on his head the crowns of Castile and Leon; the same king who, some years afterwards, assisted Al-mámún in his wars against Al-mu'atamed, and who, after the death of the former Sultán, snatched from his son Yahya the city of Toledo in 1085.

11 The word رهن *rehn*, in Spanish *rehen*, means 'a hostage.' That which I have translated by 'noblemen' is ملوك *molúk*, which is often used by Arabian writers to designate 'feudal lords.'

12 قلعة رباح Kal'at Rabáh (now *Calatrava la vieja*) is a town situate on the southern bank of the river Guadiana, four leagues N. E. of Ciudad Real, the capital of La Mancha, and about fifty miles south of Toledo. It was called also 'the white city,' *Medínatu-l-baydhá*, no doubt owing to the quality of the ground on which it stands,—a sort of whitish clay. It was built by Rabáh, one of the captains who came with Músa Ibn Nosseyr to the conquest of Spain. In 1158 it became the possession of the famous military order of that name, to which it was intrusted for defence.

13 براز *baráz* is an enclosed field prepared for tournaments, races, and other military sports. It means also 'an arena, or spot for single combat;' *báraza* means 'to go out of the ranks to fight an enemy in presence of the army.'

14 *Kal'at Haríz* (the castle of Haríz), no doubt because it owed either its foundation or its restoration to the above-mentioned general. There is in Spain a town called Castro-Xeriz, which might well be the same here intended, as the words *Castro-Xeriz* are but a translation of *Kal'at Haríz*, since Castro, from the Latin *Castrum* (whence the modern words *Castillo, Castiel, Castin, Castelar, Castril, Castillon, Castillejo*, so common on the map of Spain), means 'a castle or fortress;' but being in the province of Burgos, and on the limits of that of Valencia, a country which had then long ceased to belong to the Arabs, the conjecture cannot be admitted.

There is another town south-west of Toledo, in the province now called Estremadura, named Xerez de los Caballeros (Xerez of the knights), to distinguish it from the city of the same name close to Cadiz, and which may be the place intended.

15 يا فريداً دون ثانٍ ∴ وهلالاً في العيان
عدم الراح فصارت ∴ مثل دهن البليسان

16 يا فريداً لا يجاري ∴ بين انباء الزمان
جاء من شعرك روضٍ ∴ جاده صوب البيان
فبعثناها سلافاً ∴ كسجاياك الحسان

[17] The Christian monarch here alluded to can be no other than Sancho Ramirez, son of Ramiro I., King of Aragon, who was killed at the siege of Huesca, in A.D. 1094. The manner of his death is, however, differently related by the Christian chroniclers, who all say that having approached too near the walls, with the view of reconnoitring, he was, while raising his hand to show a point where the assault might be made, mortally wounded by an arrow in his right side.

[18] This is the same writer I have mentioned at Note 30, p. 319. The anecdote here related is also given by Ibnu-l-khattíb in the life of 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd, who was then feudal lord of the castle of Yahseb, and who is represented as having been so much pleased with the interview that he contracted an intimate friendship with Al-hijárí, and called upon him to write the *Mas'hab,* that historical work which 'Abdu-l-málik himself, and other members of his family, continued after his death. A fuller account of the family of the Bení Sa'id will be given in another part of this work.

[19] The Bení Sa'íd were lords of a certain castle called يَحْصَب *Yahseb,* or, according to other authorities, يُحْصَب *Yohseb,* and يَحْصُب *Yahsob* (now Alcalá la Real), in the territory of Granada. Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his description of the districts surrounding that capital, says, و اقليم قلعة يحصب بين غرب وجوف من البيرة علي عشرين ميلا 'the district of *Kal'at Yahseb,* to the north-west of Elbira, at a distance of twenty miles.' It was also called *Al-kal'ah Bení Sa'íd* (the castle of the Bení Sa'íd), as appears from an ancient Spanish romance :

" Alcalá de Abençayde
" Que aora real se llama."

I find also mention of this castle in another work by Ibnu-l-khattíb, being the narrative of a journey made to Africa through the Mohammedan dominions in Spain (Arab. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1750). " The castle of the Bení Sa'íd," says that illustrious writer, " was in former times called شطير *Shattír ?* " owing to a fountain of this name in the neighbourhood. It was afterwards called Kal'at Yahseb, " from the name of an Arabian tribe who settled in it soon after the conquest, and it is now denominated " after the Bení Sa'íd, who were Lords of it."

[20] عليك احالني الذكر بجميل

[21] 'Abdullah Ibn Balkín Ibn Bádís Ibn Habús was the last Sultán of the Zeyrí dynasty who reigned at Granada. He was dispossessed of his states by Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín, Sultán of the Al-murábetín (Almoravides), and sent in irons to Africa in four hundred and eighty-three of the Hijra (A. D. 1090-1). See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 256.

[22] Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdi-l-hamíd Ibn Ghánim was Wizír to the Sultán Mohammed, the fourth sovereign of the family of Umeyyah. He also commanded his armies. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 39 ; and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 302.

[23] Háshim Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Abú Khâled was, according to Ibnu-l-abbár, quoted by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 36), Wizír and commander of the forces under Mohammed. After the death of this Sultán, his son and successor, Al-mundhir, continued him in office, but, being displeased with him,

he put him in prison, confiscated his property, and soon afterwards condemned him to be beheaded on Sunday the twenty-sixth of Shawwál of the year two hundred and seventy-three of the Hijra (April, A. D. 887).

24 صاحب الدرقة *Sáhibu-d-darkah* (shield-bearer). The word *darkah,* whence the Spanish *adarga,* means 'a short light shield, target, or buckler,' made of a buffalo's hide.

25 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn فطيس Foteys was no doubt a Sclavonian eunuch, to whom the name of 'Abdu-r-rahmán was given after his conversion. All the Sclavonians who composed the body-guard of the Khalifs, or who filled offices in the palace, were previously made Moslems. However, the name of Fatís or Foteys is not uncommon among Spanish Arabs. I may quote as an example Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Fatís (or Foteys) Al-gháfekí Al-elbírí (from Elvira), who is counted by Ibnu-l-khattíb in the number of the illustrious men who were born or resided in Granada.

26 Abú Yahya Mohammed Ibn صُمادح Samádeh, surnamed *Al-mu'atassem-billah,* succeeded his father, Abú-l-ahwas Ma'n, King of Almeria, in the year four hundred and forty-three of the Hijra (A. D. 1051-2). He occupied the throne until four hundred and eighty-four. Conde calls him *Almutasim Ebn Somide,* (see *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 157;) Moura, (see p. 162 of his translation,) *Damaded.*

The palace here called '*Samádehiyyah,*' after that monarch's name, must have been called by the Arabs *medínat,* i. e. 'a city;' perhaps, like the Medínatu-z-zahrá, near Cordova, it was more of a town than a palace, for I find that Ibn Khallekán calls Al-mu'atassem "King of Almeria, Bejénah, and Samádehiyyah." See Ibn Khallekán's lives, No. 698, *Tyd. Ind.*

27 The word ساقية *sákiyyah,* whence the Spanish *azequia* is derived, means 'an artificial rivulet in a garden, or a canal for the purpose of irrigation.'

28 A quotation from the Korán, 38th chapter, verse 22. See Sale's translation, edit. 1734, p. 373.

29 Abú 'Amir الارقم Ibnu-l-arkam was a distinguished poet, and a Wizír of Al-mu'atassem Ibn Samádeh, King of Almeria. His life may be read in my copy of the *Kaláyid,* by Al-fat'h Ibn Khákán, although not to be found in that of the Escurial, the index of which was given by Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 103.

30 اباد ابن عبّاد البربرا ∴ و افن بن معن دجاج القري

31 ابن معن Ibn Ma'n being the name of one of Al-mu'atassem's ancestors, all the princes of his family who reigned at Almeria are simply designated by the Arabian historians under the generic appellative of "Ibnu Ma'n" (the descendant of Ma'n).

32 If by Al-mundhir the writer means the sixth Sultán of the family of Umeyyah, he was not the son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., (as our author here insinuates by mistake,) but of Mohammed, whom he succeeded on the throne in the year two hundred and seventy-three of the Hijra (A. D. 886). However,

he may have been one of the sons of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., although no mention of him occurs either in the extracts given by Casiri, or in Conde's history, or in any of the Arabian historians whom I have had opportunity to consult. The same might be said of his brother Ya'kúb, who is mentioned a little lower.

CHAPTER III.

[1] The reign of Al-hakem II. has deservedly been called the golden age of Arabian literature in Spain. That Sultán, himself a lover of letters, which he cultivated with success, had numerous agents in the East constantly employed in purchasing scarce and curious books, and no work of any note was written of which a copy was not immediately sent to him. By these means, as well as by his liberality and encouragement of literature at home, he succeeded in amassing a collection of books, the unfinished catalogue of which, in the words of Ibnu-l-abbár, quoted by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 202), reached forty-four volumes. Even admitting that the number of volumes is greatly exaggerated, the fact of a public library of such magnitude being formed in Europe in the tenth century of our era is more than sufficient to establish, in the absence of other proofs, the superior culture and civilisation of the Spanish Arabs. In the Appendix C. at the end of the volume the reader will find some curious information upon this library.

[2] A sale by auction is called in Arabic المناداة *al-munádah,* whence the Spanish *almoneda.* The crier or auctioneer was called ناد *nád* and also سوّاق *sawwák,* whence the Spaniards have made *zaguacador,* a sort of market broker still employed in the markets and fairs of Africa. See Marmol Carvajal, *Descripcion de Africa,* fo. 87, *verso;* and Leo Africanus, *apud* Ramusium.

[3] انه يعطي من لا له سنن This seems to be the origin of the Spanish proverbs—"Da Dios havas á quien no tiene quixadas"—"Da Dios almendras á quien no tiene muelas"—"Da Dios nuezes á quien no tiene dientes"—that is to say, "God gives beans to those who have no jaws; he gives almonds to those who have no double teeth; he gives walnuts to those who have no front teeth." Mr. Shakspeare, who has introduced this anecdote in his description of Cordova, translated from Al-makkarí, (see *Hist. of the Moh. Emp. in Spain,* p. 164,) has understood this proverb differently, and rendered it by "He gives away the nut who has no teeth;" but the reading in my manuscript being as above leaves no doubt as to which is the true meaning.

[4] زنديق *zindík* (more correctly *zendík,* which forms its plural زنادقة *zanádikah,*) is the word by which the Arabs generally designate all heretics of the numerous sects which have at various times sprung up among them. The word, in its origin, meant a follower of the Magian sect, or a fire-worshipper, a Saducean, a man who is neither a Christian, nor a Jew, nor a Mohammedan, and who professes no religion whatever. The word is thus explained in the *Kitábu-l-mugh'rib,* an Arabic dictionary in my possession. الزنديق معروف وزندقته انه لا يؤمن بالآخرة و وحدانية الخالق و عن ثعلب

ليس زنديق ولا فِرزين من كلام العرب قال و معناه علي ما يقوله العامة ملحد و دُهرِيّ و عن
ابن دُريد انّه فارسيّ معرّب واصله زَندَه اي يقول بدوام بقآء الدهر و في مفاتح العلوم
الزنادقه هم المانَويّة و كان المَزدَكية يُسمَون بذلك و مَزدَك هو الذي ظهر في ايّام
قُبَاد و زعم ان الاموال الحرم مشتركة و اظهر كتاباً سماه زنداً و هو كتاب المجوس الذي
جاء به زردشت الذي يزعمون انّه نبيّ فنسب اصحاب مَزدَك الي زند و عُرِبَت
الكلمةُ فقيل زنديق ∴ ∴ ∴

" *Zendík* is a well-known epithet generally applied to those who deny a future life, the immortality " of the soul, and the unity of God. Tha'leb says that the word *zendík*, like the word *firzín*, is not " Arabic, and that its meaning is 'a heretic, an impious man.' Ibn Dureyd thinks that it is a Persian " word introduced into the Arabic language; that it takes its origin from the word '*zendah*,' meaning " 'the everlasting duration of time.' In the work entitled *Mafátihu-l-'olúm* (keys to the sciences) " it is said that the *zanádikah* are the same as the followers of Máni (Manichæans), and that the " Mazdakís were also called *zanádikah*. Mazdak was a man who appeared in the days of Kobád, and who " preached that all property, which is by law considered as sacred and private, should be held in common, " and brought out a book entitled *Zendá*, the same book which Zardasht (Zoroaster), the pretended " prophet and founder of the Magian sect, gave to the world. It is said that the followers of Mazdak " took their name from this book, and were called *Ahlez-zend* (the people of the *Zend*), which word " was afterwards Arabicised, and corrupted into *Zendík*."

Mazdak and Máni were two impostors who agitated Persia. The former flourished under Kobád, the father of Kosroes Núshirwán. Máni lived in the times of Shapor, son of Ardeshir Babegán. See D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Mani, Mazdak, Zendik*.

On the action attributed a little lower down to Al-mansúr the reader may consult the Appendix C. at the end of this volume.

[5] Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Khalíl Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Amrah Ibn Temím Al-faráhídí, one of the most famous grammarians that the Arabs ever had, died, according to Ibn Khallekán (see *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 219), in the year 130 of the Hijra. Casiri (vol. i. p. 166) says in the year 75, which is a mistake.

[6] *Sibauyeh* is the surname of the famous grammarian Abú Bashar 'Amrú Ibn 'Othmán Al-farsí (the Persian), whose life is in Ibn Khallekán (No. 515 in *Tyd. Ind.*) According to this author the word سِيبُويَة may be pronounced either *Sibúyeh*, which means, in Persian, 'the scent of an apple,' from سيب (apple), and بوي (scent), or سِيبَوَيْة *Sibauyeh*. The same author adds that Abú Bashar was so called from his having rosy cheeks: he died towards the end of the eighth century of our era. See Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mos.* vol. ii. p. 72, *et seq.*; D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Sibouieh*; and De Sacy, *Relat. de l'Egypte*, p. 482, *note* 36.

[7] This passage is important, inasmuch as it settles the long contested point about the etymology of the

Spanish word *mozárabe*, which has no other origin than the Arabic مستعرب *musta'rab*, meaning a man who tries to imitate or to become an Arab, in his manners and language, and who, though he may know Arabic, speaks it like a foreigner. Under this denomination the Spanish Arabs comprised all the Christians living in Cordova, Seville, Toledo, and other large cities, in the exercise of their laws and religion; and in this sense the word is frequently used by Ibnu-l-khattíb, Ibnu Bashkúwál, and other Arabian writers. The origin which most Spanish historians, with the exception of Casiri (see *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 18), have given to this word is not only inadmissible, but ridiculous. They say that the *Mozárabes* of Toledo were called so (*Musa Arabes*) from the fact of their having capitulated with Músa Ibn Nosseyr; but, firstly, Toledo was not taken by Músa, but by his freedman Tárik, who preceded him; secondly, no capitulation was granted to the Christians of that city, who, according both to Christian and Arabian authorities, fled to the mountains of Asturias with such valuables as they could save from the hands of the conquerors; and thirdly, had the Christian population of Toledo been called after the name of their conqueror, they would have been styled *Musa-gothi*, or some such name, but by no means *Arabes*.

Others, again, derive it from *Mixti-Arabes;* but is it likely, I ask, that the Arabs should use two Latin words to denominate a nation living under their sway and in the midst of their cities? As to the conjecture of an English writer, Mr. Weston, in his 'Remains of Arabic in the Spanish and Portuguese Languages,' London, 1810, namely, that the "Christians were called *Mozárabes*, that is, *Meseehee-Arabes* "or Arabs of the Messiah, because they retained their own religious worship," it is both ridiculous and absurd.

The Muzarabs of Toledo having been the first Christians of any large Mohammedan capital to be redeemed from their yoke by the arms of Alfonso VI., in the year 1085 of our era, and the Visigothic liturgy having been in use among them, as well as among the Christians of other considerable towns of Spain, the missal which contained their religious rites was called from them *el officio Muzárabe* (the Muzarabic ritual).

[8] Most of the MSS. in the Escurial Library are written in a sort of hand generally used in Spain from the third to the eighth century of the Hijra. Casiri, mistaking it for the Kúfí, or the system of writing used by the people of Kúfah, described all the manuscripts of this kind as '*Cuphicis litteris exarati,*' an error since adopted by most of the writers who have blindly compiled or borrowed from his works, without having the practical knowledge requisite to detect his mistakes. It is true that the character in which three or four of the oldest manuscripts in that library are written very much resembles the Kúfí in the size and form of the letters, which are almost square, but even these bear the distinctive mark of the Western hand-writing, namely, the point under, instead of over, the *fa*, and only one upon the *kof*. I should have thought, and it is generally believed to be so, that the hand-writing used in Spain in the fourth and fifth centuries — and of which there are numerous specimens in the Escurial — was originally from Africa, whence it passed into Spain; but, according to Ibnu Khaldún (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9574, fo. 127), the contrary seems to have happened. That eminent author says that during the great emigration of the fifth century of the Hijra the Spanish Arabs introduced their hand-writing into Eastern Africa, when it entirely superseded that which was generally in use there, so as to leave no traces whatever of it except in the *Beládu-l-jeríd*.

[9] I am not quite sure of having well understood this passage, which is of some importance: فما تجد له في القلب و اللحظ من القبول فمسلم له ∴

[10] Thus in A. كتاب المسالك و المحال في اخبار ابي الحلي Another MS. reads المسالك و المحلا Neither title, however, is to be found in Hájí Khalfah's Bibliographical Index; that writer being but slightly versed in the literature of the Spanish Moslems, it is seldom that he gives the titles of works written in Mohammedan Spain. I have also looked in vain in Ibnu-l-khattíb's Biographical Dictionary for the life of the author. Instead of ابو الحلي Abú-l-halyi, as I have spelt this word, it might be written Abú-l-holí, or Abú-l-hilí, but the word '*mahálli*,' with which it is no doubt intended to rhyme, has decided me to adopt the former reading. I have omitted an uninteresting story told of this doctor, who once found a cat of his dipping her paw in flour and feeding herself with it, &c.

[11] Abú-l-hasan Mukhtár (or Mokhtár) Ar-ro'ayní. Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his Biographical Dictionary of illustrious Granadians, mentions various Andalusian authors who took the patronymic Ar-ro'ayní, because of their being the descendants of Dhú-ro'ayn. Of this number were Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-wálí Al-'awád (the lute player), who died in six hundred and fifty (A. D. 1252-3); Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-wálí, a brother of the preceding, who died in six hundred and eighty (1281-2); Abú-l-kásim Ibn Abí-l-kásim, of Xativa (see p. 67 of this transl.), who died in four hundred and twenty-nine (A.D. 1037-8); and 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abdi-l-bar Ar-ro'ayní, who died in seven hundred and thirty-nine (A. D. 1338-9). Lastly, Al-makkarí counts in the number of the illustrious Moslems who left Spain to travel in the East one whose name was 'Isa Ibn Suleymán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah Ar-ro'ayní. Conde also mentions one whose name was Mohammed (see vol. i. p. 624). But of this Abú-l-hasan Mukhtár, who no doubt belonged to the family, I have been unable to obtain any particulars.

[12] Zohayr Al-'ámirí, a Sclavonian eunuch of Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, succeeded another Sclavonian eunuch of the name of خيران Kheyrán on the throne of Almeria, in the year four hundred and nineteen of the Hijra (A. D. 1028-9). Like his predecessor, he seems to have exercised royalty, but without assuming either the name or the insignia, contenting himself with the modest title of 'Hájib of the Bení Umeyyah,' for whom, and in whose name, he professed to hold his dominions during the usurpation of the Bení Hamúd. He was killed while defending his capital, Almeria, against 'Alí Ibn Hamúd. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 108, 206, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 598.

[13] من شرطك — the *shorat*, plural of *shortah*, were a body of soldiers attached to the person of a governor or civil magistrate of a town. They were also the executioners of his sentences. (See a preceding note, p. 398, No. 30.) During the minority of Hishám II., his Hájib, Al-mansúr, who usurped the authority, and assumed all the insignia of royalty, had a body-guard of this sort attached to his person. See p. 134.

[14] الزهري Az-zahrí, which may likewise be pronounced Az-zohrí. Adh-dhobí, in his Biographical Dictionary of illustrious men (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. of Mad., Gg. 14), gives the life of a preacher and Kádí of Seville whose name was Abú-l-hasan Az-zohrí, and who might very well be the person here intended.

[15] I find no account of this individual in any of the biographical dictionaries to which I have had access.

[16] ذو الرمّة *Dhú-r-rommah* is the surname of a famous poet, called Abú-l-hareth Ghaylán Ibn 'Okbah, who flourished in the second century of the Hijra: his life may be read in Ibn Khallekán (No. 534 in *Tyd. Ind*). Casiri wrote his name *Ramah*, but it is an error, for I find in the *Kitábu-l-muntekhab fí-l-loghah*, by Ibn Koteybah, (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7525, fo. 21, *verso*,) that *rommah* means 'a rope, the threads of which are worn out,' الرُّمّة الحبل البالي , and Ibn Khallekán adds that he was thus called from the circumstance of his having written an ode which began thus: اشعث باقي رمة التقليد It is probable that the word *maroma*, which in Spanish means 'a cable,' comes from the same root.

The expression "the book having been but recently published" must be applied to some commentary on the poems of Dhú-r-rommah, for the works of that poet, one of the most ancient among the Arabs, had been published and commented upon by Spanish Moslems long before the time here alluded to. (See Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Díwán Dhí-rommah*.) Ibn Khallekán says of Ibn Zohr (Abú-l-'ala Ibn Zohr) that he knew the poems of Dhú-r-rommah by heart.

[17] The meaning of the word *muwashshahah* has already been explained (see Note 14, p. 408); it is, like *kassídah* and *zajalah*, a species of poem.

[18] That is, by Abú Merwán Al-bájí, a rebel who got possession of Seville in A. H. 620. See a preceding note, p. 397.

[19] Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 135) mentions an historian named Abú 'Omar Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah الطلمنكي At-talamankí (of Salamanca), where he was born in three hundred and forty of the Hijra (A.D. 991-2). He wrote a Biographical Dictionary containing the lives of eminent Spanish historians, and died in four hundred and thirty of the Hijra (A.D. 1038-9).

[20] ان يسمعوا علي الغريب المصنف may also be translated 'to hear marvellous anecdotes of authors,' but I prefer the version in the text, especially as I find in Hájí Khalfah that *Gharíbu-l-musannif* is the title of a work by Abú 'Amru Is'hák Ibn Marár Ash-sheybaní, who died in the year two hundred and six (A.D. 821-2), the same that was commented upon by several writers, and, among others, by Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Mohammed, of Murcia, who died close upon four hundred and sixty (A.D. 1067).

[21] The life of this grammarian occurs in Ibnu-l-abbár (*loco laudato*), as well as in Ibn Khallekán (No. 460, *Tyd. Ind.*) I here translate the account of the last mentioned biographer. "Abú-l-hasan "'Alí Ibn Isma'íl, known by the surname of Ibnu-s-sídah, was the prince of his time in the "science of language and rhetoric, as well as in memory. He wrote several books on grammar and "lexicography, such as كتاب المحكم في اللغة *Kitábu-l-muhkami* (or rather *muhkamu*) *fí-l-loghati* "(the book of the foundations of the language), which is a voluminous work embracing all matters "connected with the language; كتاب المخصص في اللغة *Kitábu-l-mukhassass fí-l-loghati* (the book "of the properties of the language), also an extensive work; and كتاب الانيق في شرح الحماسة "*Kitábu-l-aník fí sharhi-l-hamásah* (the book of beauty on the commentary of the Hamásah), in six "volumes; with many more of the same kind and equal merits. Abú-l-hasan was born blind, as

" also his father and grandfather, but this did not prevent him from becoming the most profound " rhetorician and grammarian of his age. He first received lessons from his father, then from Abú-l-'ala " Sá'id, of Baghdád, and lastly from Abú 'Omar, of Salamanca. The last mentioned author relates an " anecdote which occurred to him," &c. (the same that the author has just recounted). De Sacy has also treated of this author in several of his works. See *Chr. Ar.* vol. ii. p. 103, and *Journ. des Savans*, 1819, p. 726. See also p. 37 of this translation, and p. 335, Note 33.

22 Both the original and the epitome place Ibnu-s-sídah's death in the year 401, but Ibn Khallekán says that he died at Denia, on the evening of Sunday the 26th of Rabi' II. of the year 458, or, according to other authorities, 448, at the age of sixty or thereabout. Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. iv. p. 208) partakes of the same opinion. (See also D'Herb. voc. *Seidah*, and Rossi, *Dizionario Storico*, voc. *Seira.*) Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 168) says that he flourished towards the end of the fourth century of the Hijra, which agrees better with the date given by Al-makkarí. However, if Ibnu-s-sídah received lessons, as Ibnu-l-abbár and Ibn Khallekán seem to insinuate, from Abú 'Omar At-talamankí (of Salamanca), who died in 430, the date fixed by the above writers for the death of Ibnu-s-sídah, viz. four hundred and fifty-eight (A.D. 1065-6), seems the most probable.

The *Kitábu-l-mukhassass*, mentioned by Ibn Khallekán, is an Arabic dictionary composed of twenty-four volumes, or parts, two of which, the sixteenth and seventeenth, written in the city of Murcia, the birth-place of the author, about a century after his death, are preserved in the Escurial Library under No. 575. Parts of this dictionary may also be found in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon., as also in the Medicean Library. (See their respective catalogues.) I ought to observe that the surname of this writer (Ibn Sídah or Ibnu-s-sídah) has been incorrectly written *Seydah* by almost every Oriental scholar. Casiri calls him sometimes *Ibn Seyra*, and at others *Sada;* D'Herbelot, *Seidah;* Reiske, *Seïda;* Hamacker, *Seyidah.* (See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i.) His real surname, as I find it in Ibn Khallekán, is ابن سِيدة *Ibnu-s-sídah* (the son of the she-wolf, or lioness), for the word *sídah*, the feminine of *síd*, partakes of both meanings.

23 The life of this writer (who is no other than the *Avempace* of the middle ages) will be found in the Appendix A. at the end of this volume, as translated from Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah. Casiri, who also gives an account of that philosopher translated from Ibnu-l-khattíb, calls him at times Abú-l-hasan 'Alí (see vol. ii. p. 110), and at others Abú Bekr Yahya (see vol. i. p. 178).

24 Instead of Granada the MS. A. reads Cordova. I have chosen the former reading, as it appears by Ibnu-l-khattíb that Ibn Bájeh resided mostly in Granada and Seville.

25 Abú Hayyán the grammarian: Al-makkarí has treated of this writer at considerable length in various parts of his work, but especially in Part I. Book v., where he speaks about the illustrious Andalusians who left their country to travel to the East. As Abú Hayyán has not unfrequently been mistaken for Ibnu Hayyán, of Cordova, an historian who preceded him by nearly two centuries, I have thought it necessary to give here some extracts from his life, which occupies the fo. 174 and following in A., and 142-160 in B. " His entire name was Abú Hayyán Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Ibn 'Alí Ibn " Yúsuf Ibn Hayyán النفري [Al-nefezí ?] Al-athírí, of Granada; he became the prince of Western gram- " marians, and acquired the greatest reputation by his works both in Andalus and in Egypt, where he " resided a long time, inhabiting the college called after Al-mansúr, in Alexandria, to which he was

" appointed lecturer on the science of the interpretation of the Korán. He there received the honorary " appellation of Athíru-d-dín (the chosen friend of religion), by which he is generally known among the " learned. Ibn Marzúk, from whose work the preceding is an abridgement, makes him a native of " Granada, but Ibn Jábir, of Guadix, in his 'Eastern Travels,' gives him the patronymic of Al-jayéní (of " Jaen), and says that he was born in the town of مطخشارس Mattakhasháres, near Jaen, towards the " end of Shawwál of the year six hundred and fifty-four (Nov. A.D. 1256). If, however, we follow " Ar-ro'ayní's opinion, Abú Hayyán was born in the district of Granada. But this may be easily " reconciled, as most of the territory of Jaen was then a dependency of Granada.

" Abú Hayyán, when still young, quitted his native place in order to repair to the East. He first " visited Granada, Malaga, Velez, Almeria, and Bejénah, in Andalus; after this he saw Túnis and " Alexandria, Cairo, Damietta; from thence he went to المحلة Mahlah, نهرمس [Nahrmes?], and " Jízzeh; then to Minyat-Khassíb, Dashna, Kana, Kúss, Belbís, and 'Aydháb, in the land of the blacks: " he also went to Mekka and Medína, and in every one of these places he never failed to converse with " learned men, and to gather the most precious information respecting the history of their respective " countries, and anecdotes of illustrious individuals.

" The cause of Abú Hayyán's departure for the East is thus related by Ibn Rájih. They say that " enmity arose between him and one of his preceptors, whose name was Ahmed Ibn 'Alí Ibnu-t-tabá', " owing to Ibnu Hayyán having composed a work which he entitled الالباع في فساد اجازة ابن الطباع " (the shining of the stars on the bad method of teaching followed by Ibnu-t-tabá'), and that the " injured man having made a complaint to the Amír Mohammed Ibn Nasr, Abú Hayyán, fearing his " revenge, left his native town in the year six hundred and seventy-nine of the Hijra (A.D. 1280-1). " However, as we have already observed, Abú Hayyán quitted Andalus, and travelled to Africa proper, " Egypt, Syria, and Hejáz, collecting every where the valuable information, which, like so many " inestimable pearls, he afterwards scattered through his writings. All authors agree in designating him " as the king of his age in grammar امير المومنين في النحو and as one who knew no rival as long " as he lived. He was, likewise, an excellent poet, as his works sufficiently testify: as to his attainments " in the science of traditions, his commentaries on the Korán, his deep acquaintance with civil law, and " his profound learning in history, and anecdotes of illustrious men, chiefly Western Arabs, it will be in " vain for any author of future ages to attempt to equal them. He distinguished himself above all " things in that science which has for its object the spelling of proper names, since those of the " Andalusians, owing to their proximity to the country of Afranj (France), and their constant commerce " and intermixture with the Christians, are well known to partake mostly of a construction entirely " contrary to the rules of Arabic grammar.

" Abú Hayyán was a great favourite with Seyfu-d-dín Arghún, (see D'Herb. *voc.* Arghoun,) the " superintendent of the slaves of كافل المالك Al-malek An-nássir Mohammed, Sultán of Egypt. " He lived with him on terms of the greatest friendship, dwelling at his castle of الجبل Al-habl. When " Abú Hayyán's daughter, Nadhár, died, Arghún interceded with the Sultán to grant the disconsolate " father permission to bury her at his own house in Cairo, in the quarter of that city called Barkiyyah. " The permission was granted, and Abú Hayyán accordingly deposited the remains of his beloved " daughter in his house in that city.

" Abú Hayyán (continues Ibn Rájih) was a rather tall man, he had a noble forehead, a fine and rosy " complexion. When I saw him last his hair was scanty and grey, but he still wore it loose and long; " he had a beautiful and thick-set beard; his manners were elegant, and his conversation exceedingly

" eloquent and agreeable, only that he spoke the dialect used in Andalus, and pronounced Arabic " according to the fashion of his own native country; for instance, the letter ق he always uttered with " a sound very much resembling the ك so as to make almost no distinction when he was reading the " Korán, and I heard him once say, 'The people of this country do not know how to pronounce the letter " ق'—This eminent man (may God show him mercy!) died at his dwelling, out of Cairo and close to the " *Bábu-l-bahr* (the gate of the sea), on a Saturday the twenty-eighth of Safar of seven hundred and forty- " five (July, A.D. 1344), after the hour of evening prayers, and was buried on the following day in the " cemetery of the Súfís, out of the *Bábu-n-nasr* (the gate of Nasser). When the news of his death " reached Damascus, the sorrow was universal, and public prayers were read for him in the great " mosque."—Fos. 174-84.

The author then gives a catalogue of Abú Hayyán's numerous works, the items of which I omit for the sake of brevity.

[26] Hájí Khalfah, who, as I shall have occasion to show hereafter, derived most of his literary information concerning Spain from the work of Al-makkarí, has nearly the same words. (See *Kashfu-dh-dhanún*, voc. *Táríkhu-l-andalus*.) But neither in the work by that bibliographer, nor in a similar one by Kheyr Ibn Khalífah (Arab. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1667), have I found a satisfactory description of this important work. It must have been exceedingly scarce, even in Spain, for I have never met in the course of my historical investigations with any quotation or extract from it; nor is there in the Escurial Library, nor, as far as I know, in any public library in Europe, a single volume of the fifty of which the work is said to have consisted. Perhaps, like many other literary productions of its royal author, it perished in the lamentable catastrophe which put an end to the life of the last sovereign of that dynasty, and which will be fully detailed in another part of this translation.

[27] المتين *Al-matín*, that is, 'the firm, the solid.' I have already remarked (see Note 37, p. 338) that some copies of Hájí Khalfah read المبين *Al-mubeyn*. Such is the reading in the copy belonging to the British Museum, as well as in those consulted by Prof. Fluegel for his edition. See Hájí Khalfah, *Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopædicum*, vol. ii. p. 116.

[28] I have been unable to obtain any information concerning this lexicographer, except that his entire name was Ahmed Ibn Ibán Ibn Seyíd, and that he died in three hundred and eighty-three (A. D. 993-4). See Hájí Khalfah's *Bib. Ind.* voc. *'A'lim*. I find his name also mentioned by the historian Al-homaydí, (Bodl. Lib., *Hunt.* 464,) but that writer gives no account of his life or writings. The word ابان which I have spelt *Ibán*, might also be pronounced *Abbán*.

[29] Abú Honeyfah Ad-dinawárí was a famous theologian and naturalist, whose works are often quoted by Ibnu-l-beyttar, Ad-demírí, Kazwíní, Ibnu-l-awam, and other Arabian writers on botany and agriculture. He died in two hundred and ninety of the Hijra (A D. 902-3). See the preface to the translation of Ibnu-l-awam, by Banqueri, Mad. 1802.

[30] Instead of Abú-l-'abbás Kásim, Abú-l-kásim 'Abbás is intended. ابن فرناس Ibn Firnás (the son of the lion) is a metaphorical expression to designate a brave and strong man. I have found no mention whatever of this author in the Biographical Dictionaries of Ibnu-l-khattíb, Ibnu-l-abbár, Ibnu

Bashkúwál, and others, nor is his name in the list of Spanish physicians given by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah; but Conde, in his *Hist. de la Dom.* (vol. i. p. 328), speaks of a poet named *Abés Ben Firnas Abulcasim,* who died in Cordova in two hundred and seventy-five (A. D. 888-9), and who, consequently, must have flourished under the reigns of Mohammed and Al-mundhir, Sultáns of Cordova. He is, probably, the individual here intended, and the author of a distich on the taking of Toledo by Mohammed, which I have translated elsewhere under the head of that city. See p. 47.

31 من استنبط الزجاج من الحجارة Thus in all the MSS., which, literally translated, means 'who extracted glass out of stones.'

32 Khalíl Ibn Ahmed,—the same famous grammarian and philologist mentioned in p. 142, and Note 5, p. 419,—passes among the Arabs as the inventor of the rules of prosody. Ibn Khallekán says in his life,

و هو الذي استنبط علم العروض و اخرجه الي الموجود وحصر اقسامه في خمسة دواير يستخرج منها خمسة عشر مجرا ثم زاد فيه الاخفش بجزاء اخر سماه الخفيف ∴

"He was the first who invented the science of prosody, and reduced it to the present state. He divided "it into five دواير *circles,* from which issued fifteen branches. After him the poet Akhfash added "another *branch,* which he denominated *khafíf,* 'thin.'" *Circles* and *branch* are terms used in Arabic prosody. See Clerk's Prosody, p. 7, *et passim.*

33 The instrument here described must have been similar to the modern invention called "metronome." I here give the entire passage: اول من يعمل الة يقال له المنقالة ليعرف الاوقات علي غير رسم و مثال واحتال في تطيير جثمانه و كسي نفسه الريش ومد له جناحين و طار في الجوء مسافة بعيدة و لكنه لم يحسن الاحتيال في وقوعه فتاذي موخره و لم يدر ان الطاير انما يقع علي زمكته و لم يعمل له ذنباً ∴

I ought to observe that from the word زمكة *zamkah,* which means 'the root of the tail' in a bird, the Spaniards have made *zanca,* which signifies the hind leg of an animal.

34 يطم علي العنقاء في طيرانها ∴ اذا ماكسي جثمانه ريش قشعم

Múmen Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Ibráhim was a poet of the court of Mohammed I., Sultán of Cordova. Ath-tha'álebí, in his *Yatímatu-d-dahr* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9578, fo. 130), gives copious extracts from his verses.

35 سمآء عباس الاديب ابي القاسم ∴ ناهيك حسن رايقها
اما ضراط استه فراعدها ∴ فليت شعري ما لمع بارقها
لقد تهنيت حين دونها ∴ فكري بالبصق في استخالقها

The reading of these verses, as they appear in A., is very incorrect. However, by comparing it

with that of B., the epitome, and my copy, I have been able to give it as above. Instead of ابي القاسم in the first hemistich of the first verse, A. reads ابي البقاسم the word قاسم being divided into two; ابي البقا ending the first hemistich, and سم forming the beginning of the second. Instead of فليت in the second verse, B. reads فبيت—while the third is so disfigured in A. as to present no meaning whatever.

لقد تصنيت حين دومها ∴ فكري بالبضو في است بامقها

[36] رايتُ امير المومنين محمدا ∴ و في وجهه بدر المحبة يثمر

Literally 'and the full moon of benevolence flourished on his countenance;' the word ثمر partaking of both meanings.

[37] There is a certain Moslem or Moslemah Ibn Ahmed Al-majerittí (from Madrid) mentioned in Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. pp. 378, c. 2, 399, c. 2, and vol. ii. p. 147, c. 2), but his surname was Abú-l-kásim, not Abú 'Obeydah. However, as the Arabs not unfrequently denominate themselves after one or more of their sons, he may have had both appellatives, Abú-l-kásim and Abú 'Obeydah, and therefore be the individual here intended, especially as the account of his life given by Casiri (vol. i. p. 378, c. 2), as translated from the *Arabica Philosophorum Bibliotheca*, agrees with the present.

The *kiblah*, in Mohammedan temples, is that part of the building showing the point of the horizon where Mekka stands, in order that the faithful may turn towards it in their prayers. In Asia it looked towards the south; in Spain mosques were at first built with the *kiblah* turned also to the south, but in course of time, when astronomy made progress, there were not wanting Moslems, like Abú-l-kásim, who condemned the received practice, and pretended that the faithful ought to turn towards the east in their prayers. This Moslem or Moslemah, who was a consummate astronomer and mathematician, was probably one of the first to denounce the practice, and hence the surname given to him of *Sáhibu-l-kiblati-sh-sharkiyyah* (the master of the *kiblah* turned to the east). The life of this astronomer, who was likewise a skilful physician, occurs in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., 7340, fo. 139, *verso*.

[38] المذني *Al-mudhaní* in A.—B. reads المزني *Al-muzaní*. The epitome and my copy المدني *Al-madaní*. I am therefore unable to fix the true reading, nor is it easy to ascertain, without any further data, to whom the patronymic is applied.

[39] Yahya Ibn Yahya, of Cordova, known by the surname of ابن السمينة Ibn Samínah (the son of the fat woman), was a follower of the sect of the Mo'tazelites; he travelled to the East and returned to Spain, where he died in three hundred and twenty-three of the Hijra (A.D. 936-7). His life may be read in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, *loco laudato*, fo. 134.

There is in the Escurial Library (No. 1061) a work on jurisprudence by an author named Yahya Ibn Yahya Ibn Kásim, also a native of Cordova, and who is said to have flourished in the fourth century of the Hijra. He may have been the same as the one mentioned here.

Mr. Nicoll, in his catalogue of the Oriental MSS. in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon., read wrongly the name of this mathematician, whom he called ابن سهينة 'Ibn Sehínah,' instead of 'Ibn Samínah.'

[40] Abú-l-kásim Asbagh Ibn Mohammed Ibn As-samh *Al-muhandas*, or the geometrician, a native of Granada, flourished in the times of Al-hakem II., Sultán of Cordova. Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, who gives his life (*loco laudato*, fo. 135), has preserved also a catalogue of his works, amounting to several volumes, on medicine, astronomy, geometry, &c., and among which is the كتاب المدخل في الهندسة here mentioned. Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 244) mentions an Arabian philosopher, also named Ibnu-s-samh, and who is reported to have written a commentary on the works of Alexander Aphrodisæus. According to Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, Abú-l-kásim died at Granada, then the court of the King Habús Ibn Mákesen Ibn Zeyrí Ibn Menád As-senhájí, on a Tuesday, the eighteenth of Rejeb of the year four hundred and twenty-six, at the age of fifty-six, (19th May, A.D. 1035.)

[41] *Sind-Hind* (the school of Sind-Hind). It is now an ascertained fact that the Arabs received their first knowledge of Algebra from the Hindús, who furnished them with the decimal notation of numerals, and with various important points of mathematical and astronomical observation. Hence the newly imported science was at first called *Madh'heb Sind-Hind.* See the Algebra of Mohammed Ben Músa, by Prof. Rosen, London, 1831.

[42] Of Abú-l-kásim ابن الصفار Ibnu-s-saffár (the son of the copper-smith) Casiri has given a short notice in his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 140. His entire name was Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí. He was a profound mathematician, and died in the year four hundred and twenty-six of the Hijra (A.D. 1034-5).

Another mathematician, also named Abú-l-kásim Ibnu-s-saffár, is mentioned by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah in his Biographical Dictionary of the Arabian physicians, fo. 134, *verso.* He calls him Abú-l-kásim Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Omar, and says that he was learned in arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy; that he settled in Cordova, where he gave lectures upon those sciences, and published also some astronomical tables according to the Indian doctrines, and a treatise on the manner of making astrolabes. He adds that Ibnu-s-saffár quitted Cordova in the midst of the civil wars which wasted that city (A.H. 400-8), and retired to Denia, the court of Mujáhid Al-'ámirí, where he died. They are no doubt the same person.

[43] "Abú Is'hák or Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Suleymán Az-zahráwí," says Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 134, *verso*), "was learned in arithmetic and geometry, but he excelled above all things in "medicine. He wrote among other works a very useful one on the mechanical arts, accompanied by "examples, which he entitled كتاب الاركان (the book of the angles). Abú-l-hasan had learnt mathe-"matics under Abú-l-kásim Moslemah Ibn Ahmed Al-majerittí (of Madrid), and his disciples."

The patronymic Az-zahráwí seems to indicate that Abú-l-hasan was born either in Az-zahrá, the celebrated seat of the Khalifs close to Cordova, or in some other town of the many that bore that name in Spain during the Moslem domination.

[44] All the copies read الف في المعاملات علي طريق البرهان—The word معاملة may however admit of another interpretation. It may also mean 'dealing, money transaction.' Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, treating of Ibn As-samh (see above, Note 40), says that his work on arithmetic entitled *Thimáru-l-'adád* (the fruit of the numbers) was likewise known under the title of المعاملات (the dealings).

[45] Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 128, c. 2) has given the life of this mathematician, translated from the *Arabica Philosophorum Bibliotheca.* His entire name was Abú-l-hakem 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Alí Al-karmání. Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 134, *verso*) adds that he inhabited Cordova, but was a native of Malaga; that he left Andalus when still young, visited the East, where he learnt medicine, geometry, and natural philosophy, and, on his return to Andalus, settled at Saragossa, where he died in the year 458, at the age of upwards of seventy.

[46] حرّان Harrán is a city of Mesopotamia, supposed to be the ancient *Carrhæ*, the scene of the defeat of Crassus.

[47] اصحاب الصفاء *As'hábu-s-safá*, or اخوان الصفاء *Ekhuwanu-s-safá*, or ارباب الصفاء *Arbábu-s-safá*, as they are called elsewhere, are supposed to be the authors of various treatises upon moral and political subjects, forming together a sort of Cyclopædia. See Pococke, *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, p. 369, *ed. nov.*; De Sacy, *Not. et Ext.* vol. ix. p. 407; D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Ekhouan.*

I believe the author to be wrong in his statement that this individual was the first who introduced into Spain the collection of philosophical treatises known by the title of *Rasáyil arbábi-s-safá.* Kheyr Ibn Khalífah, in his Bibliographical Index (Ar. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1667), states that Abú-l-kásim Moslemah Ibn Ahmed Al-majerittí (see a preceding note, p. 427) was the first who brought them to Spain from the East, and this fact is further strengthened by the circumstance that the copies of this work preserved in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon. (see Nicoll's Cat. p. 189) and in the Escurial (No. 923) are all attributed to Al-majerittí, although they are the production of well-known Eastern authors. (See Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Rasáyil.*) One of these treatises was printed in 1812 at Calcutta.

[48] This is no doubt the same person erroneously designated by Casiri (vol. ii. p. 134 of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*) under the name of *Mohamad Ben Abdalla Ben Moslama Abu Amerus Hispalensis*, who is there said to have been a Wizír, and to have composed a treatise *De Hortorum Cultu* (on the cultivation of gardens). Casiri, however, committed an unpardonable blunder in translating the word رياضة by *gardens*, رياضات meaning 'the mathematical sciences in general.'

Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 135) gives the life of the father or the uncle of this Ibn Khaldún, whose name was also Abú Moslem. His words are as follow: "Abú Moslem 'Amr Ibn Ahmed Ibn "Khaldún Al-hadhramí was one of the principal citizens of Seville. He died in four hundred and forty-nine "of the Hijra (A.D. 1057-8), leaving several eminent disciples, as *Abú Moslem Ibn Khaldún*, Abú Ja'far "Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah, known by the surname of As-saffár, and Abú-l-kásim Moslemah Ibn Ahmed." I need scarcely observe that both the Abú Moslem mentioned in the text, and the one spoken of by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, belonged to the illustrious stock of the Bení Khaldún, whence the celebrated historian Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khaldún was descended.

[49] ابن برغوث (the son of the flea). The entire name of this mathematician was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Omar.

[50] This Abú-l-hasan Mukhtár Ar-ro'ayní appears to be the same individual who is mentioned at p. 144, and Note 11, p. 421, and is described as Kádí of Almeria under Zohayr.

[51] I think Al-leythí is to be substituted for Al-leyth; if so, his entire name was Mohammed Ibn Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí. He is counted by Al-makkarí in the number of the Spanish Moslems who left their native country for the East. That author says of him, in the fifth book of the first part of his work, fo. 115, *verso*, "Mohammed quitted Andalus for the East; on his way to Mekka he met in Africa "Sahnún Ibn Sa'íd, and took lessons from him. He also met in Cairo a doctor who had been a friend "and a disciple of Málik Ibn Ans, and profited by his lessons. Mohammed became famous for his "modesty and his abstinence; he published several works on jurisprudence which acquired him an "immense reputation, and died in Mekka, where he had established himself." He was the son of Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí, the famous Cordovan traditionist mentioned at p. 343, Note 54.

[52] ابن حيّ Ibn Hayyí, of Cordova. Al-makkarí, in the fifth book of the first part, fo. 170, *verso*, which, as elsewhere stated, contains the lives of illustrious Moslems, natives of Spain, who travelled to the East, gives that of Al-huseyn Ibn Ahmed Ibni-l-huseyn Ibn Hayyí An-najíbí النجيبي (perhaps التُجيبي *At-tojíbí* through the omission of one point) in the following words: "He learnt arithmetic and geometry "from Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Omar, known by the surname of Ibnu-l-borghúth; he excelled "above all things in the science of levelling or trigonometry علم التعديل and in the construction of "astronomical tables. The Kádí Sá'id, of Toledo, who, in his 'Biographical Dictionary of learned men,' "gives his genealogy and a list of his works, states that Ibn Hayyí left Andalus for the East in the "year four hundred and forty-two of the Hijra (A.D. 1050-1), and that he arrived thither after suffering "great privations, and being exposed to great dangers in his way by sea and land."

After relating his arrival in Yemen, his intimacy with the king of those districts, and his embassy to Al-káyem, in nearly the same words, Al-makkarí adds that "Ibn Hayyí died in the year four hundred "and fifty-six" (A.D. 1063-4). I find in Ibnu-l-khattíb that Ibn Hayyí (the son of the snake) was so called from his having been, when a child, bit by a venomous snake, حَيّ—From the feminine حَيَّة the Spaniards have formed the word *haya*, meaning all kinds of venomous reptiles.

[53] A marginal note in one of the MSS. adds بمال ابن مرداش صاحب حلب—that is, 'Bamál, son of Mardásh, governor of Aleppo.' But this is evidently an error, for although Al-makín (*Hist. Sar.* fo. 272) and D'Herb. (*Bib. Or.* voc. *Moezz*) speak of a rebel called بمال Bamál, son of Sáleh, son of Mardásh, surnamed Mo'ezzu-d-daulah, who was governor of Aleppo, and one of the actors in a rebellion which deprived Al-káyem biamr-illahi 'Abdullah Abú Ja'far (the twenty-sixth Khalif of the family of 'Abbás) of his throne in the year four hundred and fifty of the Hijra (A.D. 1058), and by which Al-mustanser-billah, the 'Obeydite, Sultán of Egypt, became the ruler of all the Mohammedan empire in Asia, he cannot be the same individual here intended, since his estates were in Syria, not in Yemen. I am therefore inclined to believe that the individual here alluded to is no other than Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Alí As-solayhí, who declared himself independent in Yemen (between 422 and 440), doing homage for his states to Al-mustanser, Sultán of Egypt, and maintained himself in his possessions until he was assassinated in four hundred and seventy-three (A.D. 1080-1). His life may be read in Ibn Khallekán (No. 495, *Tyd. Ind.*)

[54] Instead of الوقشي Al-wakshí, B. reads الوشقي Al-washkí, a patronymic formed from Huesca, a

town in the province of Aragon. But I have followed the reading in A., as I learn from Ibnu Bashkúwál (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13) that the Bení Wakash الوقشيون were a family of noble Arabs from the tribe of Kenánah, who settled in Toledo and its environs.

55 Abú-l-walíd Hishám Al-washkí. Of this author Casiri has given a short notice extracted from the Biographical Dictionary of Ibnu Bashkúwál. (See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 456, c. 1, and vol. ii. p. 147, c. 2, and p. 148, c. 1.) The first volume of a work of his on canonical law is also preserved in the Esc. Lib., No. 1067. Ibnu-l-abbár calls him الفيلسوف 'the philosopher,' and adds that he was Kádí of Toledo.

56 اراء الحكماء—instead of which B. reads مذاهب الحكماء which is nearly the same, unless we take the latter for the schools, and the former for the philosophical writings, of the ancients.

57 صناعة كتابة I have translated these two words by 'the functions of a secretary,' taking the word صناعة for the trade or occupation, and كتابة for the office of a Kátib or secretary.

58 وكان من العلوم مجيد يقضي له في كل فن بالجميع

59 Abú-l-motref 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn شهيد Shahíd, 'the son of the martyr.' I am not certain, however, whether this word is to be pronounced *Shahíd* or *Shoheyd*, (which latter is the diminutive, and means 'the little martyr,') since instances of both names are very frequent in the history of the Spanish Arabs, engaged as they were in continual war with the Christians. Ibn Khallekán gives the life of a famous Wizír and poet, whose name was Abú 'A'mir Ahmed Ibn Shoheyd, and who was the son of Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Shoheyd, one of the Wizírs of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III.; and Casiri speaks also of a certain *Ahmad Ben Abdelmalek Abu Amer Ben Shahid*, who, he says, was a good physician, *medicus non contemnendus* (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 135, c. 1). It is not improbable, therefore, that he was the father or the grandfather of the individual here mentioned, in which case *Shoheyd* is to be substituted for *Shahíd*.

60 Ibnu-l-beyttar, or 'the son of the farrier.' The word بيطر *Beyttar* (in Sp. *albeytar*, meaning 'a horse-doctor') is the surname of a famous naturalist, a native of Malaga, whose entire name was Dhiyáu-d-dín 'Abdullah Ibn Ahmed Ibnu-l-beyttar, who flourished in the seventh century of the Hijra. Al-makkarí gives, together with some interesting details, the life of Ibnu-l-beyttar in the fifth book of the first part, fo. 198, *verso*. But as Çasiri (vol. i. p. 276, c. 2) has also given his life, translated from Abú-l-fedá and Leo Africanus, I forbear adding any more on the subject.

61 Al-merwání is the general patronymic of the Sultáns of the house of Umeyyah or Merwán who reigned in Spain. The sovereign here alluded to must be either Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, the ninth Sultán of that family, or his son, Hishám II., since Abú Mansúr نزار Nazár 'Azíz-billah, son of Mo'ezz-billah, the sixth Khalif of the dynasty of the 'Obeydites or Fátimites of Egypt, began to reign in three hundred and sixty-five of the Hijra (A. D. 975-6). Nazár having died in Belbís in the year three hundred and eighty-six (A. D. 996-7), his contemporaries in Spain could be no others than Al-hakem,

who died in 336, and Hishám II. during his minority. See D'Herb. (voc. *Aziz*), who calls him, by mistake, *Barar* instead of *Nazár*, his real name, as may be seen in Ibn Khallekán (No. 769 in *Tyd. Ind.*), Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iv. p. 525, Al-makín, p. 243, and Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 194.

62 These verses are the same as those given at Note 13, p. 329, with some slight difference.

63 This individual was the son of a celebrated poet mentioned by Casiri in vol. ii. p. 45 of his *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*, under the name of *Abu Amerus Alpharagius Dulvazratin*. Ibnu Dhí-n-nún being the collective or family name for all the kings of Toledo, it is not easy to determine to which of them Ibn Abí 'A'mir filled the office of Wizír; for although Casiri says that his father flourished in the fifth century of the Hijra, the three kings who ruled in Toledo lived within the same century.

64 ابعث بها مثل ودك ∴ ارق من ماآء خدك
شقيقة النفس فانصح ∴ بها حوي ابني وعبدك

65 There was no Sultán of Valencia called Merwán, much less Merwán Ibn 'Abdillah, as the author asserts (see p. 66). The only two independent governors of that city were 'Abdi-l-'azíz, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and grandson of the celebrated Abú 'A'mir Al-mansúr, and his son and successor 'Abdu-l-málik, surnamed Al-mudhfer, who was dispossessed by his father-in-law Al-mámún Ibn Dhí-n-nún, King of Toledo, as here stated. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 215, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* pp. 43, 50, *et passim*.

66 ولا غرو بعدي من يسود معشر ∴ فيضحي لهم يوم وليس لهم امس
كذلك نجوم الجوء تبدوا زواهراً ∴ اذاما توارت في مغاربها الشمس

Such is the reading of these verses in all the copies to which I have had access. However, since the above was printed I have found this distich in a collection of poems made at Granada by an anonymous writer of that city, and dedicated to the Sultán Abú-l-hejáj Yúsuf, of the family of Nasser, who reigned from A. H. 733 to 755. The MS., which is in my possession, is a small quarto of about four hundred pages, entitled حدايق الازاهر *Hadáyiku-l-azáhir* (flowery gardens). The verses are there given as the composition of the governor of Valencia, who is said to have uttered them extempore on receiving the intelligence of his removal and the appointment of his successor. The reading, too, is exactly the same, with the exception of the word من in the first hemistich of the first verse, which is there replaced by ان — a circumstance which, in my opinion, considerably alters the meaning of the first verse, thus,—

'No wonder if after I am gone the people of this place remain in the dark. The day dawned 'for them, but they shall have no evening.

'The new governor will be like the stars in heaven, which never begin to brighten until the sun 'is quite hidden in the West.'

I believe this translation to be more correct than that which I have given, since this comparison of himself to the sun, and his successor to the stars, renders it probable that the word يسود *yasúd* means

here 'to be in the dark,' and not 'to govern,' a meaning of which it equally partakes, and which I had in the first instance adopted.

67 ولما رايتُ الشيب ايقنتُ انّه ∴ نذير لجسمي بانهدام بنايه
اذا ابيض مخضر النبات فانّه ∴ دليل علي استحصاده و فنايه

68 السمير As-samír means 'he who holds nightly confabulations.' I have been unable to find an account of this poet.

69 رايتُ ادم في نومي فقُلتُ له ∴ ابا البرية ان الناس قد حكموا
ان البرابر نسل منك قال ∴ اذا حوا طالقة ان كان ما زعموا

It must be observed that during the middle period of Arabian domination in Spain, that is, from the taking of Cordova by the Berbers in four hundred and three to the arrival of the Almoravides in four hundred and eighty-seven of the Hijra (A. D. 1012-1094), almost the whole of that country was ruled by independent chieftains, most of them Africans, who had served under Al-mansúr, and who, at the extinction of the Khalifate, shared among themselves the dominions of the Beni Umeyyah. Sprung from a race which the Arabs despised, the rulers of Andalus became the subject of many a satirical poem, and the public animadversion was every where excited against them. When, in the course of time, the Lamtúnnah, the Senhájah, the Beni Merín, and other African tribes bordering upon the deserts of Súdán, were called upon to prop up the falling empire of the Arabs, and, crossing the Strait, inundated Spain, they were considered rather as conquerors than as friends, the shafts of satire were bitterly exercised against them, and many a poet paid with his head a few witty or sarcastic expressions. See App. A., p. xx.

70 يبني علي نفسه سقفا ∴ كانّه دودة الحرير

The author of the *Karttás*, who gives also this verse, adds the following:

دَعُوه يَبْنِي فَسَوْفَ يدري ∴ اذا اتَتْ قَدْرة القدير

'Let him build it as strong as he likes, the hand of fate will nevertheless reach him.'

'Abdullah Ibn Balkín Ibn Bádís Ibn Habús, the last Sultán of the Zeyrí dynasty in Granada, was a Berber of the Senhájah tribe.

71 خيرني المعتصم و هو بقصدي اعلم
و هو اذا يجمع لي امنا و منّا اكرم

72 Mohammed Abú Yahya Ibn Samádeh, surnamed Al-mu'atassem-billah (he who relies on God), was not, properly speaking, deprived of his kingdom as here asserted, but died during the siege of his capital by the Almoravides, in A. H. four hundred and eighty-four (A. D. 1091). See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 40, 214; and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 172.

[73] The life of this author is to be found in Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13). His words are as follow:—" Abú-l-kásim, or Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibnu-l-khattíb Abí Mohammed " 'Abdillah Ibni-l-khattíb Abí 'Amr Ahmed Ibn Abí-l-hasan Asbagh Ibn Huseyn Ibn سعدون Sa'dún " Ibn Redwán Ibn Fatúh, one of the conquerors of Andalus. Such was the genealogy of the Imám " As-sohaylí Al-khath'amí, according to Abú-l-khattáb Ibn Dih'yah, who held it from the mouth " of the author himself. As-sohaylí is well known as the author of several excellent works, among " which are numbered the روض الانف 'untouched garden,' being a commentary on the life and " actions of our Prophet Mohammed; كتاب التعريف و الاعلام بما ابهم في القران من الاسمآء الاعلام " 'the book of the acquaintance with and explanation of the proper names contained in the Korán, " which are still obscure;' نتايج الفكر 'the conceptions of the mind,' with several others. According " to the above-mentioned writer (Ibn Dih'yah) As-sohaylí showed great talents for poetry, until his " fame reaching the Sultán of Morocco, he was by him invited to come to his court, where he was " much distinguished and loaded with presents. He died in that city in the year 581 of the Hijra, " on a Thursday, the twenty-sixth of Sha'bán. His birth took place in Malaga in the year 508. " Towards the end of his life As-sohaylí entirely lost the use of his eyes."

Ibnu-l-abbár adds that الخَثْعَمِي Al-khath'amí, written and pronounced as above, was the patronymic of those who derive their genealogy from the tribe of Khath'am Ibn Ammár. The life of As-sohaylí is to be found, in nearly the same terms, in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.* 379), and in the *Hayyátu-l-haywán* by Ad-demírí, voc. *Anúk*. The latter author, however, adds another to the list of As-sohaylí's productions given by Ibnu-l-abbár and Ibn Khallekán, the title of which, كتاب الاوايل الروضة 'the book of the premises of the garden,' is not to be found in Hájí Khalfah's Bibliographical Dictionary.

[74] Considering the age of As-sohaylí this must allude to an incursion which Alfonso VI., the conqueror of Toledo, made into the very heart of the Moslem dominions some time previous to the taking of that city, and which the author of the *Karttás* describes thus. " In this year, (A.H. 474,) Alfonso (whom may God " curse!) moved on at the head of innumerable forces of the Rúm, Basques, and Galicians, together " with other nations of Christians, intent upon the destruction and subjection of the entire Moslem " territory. In order to accomplish his aim he divided his army into several bodies, and these " he dispatched under the command of trusty generals to lay waste and destroy a given portion of " the country held by the believers. He himself, at the head of his best bands, plunged far into the " districts surrounding Seville, and began to burn and destroy the crops, to set on fire the villages " and towns, to kill or carry into captivity their inhabitants, and to commit all sorts of depredations: " in this way he marched until he appeared in sight of Seville, and remained three days wasting the " fields in the neighbourhood of that city, and destroying and setting on fire *several towns and villages* " *east of that capital*. He then went to Shídhúnah and did the same; they further relate that, having " advanced as far as Jezírah-Taríf (Tarifa), he spurred his horse into the waves of the Mediter- " ranean, and exclaimed, 'This is the extremity of Andalus, and my feet have trampled the whole of " its surface.' "

No account of this expedition, which took place four years before the conquest of Toledo, is to be found in Conde.

75 يا دار اين البيض والأرم ∴ أم اين جيران عليّ كرام
راب المحب عن منازل انه ∴ حيّ فلم يرجع اليه سلام
لما اجابتني الصدا عنهم ولم ∴ يلج المسامع للحبيب كلام
طارحتْ ورق حمامها مترنماً ∴ بمقل صب والدموع سجام
يا دار ما فعلتْ بك الايام ∴ ضامتك و الايام ليس تضام

[76] The opinion here expressed, and which has already been recorded elsewhere (see p. 50, and Note 108, p. 357), is also entertained by Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13), as well as by Ibn Khallekán in the life of As-sohaylí (No. 379, *Tyd. Ind.*), as stated by the author.

There is now no town of this name in the neighbourhood of Malaga, although one must have existed as late as the end of the fourteenth century, since it is mentioned by Ibnu-l-khattíb in his itinerary. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 161, c. 1.

[77] شنتبوس *Shantobús* in all the copies. There is, however, no village of this name now on the banks of the Guadalquivir. Idrísí speaks occasionally of a town called شنبش *Shanbosh* or شنبوش *Shanabúsh*, but he places it near Silves, in Portugal, and far from the Guadalquivir. الريحان *ar-rihán* is 'sweet basil,' in Sp. *ar-rayán*. The verses are as follow:

خلين من واد و من قوارب ∴ و من تراها في شنتبوس
غرس الحبق الذي في داري ∴ احب عندي من الفردوس

[78] الجبّانة means 'a woman who makes cheese,' from *jaban* (cheese). The Spaniards call certain cakes made of cheese and honey *al-mojabanas*. See p. 367, Note 20.

[79] رابطة الغبار, 'the monastery of the dust.' This Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wahháb Ibn 'Alí Al-málakí is the same individual mentioned at p. 50, in the description of Malaga.

80 غصبوا الصباح فقسموا خدوداً ∴ واستوعبوا قضب الاراك قدوداً
و راوا حصي الياقوت دون نحورهم ∴ فيقلدوا شهب النجوم عقوداً
لم يكفاهم حدّ الاسنة والظب ∴ حتي استعروا اعينا و خدوداً

[81] Instead of الطراوة At-taráwah, B. reads الطراقة

يشربها الشيخ و امثاله ∴ و كان من تحمّد افعاله
و البكر ان لم يستطع صوله ∴ يلقى علي الباذل اثقاله

82 This is the same individual mentioned at p. 38, and Note 40, p. 340. I read in Ibnu-l-khattíb, who gives his life, that his entire name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Mes'úd Ibn Khalsah Ibn Faraj Ibn Mujáhid Ibn Abí-l-khissál. He was born at Burgaleyt (Burgalet), in the district of Segura and province of Jaen, in four hundred and sixty-five (A.D. 1072-3), and died at the taking of Cordova by Ibn Ghániyyah, in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah, A.H. five hundred and forty (July, A.D. 1146).

There is here a *jeu de mots* in the word عصي which admits of a double meaning, namely, 'the stalk of a bunch of grapes,' and 'an unruly or disobedient slave.'

83 Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-monkhol is mentioned in Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 94. المُنخل Al-monkhol means 'a sieve.' As to Abú Bekr الملاح Al-malláh, I believe him to be no other than the poet *Abu Bekr Al-molh,* mentioned by Al-fat'h, *apud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 104; the difference in their names arising merely from the various ways of writing or pronouncing the same word. My copy of the *Kaláyid* has, like the one in the Escurial Library, المُلح Al-molh; that in the British Museum, No. 9579, fo. 48, which is no doubt more correctly written than either of the two, reads المُلج Al-molj; the copy of the *Matmah,* also in the British Museum, No. 9580, fo. 69, *verso,* الملح *Al-maleh;* but as all the copies of Al-makkarí have الملاح 'the salt-merchant,' I have not hesitated to write *Al-malláh.* A salt-pit is still called in Andalusia *Maleha,* and among the states granted by Ferdinand to the last King of Granada, after the surrender of that city, one was the salt-pits of *la Maleha.* See Marmol, *Reb. de los Mor.* p. 19.

84 البادي اظلم—literally 'he who begins is wrong.'

85 The whole merit of this dialogue consists in the answers being uttered so as to agree with the questions both in measure and in rhyme. Exercises of this kind were very much to the taste of the Arabs, and are even now not uncommonly practised by the Spaniards, whose language is very well suited, by its richness and flexibility, for all sorts of poetical composition:

كان تَفْتيق مَقُولها ∴ بنو الملاح في النادي
و تصَمّتَ مثل صمّتِهم ∴ إِذا اجتمعوا علي زاري
لا غَوْث للمَلْهوف ∴ ولا غَيْث للمُرتادي

86 لم اري ملهيً لذي اقْتناص ∴ و مكسبا مَقْنع للحريص
كمثل خطارٍ ذات جيد ∴ اقْلع صُفرة القميص
كالقوس في شكلها و لكن ∴ تنفذ كالسهْم للقنيص
ان اتخذْتَ انْفها دليلاً ∴ دلّ علي الكامن من العريص
لو انّها تشْتشير برقاً ∴ لم يجد البرْق من مجيص

These verses are printed somewhat different to what they are in the principal MS., the reading of which I have corrected by means of the other copies. The name of the poet is written thus, الهزعري

[87] A volume containing the collection of poems of this Ibráhím Ibn Sahl, who was also named Abú Is'hák, is preserved in the Esc. Lib., No. 379. His name might also be written سُهل Sohl.

[88] كان محياك له بهجة ∴ حتي اذا جاءك ما حيّ الجمال
اصبحتَ كالشمعةِ لها خبا منها ∴ الضياء اسودَ فيها الذبال

Abú Hayyán, the grammarian, named a few lines lower, is Athíru-d-dín Abú Hayyán Mohammed, whose life I have given elsewhere (see Note 25, p. 423), translated from Al-makkarí.

Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Abí Nasr Al-fat'h Al-kaysí is the same as Ibn Khákán, the author of the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán*, so often quoted by the author in the course of his narrative.

[89] The title of this itinerary in Arabic is كتاب ملاء العيبة فيها جمعَ بطول الغيبة في الوجهة الوجيهة الي حرمين مكة و الطيبة which, literally translated, means 'the filling of the knapsack with information collected during a long absence spent in a holy peregrination to the blessed spots of Mekka and Medína.' Only the fifth volume, out of many which composed the work, is preserved in the Escurial Library, No. 1680. Casiri, who gave the life of the author, translated from Ibnu-l-khattíb, called him sometimes *Ben Roshd* (see vol. ii. p. 86), and at others *Ben Rashid* (see *ib.*, pp. 151, 334, 339). His true name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Omar Ibn Rashíd, a native of Ceuta, where he was born in six hundred and fifty-seven (A. D. 1258-9); he died at Fez, in Moharram, A. H. seven hundred and twenty-one (February, A. D. 1231). Besides the above volume of travels, there are in the Esc. Lib. two more works by this author, marked 1780 and 1803.

[90] Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Marzúk At-telemsání. The entire name of this individual, who was one of the masters of Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb, was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed, son of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Abí Bekr Ibn Marzúk العجيسي Al-'ajísí. Al-makkarí treats of him in the third book of the second part, relative to the masters and tutors of Ibnu-l-khattíb. He wrote several works on various subjects. (See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. pp. 82, 179, 188, 524, 531.) He died at Fez in seven hundred and eighty-one of the Hijra (A. D. 1379-80).

[91] للناس ما ظهر ∴ ولله ما استتر

[92] تسليتُ عن موسي بحبّ محمّد ∴ هُديت ولولا الله ماكُنْتُ اهتدي
و ماعن قلي قدكان ذلك و إنّما ∴ شريعةُ موسي عطِلتْ بمحمّد

[93] This is the same author mentioned at p. 114, and Note 5, p. 404.

[94] Az-zamakhsharí is the patronymic of one of the most celebrated Mohammedan divines and

commentators on the Korán, whose entire name was Abú-l-kásim Mahmúd Ibn 'Omar Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Omar Az-zamakhsharí. According to Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.* 721) he followed at first the religious opinions of the Mo'tazelís or Mo'tazelites, but towards the end of his life he became orthodox and embraced the sect of Abú Hanífah. See also Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* tom. iii. p. 488, *et seq.;* Schultens in *Pref. ad Nawabig.;* Pococke, *Sp. Hist. Ar.* p. 354; D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Zamakschari.*

95 العز Al-'azz. I think this individual is the same whom Ibnu-l-khattíb mentions, although incidentally, in his history of Granada, as having made a collection of lyric poems, with copious notices of their authors. He flourished in the sixth century of the Hijra, but his surnames, patronymic, and birth-place, are not stated.

96 Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his history of Granada, speaks of an author whose name and description answer to those of the individual here mentioned. His entire name was Mohammed Ibn Ibráhím Ibnu-l-faraj, known by the surname of Ibnu-d-dabbágh (the son of the dyer). He resided the greatest part of his life in Granada, where he made himself conspicuous by his learning and the works which he wrote. He was a native of Ronda, where he died on a Friday, the first day of the month of Shawwál of the year 668, at the hour of prayers, just as the people were going out of the mosque.

Casiri, who translated the life of this author, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 82, committed a serious mistake, which I think it necessary to rectify. He first of all made Ibnu-d-dabbágh a native of Seville, of which the MS. says nothing, and then he called him a professor of theology and jurisprudence to the Royal College of Granada, and to another which he denominates 'the college of the son of Azrah' (*in Regio Granatensi Collegio jurisprudentiam, theologiam vero in Collegio Azræ Filii dicto prælegit*). The passage stands thus in Ibnu-l-khattíb: و اقرايه ∴ اقرا بجامع غرناطة الاكابر عُلمايها الفقه واصوله الفروع و العقايد العامة و اقرا بالجامع باب الفخارين و بمسجد عذرة و غيره و اقرا به ∴

"His readings: he read in the principal mosque of Granada upon jurisprudence and the foundations of "law, the higher sources of tradition, and the principal articles of faith, and his lessons were attended "by the principal inhabitants of Granada. He also gave lectures in the mosque *jámi'*, close to the "gate of the potters, and in the mosque of 'Adhrah, and in other places." Passages like this, loosely or badly translated, have given rise to several mistakes on the part of most of the compilers on Hispano-Arabic history; and if the Royal College, literary institutions, and universities of Granada, of which M. de Viardot speaks with so much enthusiasm in his *Précis de l'histoire des Arabes et des Mores en Espagne*, Paris, 1833, had no other foundation to stand upon than the loose records of Casiri and his mis-translations, we should be obliged a little to reduce the high ideas we entertain of the extent of education among the Arabs.

97 حضرةُ الادفنش لا برحتْ ∴ غادة ايامِها عُرس
فاخلع النعلين تكرمةً ∴ في تراها انّها قُدس

Instead of عرس (which makes its plural اعراس) 'a wedding' and 'wedlock,' whence the Spanish *arras* is derived, B. reads غدس which has no meaning. I have never met with the name of this poet, الفخار *Al-fakhkhár*, whence the Spanish *alfaharero*, meaning 'a potter.'

[98] I suppose the author means Al-hakem II., surnamed Al-mustanser-billah, Sultán of Cordova, but who the Alfonso here named, and whom Ibráhím calls his master, may be, is not easily determined. The author calls him, a few lines higher, the conqueror of Toledo, by which Alfonso VI. only can be intended; but, as Toledo was not taken until the year four hundred and seventy-eight of the Hijra (A.D. 1085), namely, one hundred and twelve years after the death of the Khalif Al-mustanser-billah Al-hakem, which happened in three hundred and sixty-six (A.D. 976), the conjecture is inadmissible. On the other hand, the only kings of Castile who were contemporaries with Al-hakem were Sancho *the fat* (from 955 to 967), and Ramiro III. (967 to 982). It is true that the last king of Saragossa, of the family of Húd, took likewise the title of Al-mustanser-billah, by which name he is generally designated by the historians of the time; but then the title of Khalif, which the author gives him, is misapplied, as it is ascertained never to have been assumed in Spain after the overthrow of the Beni Umeyyah.

[99] The name of this Jewish poet is written thus in B. الياس ابن الهدور—The verses are as follow:

لا تخدعنْ فما تكون مودة ∴ ما بين مشتركين امراً واحداً
أنْظر الي القمرين حين تشاركا ∴ أبسناهما كان التلاقي واحداً

قمران 'the two moons' is here elegantly taken for the sun and moon.

100 صاحب ذو بهجة قد قاتلتْ ∴ منها بظهر و استحلّت جرمها
كالشمس منها البدرُ يقبس نوره ∴ ابداً ويكسف بعد ذلك جرمها

One of the MSS. reads instead قد قابلت ∴ منها which would considerably alter the meaning. The name of the poetess is قصونة There is a *jeu de mots* in the word جرم which, pronounced *jeram*, signifies 'a crime,' 'a sin,' and *jirm*, 'the body,' 'the colour,' or 'the sound of an object.'

[101] The title of this work is التكملة لكتاب الصلة—that is, 'the supplement to the *Silah*.' The word صلة *silah* means 'a joint,' and also 'a gift,' but from the manner in which I have seen that word employed I rather incline to the former. Both works are preserved in the Esc. Lib. See Nos. 1670 and 1672 of Casiri's catalogue.

102 اخ الرجال من الاباعد ∴ و الاقارب لا تَقاربَ
أنّ الاقارب كالعقارب ∴ او اشدّ من العقارب

The repetition of the words *akárib*, 'relations,' and *'akárib*, 'scorpions,' seems to be the only merit of these verses. *Akha-r-rejálo mina-l-abá'adi wa-l-akáribo lá takáraba. An al-akáriba kal'akáribi au ashadd mina-l-'akáribi. 'Akrab*, whence the Spanish *alacran* is derived, means 'a scorpion.'

[103] كتاب الطرب في اشعار المغرب is the title of Ibn Dih'yah's work as given by Al-makkarí, which might very well be translated 'the book of the seeker of amusement among the works of Western

poets.' But Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Muttrib*), and Ibn Khallekán in the author's life (*Tyd. Consp.*, No. 508), substitute من for في which renders the meaning clearer. M. Weyers, in his *Spec. crit. exhib. locos de Ibn Khacani*, Lug. Bat. 1831, p. 7, has read the word مطرب differently, thus, *Mattreb*, and translated the title of that work by *Musici loci e carminibus incolarum Maghrebi*. It is impossible, however, to decide which is the true reading; the former appears to me more natural.

Abú-l-khattáb 'Omar Ibn Dih'yah was born, according to Ibn Khallekán (*loco laudato*), in five hundred and forty-four (A. D. 1149-50), and died in six hundred and sixty-three (A. D. 1264-5), in Cairo. Ibnu-l-abbár, who has given a short account of him in his *Bagh'yatu-l-multamis* (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13), says that Ibn Dih'yah was called ذو نسبين *Dhú-nasibeyn*, viz., 'he of the two genealogies,' because he claimed on his father's and mother's side the descent from the Prophet.

104 On Al-ghosániyyah the reader may consult Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 150. That writer, however, makes her a native of Seville, instead of *Bejénah*, a village close to Almeria, or forming part of that city, as I have already shown, Note 122, p. 359.

105 The science of prosody is called by the Arabs علم العروض *'Ilmu-l-'arúdh;* hence the name of العروضية Al-'arúdhiyyah, which this poetess received.—الكامل في اللغة *Al-kámil fí-l-loghah* is the title of a voluminous work by the famous grammarian and poet Abú-l-'abbás Mohammed Ibn Yezíd Al-mubarrad, who died, according to Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 647), in A.H. two hundred and eighty-five or two hundred and eighty-six (A.D. 898-9). See also Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 282, and De Sacy, *Relat. de l'Egypte*, &c., p. 481, note 31, as well as D'Herb. voc. *Mobarred.*—النوادر *An-nawádir* (novelties) is the title of a philological work by Abú 'Alí-l-kálí Isma'íl Ibnu-l-kásim, a famous Spanish rhetorician, who flourished towards the middle of the fourth century of the Hijra, under the reign of An-nássir lidín-illah, the seventh Sultán of the family of Umeyyah in Spain. (See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 136, and D'Herb. voc. *Cali.*) A further notice of this writer will be given under the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III.

106 يا سيد الناس يا من ∴ يؤمل الناس رفده
امنن علي بطرس ∴ يكون للناس عده
تخط يمينك فيه ∴ بحمد لله وحده

Instead of للناس in the second verse, B. reads للدهر which neither alters the sense nor spoils the measure. This authoress is the same of whom mention has been made under the chapter on Granada. See p. 45, and Note 85, p. 351.

107 Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd was the paternal uncle of Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Músa Ibn Sa'íd, whose life I have given in Note 1 to the first chapter, p. 309. A very circumstantial and interesting account of both 'Abdu-l-málik and his son Ahmed is likewise to be read in the Biographical Dictionary of Ibnu-l-khattíb. I shall therefore translate here the account given by the Granadian historian of the two members of this distinguished family, taking care to suppress the numerous poetical quotations with which, according to the general fashion of Arabic biographers, the narrative is inter-

spersed. " Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Khalf Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Khalf Ibn Sa'íd Ibn 'Abdillah " Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Al-hasan Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Sa'íd Ibn 'Ammár Ibn ياسر " Yásir, one of the companions of the Prophet, was an offspring of the noble stock of the Bení Sa'íd of the " tribe of عنس 'Ans, who, as is well known, have been for many centuries established at قلعة يحصب " *Kal'at Yahseb,* known also by the name of *Kal'at Beni Sa'íd,* in the territory of this city (Granada). " The first individual of this illustrious family who left the East to settle in this country was 'Abdullah " Ibn Sa'íd Ibn 'Ammár Ibn Yásir, who occupied a distinguished place among the Yemeni Arabs who " fixed their domicile in Cordova. His house, which stood near the bridge, was well known, and " among his posterity many obtained the charges of Wizírs, Kátibs, commanders of the forces, Kádís, " and governors of provinces, as we shall have opportunity to show hereafter.

" As to the distinguished individual whom we are now describing, he was, in the words of الملاحي " Al-maláhí, one of the most eminent among the literati of his time, and his productions in prose as well as " in verse attracted the notice and brought forth the applause of all the learned among his contemporaries. " He is further described by his nephew, Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Sa'íd, in the history which he published " of his family, under the title of الطالع السعيد في اخبار بني سعيد *At-táli'u-s-sa'íd fí akhbári-beni* " *Sa'íd,* ' happy constellation on the history of the Bení Sa'íd,' as having shown from his early youth " the greatest ardour in the acquisition of learning, and the most wonderful facility both in composing " verses and retaining by heart those of famous poets. His masters were ابن خفاجة Ibn Khafájah, " ابن الزقاق Ibnu-z-zakkák, and other eminent authors of his time. He had a most amiable disposition, " besides great tenderness of soul, and was very much attached to women, and especially to Hafsah, " the famous poetess who flourished in Granada in the sixth century of the Hijra, and whose adventures " we have related elsewhere.

" When the Sultán 'Abdu-l-múmen appointed his son Sídí Abú Sa'íd to be governor of Granada, " the reputation of Ahmed, who was then residing in this capital, was so great, owing to his immense " learning, and his beautiful compositions in prose and verse, which were in the mouth of every one, " that the governor did not hesitate to raise him to the rank of Wizír and intrust him with the " administration of public affairs; but this high distinction was the immediate cause of his untimely " and disastrous death, for, as we have related in our history of Granada, entitled اللمحة البدرية في " دولة النصرية 'the rays of the full moon on the history of the Bení Nasser' (No. 1771 in the " Esc. Lib.), the governor, Abú Sa'íd, having fallen passionately in love with Hafsah, the poetess, " she was persuaded to abandon her former lover, and to accept the gallantries of the governor, " who, from that moment, conceived a great dislike for Ahmed, deprived him of his honours and " dignities, and began to show him his enmity upon every occasion. However, Hafsah still continuing " to receive her old friend at her house, Ahmed said to her one day, ' What good canst thou expect " from that huge slave? (meaning the governor, who was of a dark olive complexion;) I can procure " thee a better one from the black slave-market for less than twenty dinárs.' These and similar " expressions which Ahmed was in the habit of uttering, to indulge in his satirical propensities, and " show his jealousy of the governor, having reached the ears of the latter, were the cause of his ruin, " as we shall presently see.

" The father and brothers of Ahmed, being all averse to the reigning dynasty of the Al-muwáhhedún " (Almohades), were the secret partisans of Ibn Mardanísh, who had, some time previously, raised the " standard of revolt in the eastern districts of Andalus. They, therefore, began to solicit Ahmed

" to join them in the undertaking. One day his brother Mohammed and his father 'Abdu-l-málik " came up to him and said, 'Thy verses, we are told, have been reported to the governor, who is " highly indignant; they will, we have no doubt, be the cause of thy death, and of the ruin of all " our family; and, by Allah! as long as this country is ruled by the people of that dynasty (meaning " the Almohades) there is no security for us. Better die in the attempt to establish our independence " than remain here exposed to continual danger under the paw of this lion.' It was then agreed " between them that Ahmed and his brother 'Abdu-r-rahmán should repair to the family castle and " there rise in favour of Ibn Mardanísh, in which undertaking they were to be assisted by their " relative حاتم Hátim Ibn Sa'íd: this being determined upon, they wrote to that chief, and soon " afterwards received an answer to their message, bidding them hasten to put their design into " execution. But, unluckily for the Bení Sa'íd, either the affair transpired, or they feared that it " would; certain it is, that, before the time fixed for the outbreak, 'Abdu-r-rahmán and Hátim fled " precipitately from Granada and took refuge in their castle, where, the enterprise meeting with " entire success, they made preparations to defend it against their enemies. Ahmed, however, left " Granada with his servants and slaves, but too late; he was closely pursued by the troops of the " governor, so that, being unable to reach the castle in time, he changed his direction, and entered " Malaga, where he hid himself, hoping to be able, when the storm had passed, to embark for Valencia " and join the army of Ibn Mardanísh. But all was in vain; he could not escape the searching eyes of " the governor, who thirsted for revenge; he was discovered, seized, and soon afterwards executed.

" His nephew, Abú-l-hasan 'Alí, says, 'I was told by Al-hasan Ibn دويرة Duwayrah, who was in " Malaga at the time of my uncle's arrest, that having obtained permission to visit him in prison he " went to the place of his confinement, and could not help shedding abundant tears when he saw him " with fetters on his hands and feet; and that my uncle, observing his grief, remarked to him, 'Are those " tears shed for my sake,—for me, who have enjoyed all the pleasures that this world could procure, who " have fed upon the breasts of fowls, drunk out of crystal cups, rode on the best steeds, slept upon the " softest couches, dressed in the finest silks and brocades, been lighted with tapers of the purest wax, and " received the embraces of the fairest maidens? Here am I in the hands of justice, waiting for the " punishment of offences which neither admit of excuse nor deserve pardon,—the necessary consequence " of fate.' To which Ibn Duwayrah replied, 'How am I not to shed tears over one who is so eloquent " as thou art, and of whom the world will soon be deprived?' He then left him, and saw him no more, " except on the cross in the hands of the executioner, (may God show him mercy!)'

" It is related by Hátim Ibn Sa'íd that he heard his relative, Ahmed, repeatedly say to Hafsah, " during their intimacy, 'by Allah! Hafsah, thou only wilt be the cause of my death.' He says, also, " that when the news of her lover's death was brought to her, she put on mourning clothes, showed " great sorrow, and reproached herself as having been the cause of his death. The execution of Ahmed " Ibn 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd happened in the month of Jumádí I. of the year five hundred and fifty-" nine of the Hijra (April, A.D. 1164)."

Abú Ja'far was an excellent poet; he wrote also several works in prose. Conde, who calls him *Abu Giafar Ben Said de Ania*, instead of Al-'ansí, has given a translation of some of his verses. See *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 358.

[108] خيمة *khaymah*, in Spanish *aljaima*, is 'a hut,' such as men to whom the care of vineyards is intrusted erect all over Spain to this day. It is built with branches of trees, in a conical shape, with a hole on the top for the passage of the smoke.

109 و يوم تجلي الافق فيه بعنبر ∴ من الغيم لذنا فيه باللهو و القنص
و قد بقيت فينا من الامس فضلة ∴ من السكر تغربنا بمنتهب الفرص
ركبنا له صبحاً و ليلاً و بعضنا ∴ اصلاً وان كلّ شدا جلجل رقص
و شهب بزاة قد رجنا بشهبها ∴ طيوريساغ اللهو إن شكت الغصص
و عن شفق تغري الصباح او الدجي ∴ إذا وثقت ما قد تحرك او قمص
و ملنا و قد نلنا من الصيد سولنا ∴ علي قنص اللذّات و البردُ قد قرص
بخيمة ناطور توسط عذبها ∴ جحيم به من كان عذّب قد خلص
ادرنا عليه مثلث ذهبية ∴ دعته الي الكري فلم يجب الرخص
فقُل لحريص ان تراني مقيدًا ∴ بخدمته لا يجعل البازِ في القفص
و ما كنتُ الا اطوع نفسي فهل اري ∴ مطيعاً لمن عن شاء وفخري قد نقص

Instead of القفص *al-kafas*, 'a cage,' (whence the Spanish *alcahaz*, which has the same meaning,) two of the copies read الفقص which is no doubt a mistake. These verses, as indeed most poetical extracts in this work, are given with considerable variety in the different copies. The expression which I have translated, perhaps too freely, by 'we were all broken down by the jolting trot of our steeds,' is ان شدا جلجل رقص which literally means 'through the violent shaking of the horses' bells.' *Joljol* is a bell, (in Spanish *cencerro*,) which it was then the fashion to attach under the neck of a horse or mule. It is still a universal custom throughout Spain.

110 Ahmed Ibn Faraj, a distinguished poet of the court of Al-hakem II., of Cordova, wrote a collection of poems under the title of الحدايق 'enclosed gardens,' which he is said to have dedicated to that monarch. (See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 480.) The work was unknown to Hájí Khalfah.

111 The name of زينب المربية Zeynab Al-murabiyyah does not occur in Ibnu-l-khattíb, but I find that of his sister حمدة Hamdah, who is said to have been the daughter of Zeyád the scribe المكتب and born at وادي الجمة Wáda-l-jummah, near the town of بادي Bádí, in the district of Guadix. That author does not give the year of her death, although he quotes some of her verses. Ibnu-l-abbár (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13) calls her حمزة Hamzah, which might be an error of the copyist, as both Al-makkarí, in all the copies, and Ibnu-l-khattíb, have Hamdah.

112 Casiri has given an account of this poetess translated from Ibnu Bashkúwál. See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 150.

113 عرفْنا النصر والفتح المبينا ∴ لسيدنا امير المومنينا
اذا كان الحديث عن المعالي ∴ رايتُ حديثكم فيه شجونا

'Abdu-l-múmen, the founder of the dynasty of the Almohades in Spain, pretended to be descended from 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib ; the poetess therefore means, "that while engaged in recording or studying traditions "respecting the family of the Prophet she could not help thinking of him."

114 I am not sure that the name of this poetess is to be pronounced *Ummu-l-hiná;* it might as well be spelt *Ummu-l-haná*. There is mention made in Ibnu-l-khattíb of a certain Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-hakk Ibn Abí-l-kásim Ibn عطية 'Attiyyah, who was secretary to Mohammed V., King of Granada, in seven hundred and fifty-six of the Hijra (A.D. 1355-6), but I am inclined to believe that the person here designated is no other than the famous Mohammedan divine 'Abdu-l-hakk Ibn Ghálib Ibn 'Attiyyah, who was governor of Almeria, and wrote a commentary on the Korán in several volumes, of which the eighth is preserved in the Esc. Lib., No. 1280. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 106.

115 This is no doubt the same poet whom Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 122) mentions under the name of *Abu Amer Ben Yanek Consul,* although what he means by *Consul* I cannot guess. His entire name was Abú 'A'mir Mohammed Ibn Yahya Ibn Khalífah Ibn Yank, or Ibn Yanek, for I find this last name differently written in the various copies of the *Kaláyid.* Ibn Khákán, who gives his life in his *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán,* places him among those poets who obtained the rank of Wizír. He died in five hundred and forty-seven of the Hijra (A.D. 1152-3).

116 يا هند هُل لك في زيارة قنية ∴ تبذّوا المحارم غير شرب السلسل
سمعوا البلابل قدّ شذّوا فتقرّوا ∴ نغمات عودك في الثقيل الاول

Instead of قنية I read فتية in A., and نبذوا instead of تبذوا The epitome also reads شدّوا فتذكروا نقمات instead of the reading I have adopted, and which I believe to be the most correct.

117 يا سيد احاز العلي عن سادة ∴ شمّ الانوف من الطراز الاول
حسْبي من الاسراع نحوك انني ∴ كُنت الجواب مع الرسول المُقبل

118 The patronymic Ash-shelbiyyah is derived from شلب *Shelb* or *Shilb* (Silves), a town in Portugal.

119 This is the same poetess mentioned at p. 45, and Note 82, p. 351.

120 The name of this poetess بهجة Bahjah (beauty) is written مهجة *Mohjah* in one of the copies. Casiri speaks of a poetess of this name, but he makes her a native of Granada.

CHAPTER IV.

The whole of chapters IV. and V. is, as the author himself states, transcribed from the *Kitábu-l-mugh'rib fí holi-l-maghreb*, by Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Sa'íd, the author mentioned at Note 1, p. 309. Their contents will be found highly interesting, as conveying an idea of the extent and genius of the Hispano-Arabic literature at the period of its greatest splendour. The former, especially, which contains the account of works and authors from the conquest of Spain up to the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah, is in itself invaluable, as it gives the titles of many interesting works, now, I fear, lost to the world, and which are in vain looked for in Hájí Khalfah and other Arabian bibliographers. The additions made by Ibnu Sa'íd have also their merit; but, unluckily, from the system of writing of the Arabs, the value of these two fragments is very much reduced; for if the scholar learns thereby the names of the authors, and the titles of many works, he is also left entirely in the dark as to their respective merits, or at least the judgments passed by the authors are not of a nature to remove the veil. He will have therefore to judge for himself whenever the opportunity presents itself. The first fragment, viz. the epistle of Ibnu-r-rabíb, and the answer by Ibn Hazm, are written in that florid and inflated style so much to the taste of the Arabs, and in a species of rhymed prose, similar to that of the Korán, or that of the *Makámát* of Harírí, and other rhetorical productions. Of the difficulties which such a style of composition—strewed as it is with the most extravagant metaphors—presents in translating, only Oriental scholars are able to judge. I shall, therefore, submit to their consideration such passages as are obscure, or differently written in the various copies of the work.

Respecting the writer of the epistle (Abú 'Alí-l-hasan Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibni-r-rabíb At-temímí, of Cairwán,) I have been unable to obtain any information whatever, having perused in vain the biographical dictionaries of authors and illustrious men of the epoch in which he lived. The epistle is addressed to Abú-l-mugheyrah 'Abdu-l-wahháb Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Hazm, whose life occurs in the *Mattmah*, by Al-fat'h, (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 53,) as well as in the *Jadh'watu-l-muktabis*, by Al-homaydí, (Ar. MS. in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon., *Hunt.* 464;) but, although addressed to him, the answer is not written by him, as I shall remark hereafter.

The title of the epistle of Ibn Hazm, written in answer to that of his antagonist, is not to be found in the copies of Hájí Khalfah which I have consulted, but I learn from Kheyr Ibn Khalífah, the author of a bibliographical work (Ar. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1667),—a production far more valuable than that of the former author in all that respects the literature of the Spanish Moslems,—that it was entitled رسالة في فضايل الاندلس وذكر رجالها 'an epistle on the excellences of Andalus, and an account of its illustrious men.'

[1] بُغَاث—The *bogáth*, according to Golius, is an inferior kind of vulture. It is thus described by Ad-demírí, in his *Hayyátu-l-haywán*: "*Bigáth* or *bogáth* (for it may be written both ways) is a grey-"coloured bird, somewhat larger than the رخمة *rakhmah* (pelican?); it is slow in its flight, is con-"sidered of bad omen, and never chased by sportsmen."

[2] A. reads وتتعين الخفاش—B. الحقاة—I have followed the former reading. According to Ad-demírí (*loco laudato*) the خُفَّاش *khoffásh* is a bird "which flies about at night, has a most "singular shape, very small eyes, and is very short-sighted."

[3] All the copies read يخاف إن صنف ان يعنف و إن الف ان يخالف ولا يوالف او تخطفه الطير او تهوي به الرياح في مكان سحيق meaning, "if they gather determination enough to appear before "the public, they consider themselves as if they had surmounted insuperable obstacles, or won a "victory, &c."

[4] That is to say, "he deserves to be compared in excellence with the vase of Ibn Mokbil." Instead of قدح ابن مقبل one of the copies reads فرح ابن مقلة which is a mistake. The meaning of this proverbial expression is thus explained in the *Thamar* or *Thimáru-l-kolúb fí-l-mudháf wa-l-mansúb*, 'the fruits of the hearts on the adjectives and patronymics,' by Ath-th'álebí, (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9558, fo. 32, *verso*,) a work whose merits and utility cannot be sufficiently extolled. (See a previous Note, p. 331.) "*Kadahu Ibn Mokbil* is a proverbial expression used to designate the height "of virtue and excellence. They say that 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, the fifth Khalif of the family of "Umeyyah, once wrote to his general, Al-hejáj, the following words: ان ما اري لك مثلا الا قدح "ابن مقبل 'certainly I know nothing that can be compared to thee but the vase of Ibn Mokbil.' "When Al-hejáj read the letter, he could not understand the meaning of this expression; so, not "knowing whether it contained a praise or an injury, he was much grieved to see that he could not "penetrate the real sense of the words. At last, having had a visit from Koteybah Ibn Moslem, who, as "is well known, was an eminent poet, and knew by heart the best poems of the ancients, he told him the "words of the Khalif, and asked him to explain them for him. No sooner had Koteybah heard the "words than he exclaimed, 'Good news, O Amír! a better praise of thee could not be uttered. Didst "thou never hear those verses of Ibn Mokbil, describing a vase of his?'

غدا و هو مجدول وراح كافة ∴ من المس و التقليب بالكف افطح
خروج من الغماء ان صك صكة ∴ يدا و العيون المستكفة تلمح

'It is always full and overflowing in the morning; in the evening it is made pregnant with the 'touching and the passing from hand to hand.

'In going out through the roof, if a slight stroke is stricken, the hands are immediately stretched 'out, and the eyes on the alert.'"

I have not met with this expression in Eastern writers, but it was very common among those of the West. Ibnu-l-khattíb, in describing a poet named Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibnu-l-haddád, of Guadix, says of him, وضح في طريق المعارف وضوح الصبح المتهلل و ضرب فيها بقدح ابن مقبل الي جلالة "He shone in the various paths of knowledge like the bright star of "morning; and he reached in them the utmost pitch of excellence, so as to deserve to be compared with "the vase of Ibn Mokbil." Ibn Khákán Al-kaysí, in his lives of illustrious men, says, speaking of the Wizír Ibn Zeydún, اخذ بقدح ابن مقبل في النظم والنثر "He made the vase of Ibn Mokbil "his own (he deserved to be compared with him) in prose and verse composition."

[5] Ibn Moklah is the surname of the celebrated Abú 'Alí Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Hasan, who was Wizír to Al-muktader-billah, the thirty-ninth Khalif of the house of 'Abbás. His life is in Ibn Khallekán,

Tyd. Ind., No. 708. Ibn Moklah passes among the Arabs for the inventor of the characters called *neskhi*, which he substituted for the *kúfí;* but De Sacy has lately shown that the characters given as an invention of Ibn Moklah were in use long before his time.

The penmanship of Ibn Moklah became proverbial among the Arabs. I find in the above-mentioned work, the *Thimáru-l-kolúb*, by Ath-th'álebí, fo. 35, the following passage, which I translate entirely, as it abounds with curious information. "The hand-writing of Ibn Moklah became proverbial among "the Arabs, owing to its being the finest and clearest hand that ever was known, and one the like of "which men had never seen in the past times. The sight of it almost produced the effects of enchant-"ment: so when the Arabs now want to praise a scribe's hand-writing, they call it Ibn Moklah's hand. "The Sultán Abú-l-kásim Ibn 'Abbád has said in verse—

خـط الـوزيـر بـن مـقـلـة ∴ بـسـتـان قـلـب و مـقـلـه

'The hand-writing of the Wizír Ibn Moklah was the garden of the heart and the fruit of its palm 'trees.'

"Another poet has said—

سقي الله عيشا مضي و انقض ∴ بلا رجعة ارتجيها و نقلة
كوجه الحبيب وقلب الاديب ∴ و شعر الوليد بخط ابن مقلة

'May God pour his mercy upon the tomb of this man, who has disappeared from among the 'living, and gone never to return again.

'Like the face of Habíb, the heart of Adíb, the verses of Walíd, or the hand-writing of Ibn 'Moklah.'

"This Ibn Moklah was the celebrated Abú 'Alí Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Al-hasan Ibn Moklah, who "wrote with his own hand a truce between the Moslems and the Greeks, which is to this day held in great "estimation by the infidels, and preserved by them in Constantinople in the great church called پيرروزنة "(Pir-Rúzanah ?) placing it in their most revered shrines, and taking it out in their processions, owing to the "admirable manner in which it is executed. Ibn Moklah filled the situation of Wizír under three successive "Khalifs of the house of 'Abbás, Al-muktader, Al-káhir, and Ar-rádhí, under whose reign he passed through "many vicissitudes of fortune, until, by the order of the latter, he had his hand cut off;—what a pity that "so precious a hand should have been severed from his body! It is related by Thábit Ibn Senán Ibn "Thábit-korrah, the physician, that on the day in which the sentence was executed upon Ibn Moklah, "and his hand cut off, he received an order from the Khalif Ar-rádhí to repair immediately to Ibn "Moklah's residence, and attend him until he should be cured. 'I went to him,' says Thábit, 'and "dressed his wound; he inquired about his son, Abú-l-huseyn, and I told him that he was safe, hearing "which he appeared to gather strength and seemed delighted. After this he began to cry and said to "me,—'With this hand have I served three Khalifs and written the Korán thrice over, and yet it has "been cut off as if it were that of a thief. Dost thou remember when thou didst say to me, Thou art on "the last stage of misery,—take courage, for pain is nearly over, and joy is at hand; well, thou seest to "what state I have been reduced since.' 'Never mind,' said I to him, 'this cannot last much longer, for "although it be true that thou hast been dealt with in such a manner as no man ever was treated before, "yet calamity, like many other things, has its end, and when it has risen to such a pitch it cannot "but abate its fury.' 'No, thou shalt not convince me,' replied Ibn Moklah; 'love has grasped "me in a manner that will lead me step by step to utter perdition, in the same manner as the

" disease consumes an old ass, until it gradually causes its death.' He then recited this verse of " a poet:

اذا مامات بعضك فابك بعضا ∴ فبعض الشي من بعض قريب

'If one of thy friends should happen to die thou mayest begin to lament another, for one thing 'always follows another.'

" And, by God! Ibn Moklah's prophecy was speedily fulfilled, for, after a while, having been restored " to the charge of Wizír, he entered into a correspondence with Hakem the Turk, who had been general " of the armies of Al-káhir. Intelligence of this having reached Ibn Ráyik, who then commanded the " troops of Ar-rádhí, he accused him of treason against his sovereign, and the Khalif ordered that " Ibn Moklah's left hand should be cut off, and some time afterwards that his tongue should be cut " also; he was, besides, cast into a dungeon, where he remained a long time. But Ibn Moklah's " misfortunes did not end here; he was, while in prison, attacked with dysentery, and not having " at hand any one to cure him or to take care of him, he was the most wretched and miserable of " men; so much so that I was told by the gaoler that, in order to drink, he was obliged to hold a " rope between his teeth and dip it in the waters of a well inside his prison, and then suck it with " his mouth; in one word, his sufferings were almost inexpressible until death came to relieve him " from his misfortunes. Ibn Moklah was first buried, like other criminals, in the court of the Sultán's " palace, close to the prison. After this his family implored the Khalif's permission to disinter his " body, and this being granted, his remains were removed to the dwelling of his son, Abú-l-huseyn, " and there buried; at last Ibn Moklah's widow, a freedwoman of the name of Dínariyyah, had him " again disinterred and removed to her residence in the palace of Um-habíb. But the most extraordinary " thing related of this Ibn Moklah is that, while in prison, after he had had his hand cut off, and before " he had been deprived of his tongue, he used to write to the Khalif Ar-rádhí, asking him for certain " sums of money he had promised him. His becoming lame of his right hand did not incapacitate Ibn " Moklah from discharging the duties of the Wizírate, for he continued to write most beautifully with his " left hand, or by using some other contrivance unknown to any one. The fact is, that a little before " his last misfortune his son received a letter from him admirably executed, and which, he said, had " been written either with the left hand, or with a *kalam* fixed on the stump of the right arm. It " has been remarked of Ibn Moklah that he served three dynasties, copied thrice the Korán, per- " formed three pilgrimages, and was buried the same number of times."

[6] Both the copies have كظام *kadhám*, which means 'the dent or groove at the upper end of the arrow, where the feathers are placed.' Dagfal Ibn Handhalah (see D'Herbelot, *loco laudato,*) was one of the companions of the Prophet, although he held no traditions from his mouth. He was killed at the battle of Doláb, by the people of 'Irák, during the Khalifate of Mu'awiyah, the first of the Bení Umeyyah. The origin of this proverbial expression, which, like the preceding and following, must have an historical allusion, is unknown to me.

[7] ويصير شجي في حلق ابي العيثل 'and he becomes a quinsey in the throat of Abú-l-'ameythal;' that is, 'he makes Abú-l-'ameythal uneasy by his competition or his talents.'

Abú-l-'ameythal (the father of the lion) is the surname of 'Abdullah Ibn خليد Khalíd, (not خليب as in *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 351,) who was a *mauli* of Ja'far, son of Suleymán, son of Alí, son of 'Abdullah,

son of 'Abbás, the uncle of the Prophet, and who died in two hundred and forty (A. D. 854-5). He was a famous orator and poet, and wrote several works on grammar. See Hájí Khalfah, *voc.* التشابه

[8] The title of Ibn 'Abdi-r-rabbihi's work being عقد *'ikd,* that is, 'necklaces,' (see Note 38, p. 338,) there is a *jeu de mots* upon that word. In addition to what I have there said of this poet, I find in Ibnu Bashkúwál that he left a collection of poems. That biographer adds that he died from the result of a paralytic fit, with which he was struck some years before, on the 18th of Jumáda I., A. H. three hundred and twenty-eight (March, A. D. 940).

[9] This is the same individual mentioned in p. 37, and Note 31, p. 334. His life, as well as that of his brother, Al-mugheyrah, occurs in the *Mattmah,* by Ibn Khákán, fols. 53 and 144.

[10] I have already observed (see p. 445) that although both the individual to whom the epistle is addressed, and he who answers it, bear the name of Ibn or Ibnu Hazm, they are two distinct persons, and must not be confounded. They must have been brothers, since both are said to have been sons of Ahmed, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Sa'íd, son of Hazm. The text says, الي رجل اندلسي لم يعينه باسمه و لا ذكره نسبه 'To an Andalusian whose name and genealogy are nowhere mentioned.' According to Ibnu Bashkúwál it was considered a breach of politeness not to mention in the body of the letter the name, titles, and genealogy of the person to whom it was addressed, as happens to be the case in the present.

[11] حصن البونت *Hisn-Al-bónt* or *Alpont* is, I believe, the town of Alpuente, in the province of Valencia. Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 207) and Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 618) have called this governor 'Abdullah Ibn Kásim, no doubt by mistake. They likewise read incorrectly the name of the place, which the former writes *Hosn-Albenta,* and the latter *Hasn-Albont.*

[12] لا توازي قومه نومته و لا ينال حضره هونياه By this extraordinary metaphor the author means, no doubt, 'all those who prefer passing their nights in study and meditation to sleeping undisturbed by their neighbours, and watched by their family.'

[13] نار حُباحب 'The fire of Hobahib' (read Hobáhib). Ad-demírí, in his *Hayátu-l-haywán,* gives thus the origin of this proverbial expression. "The word *Hobáhib,* which is formed like *hoddáhid* (lap-"wing), is the name for an insect with two tails, like the fly, and which, at night, appears illumined as if "it were fire; hence the Arabic proverb اضعف من نار الحباحب 'weaker than the fire of the "*Hobáhib.*' Others say that *Hobáhib* was the name of a man from the tribe of Mohárib Ibn Hafsah, "who was celebrated for his avarice, and who kept always a very bad fire for fear people should come to "ask him for hospitality." My copy adds here وباني رضوي من مهيع القصد الاجب

[14] The word جند *jend,* plural اجناد *ajnád,* which I have translated by 'armies or bodies of Arabs,' is frequently used by the historians of Arabian Spain. It means, properly, the six divisions of Arabs who settled in Syria after the conquest, and which, in after times, furnished also settlers to Spain.

[15] Ans Ibn Málik was one of the Ansárí, or inhabitants of Medína who protected Mohammed against the people of Mekka at the time of his flight. See D'Herb. voc. *Ans ben Malek.*

[16] M. Reinaud, in his *Invasions des Sarrazins en France*, Paris, 1830,—an excellent work,—says that Ummu-l-harám was the wife of Mu'awiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán, who, in the year twenty-seven of the Hijra (A. D. 647-8), landed in Cyprus with a considerable force, and took that island from the Greeks. But I think the learned writer is mistaken, for I find in a biographical dictionary of the companions of the Prophet, entitled كتاب التجريد في اسماء الصحابة 'clear exposition of the names of the companions,' by Adh-dhahebí, (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7359, fo. 140,) that Ummu-l-harám was the wife of 'Obádah, as here stated, not of Mu'awiyah, who did not command the expedition in person.

[17] The expedition here alluded to took place soon after Suleymán's accession to the throne. It was commanded by Moslemah Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, brother to that Khalif. Huseyn Ad-diyárbekrí, the author of a voluminous history of the Khalifs in my possession, (see Preface,) says that it took place in the year 99, and that it was composed of land and sea forces, in which case Moslemah may have commanded the army, while Hobeyrah had the management of the fleet. A son of this general, named Abú-l-moththanna Ibn Hobeyrah, was governor of 'Irák under Yezíd, son of 'Abdu-l-malek. See Al-makín, *apud* Erpen. pp. 78, 79, and Abú-l-faraj, *Hist. Dynast.* p. 205.

[18] It is not easy to reconcile the accounts of this writer with those of Abú-l-fedá and the generality of the Arabian historians. According to them the island of Cyprus was not entirely subdued until the days of Hárún Ar-rashíd, A. H. 190. (See Al-makín, *apud* Erpen. p. 119.) However, as the word *fataha*, 'to enter, to invade, to conquer,' is so vague in its signification, the author may allude to the expedition against that island made during the Khalifate of 'Othmán; but even then this could not be the first maritime war carried on by the Arabs, since Ibnu Khaldún (see App. B., p. xxxiv.) speaks of another directed against the coast of 'Omán thirteen years before. Neither was Spain the second country invaded by sea, since shortly after their invasion of Africa the Arabs began to scour the neighbouring seas, and naval expeditions against Sicily, Mallorca, and other islands in the Mediterranean, were crowned with success even long before the conquest of Spain was dreamt of. (See App. B. and D.) The historian Nuwayrí mentions no less than four expeditions against Sicily, all of which started from the ports of Africa. The first, which was commanded by 'Abdullah Ibn Kays Al-fezárí, took place as early as the year forty-five (A. D. 665). See the text of that historian published by Gregorio Rosario, Panormo, 1790.

The island of Sicily had likewise for many years been the theatre of these piratical incursions, when it was finally subdued under Ziyádatu-llah Ibn Ibráhím, Sultán of the dynasty of the Bení Aghlab, in the year two hundred and twelve of the Hijra (A. D. 827-8), as here stated. (See also Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 391.) Asad Ibnu-l-forát Ibn Senán, who commanded the fleet sent against Sicily, is the *Benfrat-el-Cadi* mentioned by Cardonne, *Hist. de l' Afrique*, vol. ii. p. 22. The word صاحب which I have rendered by 'friend,' may also mean 'disciple.'

[19] A fuller account of this popular insurrection, which is differently related by the Arabian writers, will be given in the second volume of this translation. *Betroh*, thus written, بطروح is the modern town of *Los Pedroches*, at some distance from Cordova. *Fahsu-l-bolútt*, that is, 'the field of the oak trees,' (bolútt, in Spanish *bellota*, being the *quercus glandifera*,) was also a district in the neighbourhood

of that city. I find it mentioned by Idrísí, *Clim.* iv. *sect.* 1; Ibn Haukal, (Ar. MS. in the Bodl. Lib. Oxford, No. 963,) p. 26; Ibn Khordádbah, *ibid.*, No. 993.

[20] The island of Crete was retaken from the Arabs by Nicephorus Phocas, a general of Romanus.

[21] *Sarra men rai* is the name of a city built close to Baghdád by Al-mu'atassem, the eighth Khalif of the family of 'Abbás. It was also called Askár. (See Al-makín, *Hist. Sar. apud* Erpen. p. 143; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 221; D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Asker* and *Serramenra.*) According to Ash-sherif Al-gharnátti, the commentator on the *Makssúrah* of Házem (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9579, fo. 166), the name of this city ought to be written thus, سُرَّ مَن رَأى *Sorra-men-rái* (I am the delight of those who look at me), which he says is a corruption of سامرا Sámará, its ancient name.

[22] Instead of المعرب *Al-mu'arrib*, or *Al-mu'rib*, (not *Al-mu'arrab*, as in the translation,) my copy and the epitome read المغرب *Al-mughrib*. I find the same reading in the printed copy of Hájí Khalfah, vol. ii. p. 161, but there can be no doubt that the real title of this work is as given at p. 318: المعرب في اخبار محاسن اهل المغرب (the speaker according to the rules of the Arabic grammar on the narrative of the brilliant actions of the inhabitants of the West). The author is the same Abú Yahya Alyasa' or Alisa' mentioned at p. 20, and Note 28, p. 318.

[23] Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf الورّاق Al-warrák (the paper-merchant) wrote for the use and by command of Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, Sultán of Cordova, several works on the history and geography of Africa. (See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 460.) He died, according to Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 137), in the year three hundred and sixty-three of the Hijra (A.D. 973-4). Both Al-bekrí and the author of the *Karttás* repeatedly quote him, but he must not be confounded with another African historian also called Al-warrák (Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek), who flourished towards the middle of the sixth century of the Hijra, and is frequently mentioned by the last-named historian.

[24] Tahart or تيهرت Tahort, which Al-bekrí writes *Tihart*, is a town of that part of Africa called central Maghreb. (See *Edrisii Africa*, by Hartmann, p. 201.) According to Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. ii. pp. 314 and 319) it was at one time the capital of a kingdom founded in those districts by the Beni Rostam.

[25] Kheyr Ibn Khalífah, in his *Bib. Repert.*, speaks of a history of Sijilmásah or Sijilmesa, written by this Al-warrák.

[26] Nakúr, or rather Nokór, is the name of a considerable district and city in Africa. The latter, according to Al-bekrí, fo. 68, owed its foundation to Sa'íd Ibn Idrís Ibn Sáleh.

[27] بصرة Basrah, a city in Africa. It is often called *Basrah-l-maghreb* (Basrah of the West), to distinguish it from Basrah in Mesopotamia.

[28] The entire name of this theologian is 'Abdullah Ibn Mes'úd Ibn Gháfil Al-hadhelí. He was one of the ancestors of the celebrated historian Mes'údí. See D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or.* voc. *Massoud.*

[29] Khodheyfah, or more correctly Hodheyfah, is a very common name among the ancient Arabs. I find no less than seven companions of the Prophet in Adh-dhahebí's dictionary whose first name was Hodheyfah.

[30] B. reads 'Omar instead of 'Ammár. I do not find his name in Adh-dhahebí's dictionary, but Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 516,) gives the life of a famous theologian, whom I believe to have been the grandson of this companion, since his name was Abú 'Amru Ibnu-l-'ala Ibn 'Ammár Ibni-l-'orbán Ibn 'Abdillah Ibni-l-hassín At-temímí Al-máziní.

[31] Hishám Ibn 'A'mir Ibn Umeyyah Al-ansárí An-najárí was one of the companions of the Prophet; he inhabited Basrah, and died a martyr, fighting against the infidels. See Adh-dhahebí, *loco laudato*, fo. 176.

[32] Abú Bekrah (the father of the maid) is the surname of Nafi' Ibnu-l-hareth Ibn Kaladah Ath-thakefí. He is classed by Adh-dhahebí (*loco laudato*, fo. 186,) among the companions who inhabited Basrah.

[33] By Hejáz the Arabian geographers designate that part of Arabia where the city of Mekka stands. Tehámeh is the district north of Mekka; Táyef a city of Arabia, anciently called Wah. See Abú-l-fedá, *Arab. Desc.* p. 64.

[34] Adh-dhahebí (*loco laudato*, fo. 94, *verso*,) mentions a companion of the Prophet who died at Damascus, and whose names and surname were Abú-l-walíd 'Ibádah Ibnu-s-sámah Ibn Kays Ibn Asram Ibn Fehr Ibn Tha'lebah Ibn Kaukal Al-khazrejí. This seems to be the same individual mentioned at p. 173 as the husband of Ummu-l-harám, the authoress of the tradition related by Ibn Hazm; only that his first name is here written *'Ibádah* instead of *'Obádah*.

[35] Both copies and the epitome in the British Museum read here ابو الدرحا as I have written it, but I am inclined to believe that it is a mistake, and that دردآ Abú-d-dardá or dordá, which is the surname of عويمر 'Ouimar, son of Málik, who belonged to the tribe of the Bení-l-hareth, sons of Al-khazrej, ought to be substituted; if so, he was one of the companions of the Prophet, and practised as a physician at Damascus. See Adh-dhahebí, *loco laudato*, fo. 189, *verso*.

[36] According to Adh-dhahebí (fo. 176) the entire name of this companion was Abú 'Obeydah 'A'mir Ibn 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-jerráh. He was Amín or inspector of Damascus. I ought to observe that the word امين Amín has been preserved in the Spanish *Alamin*.

[37] No less than fourteen companions of the Prophet, whose first name was مُعَاذ Mo'ádh, are to be found in Adh-dhahebí's dictionary. One among the rest is represented as having inhabited Damascus for some time. His name was Mo'ádh Ibn Jebel Ibn 'Amr Ibn Aus Al-khazrejí As-solamí. See *ib.*, fo. 162, *verso*.

[38] Mu'awiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán was closely related to the Prophet; he was the first Khalif of the house of Umeyyah.

[39] Adh-dhahebí (*loco laudato*, fo. 47, *verso*,) gives a short notice of this companion, whose patronymic he writes thus العدوي instead of العبدوي as in Al-makkarí. He was one of the bravest Arabian warriors in the first wars of Islám, and he often attacked alone one thousand cavaliers. He was killed during the siege of Misr, though some pretend that it was not till after the taking of that city, where he was appointed by 'Amru Ibnu-l'áss to the command of his guards; others again believe him to be the same individual who was killed by Radhúyah, who mistook him for 'Amru.

[40] 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbás was the cousin of the Prophet, and one of the most esteemed traditionists. See D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Abbas.*

[41] 'Abdullah Ibn Zobeyr, who was proclaimed Khalif at Mekka, after the death of Huseyn, in the year 62 of the Hijra. See D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Abdalla,* and Al-makin, *apud* Erpen. fo. 55.

[42] The author no doubt intends Abú 'Alí Isma'íl Ibnu-l-kásim Al-kálí, the rhetorician, who was a native of Baghdád, but settled in Cordova during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 136, c. 1, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 430.

[43] There are various authors of this name: Casiri (vol. ii. p. 88) gives, after Ibnu-l-khattíb, the life of an eminent physician and poet called Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Háni; but unless he be mistaken in the place of his birth, which he says was Cordova, and the year of his death, which he places in A.H. 576, he cannot be the person here intended. My MS. of Ibnu-l-khattíb mentions another illustrious author and poet whose name was also Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Háni, who was a native of Ceuta, but as it does not state either the year of his birth or that of his death, I am not sure that he is the person intended. Ibn Khákán, in his *Mattmah* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 168), gives likewise the life of a poet named Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Háni. Lastly, Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 679,) treats of a celebrated poet called Abú-l-hasan or Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Háni Al-azdí Al-andalusí, born in Seville in A.H. three hundred and twenty-four (A.D. 935-6), and killed near the city of Barca, in Africa, in three hundred and sixty-two (A.D. 972-3), whom he styles the *Mutennabí* of Andalus. But the same difficulty exists with respect to this as to the two other individuals I have mentioned; they were born in Spain, and the author alludes unquestionably to one born out of it, but who, like Isma'íl Al-kálí, settled in that country. Be this as it may, Ibn Hazm, the author of the present epistle, having died in 456, it is probable that the individual here alluded to flourished at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century of the Hijra.

[44] Ahmed Ibn Abí Táhir was, according to Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Tárikh Baghdád*), the first author who wrote the history of Baghdád, his native city. It was continued after his death by Abú Bekr Ahmed Ibn 'Alí, known by the surname of Al-khattíb Al-baghdádí, whose life is to be found in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 33). The life of Ahmed Ibn Abí Táhir, who was a doctor of the Sháf'í sect, and bore the patronymic of Al-isfaráyní, (from إسفرآين *Isfaráyn*, a city in Khorassán, not far from Nisábúr,) is likewise in Ibn Khallekán. (See *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 25.) He was born in A.H. 344, and died, according to Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 27), in 406. His surname was Abú Hámid.

[45] Neither of these names occurs in Hájí Khalfah under the head of the historians of Basrah. However, the life of the former, whose entire name was Abú Zeyd 'Omar Ibn شبة Shabah An-namarí, occurs in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 502), where he is said to have been the author of several historical works. Ibn Shabah died in two hundred and sixty-two (A.D. 875-6).

[46] Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Táríkh Kúfah*) mentions two histories of this city; one by Abu-l-huseyn Mohammed Ibn Ja'far Ibn Mohammed, known by the surname of Ibnu-n-najjár (the son of the carpenter), a native of Kúfah, who died in four hundred and two of the Hijra (A.D. 1011-12); the other by Ibn Mujálid. Instead of شيبة Sheybah, B. reads شبة Shabah. If so, he is the same author mentioned a few lines higher up, and Note 45. His entire name was Abú Zeyd 'Omar Ibn Shabah.

[47] Hamzah Ibnu-l-hasan Al-isfaháni wrote, according to Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Táríkh Isfahán*), a history of Isfahán in several volumes. He wrote also a critique on the poems of Al-mutennabí, which is in the Esc. Lib. See Cat., No. 470.

[48] I believe this author to be the same whom Hájí Khalfah calls Ibráhím Ibn Mohammed Al-maussilí (from Mossul), and who is reported to have written a history of that city.

[49] Several Spanish Arabs, bearing the name of Ibn عبدون 'Abdún, are mentioned in Casiri's *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*, but none seem to answer the description of the present. One is Mohammed Ibn 'Abdún, who, with a body of sailors and emigrants, is said to have built, in A.H. 297, the city of Wahrán (Oran), in Africa, (vol. ii. p. 2, and Al-bekrí, fo. 37.) Another is the famous historian and poet 'Abdu-l-majíd Abú Mohammed Ibn 'Abdún, the author of a poem on the history of the Beni Al-afttas, kings of Badajoz. (See a preceding note, p. 370.) Al-makkari (Book v. fo. 116) mentions another individual named Mohammed Ibn 'Abdún Al-'adúwí Al-jebelí, an inhabitant of Cordova, who left Spain for the East in the year three hundred and thirty-seven (A.D. 947-8), and who, having become an excellent astronomer and physician, was appointed director of an hospital at Fustát. He returned to Spain in three hundred and sixty (A.D. 970-1), and was much distinguished by Al-hakem II. and his son Hishám II. But these three individuals being natives of Spain, the observation cannot be applied to them.

[50] Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Radd*) mentions several critiques upon the doctrines of Abú Hanífah, written by doctors of other sects, but I find none attributed to Ahmed Ibn Tálib At-temímí Al-cairwání.

[51] Ibn عبدوس 'Abdús, I believe, is Sa'íd Ibn 'Abdús, whose death Conde records in the month of Safar of the year one hundred and eighty (April or May, A.D. 796), on his return from the East, whither he had travelled in order to take lessons from Málik Ibn Ans and other distinguished theologians. His birth-place is not stated there, but if he be the same individual here mentioned, he must have been a foreigner, although residing in Cordova.

[52] Mohammed Ibn Sahnún. A work on jurisprudence by this author is preserved in the Esc. Lib., No. 1157.

[53] ازهد الناس في عالم اهله 'men are always circumspect or shy about their own family.'

[54] لا يفقد حرمته النبي الا في بلاده Compare St. Luke, chap. iv. verse 24.

[55] الاوس Al-aus and الخزرج Al-khazraj, or rather Al-khazrej, were two principal stocks of Arabs.

[56] The words which, for want of a more suitable expression, I have translated by a periphrasis, are these: حمي الوطيس علي اليابس a proverbial expression, which, literally translated, means, 'the oven of war burnt fiercely against the presumptuous.' It might be very well translated into Spanish by '*Aqui fué Troya*.'

[57] The text says, و طوق مالم يتقلد 'they will put round his neck a collar which was not his.'

[58] There are in Hájí Khalfah several works on this subject, all bearing the title of الهداية *Hedáyeh* (direction); but I have found none attributed to 'Isa Ibn Dínár, who, according to Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 269), was a distinguished theologian, and died universally regretted at Toledo in two hundred and twelve (A.D. 827).

[59] By Ibn Kásim the author means, no doubt, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the author of the *Madúnah,* and one of the most beloved disciples of Málik Ibn Ans. His life is in Ibn Khallekán, *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 370.

[60] كتاب الصلاة — كتاب البيوع and كتاب الجدار في الاقضياء are the titles of these works, neither of which is mentioned by Hájí Khalfah.

[61] موطا *Mowattá,* which other writers spell *Mautta,* is the title of a collection of Mohammedan law by the celebrated theologian Málik Ibn Ans, the founder of one of the four sects considered orthodox by the Mohammedans, which was introduced into Spain and Africa in the third century of the Hijra. See a preceding note, p. 403, as well as D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Maoutha, Malek,* &c.

[62] Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Baki Ibn مخلد Mokhlid is slightly mentioned by Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 316). Al-makkarí (Part I. Book v. fo. 101, *verso,*) gives his life in the following terms: "Baki Ibn Mokhlid Ibn Yezíd Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán, of Cordova, one of the most famous traditionists of "his age, is well known as the author of several collections of traditional sayings and commentaries on "the Korán. He travelled to the East, where he met several learned men, and profited by their lessons, "collecting traditions from the mouths of no less than two hundred and thirty-four doctors. He was "born in Ramadhán of two hundred and one (April, A.D. 817), and died in Jumáda II., two hundred "and seventy-two (A.D. 885-6). He was excessively abstinent and modest, and scrupulous in per-"forming his religious duties."

[63] According to Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 409), 'Abdu-r-razzák Ibn Hamám As-san'ání was one of the principal theologians and traditionists of his time. He died in two hundred and eleven (A.D. 826-7).

[64] Instead of Sa'íd, A. reads 'Alí. I have chosen the former reading, because I believe this author to be no other than Abú-l-hasan Sa'íd Ibn Mansúr Ibn Mes'úd, a famous grammarian and traditionist,

whose life occurs in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 263). I ought, however, to observe that the names and surnames of this writer, as they are given in my MS. copy of the said work, differ from the printed index. He is called Abú-l-hasan Sa'íd Ibn Mansúr Ibn Mes'úd المجاشعي Al-mujáshi'í, known by the surname of الاخفش الاوسط *Al-ahkfashu-l-ausatt*, to distinguish him from two other writers also called *Al-akhfash.*

65 Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Ah'kám*) mentions several works entitled *Ah'kámu-l-korán*, among which four are written by Spanish Arabs, although none of them has the surname of Abú Umeyyah, or the patronymic Al-hijárí (from Guadalaxara).

66 Abú-l-hakem Mundhir Ibn Sa'íd Al-bolútti (*i. e.* from *Fahsu-l-bolútt*, a district close to Cordova, see p. 450, Note 19,) is the same individual whom Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 103,) erroneously designates by the name of *Monderus Ben Said Al-thouthí*, and whom he calls *Præfectus aulæ Abdelrahmuni.* On his return from the East, whither he had gone in A. H. three hundred and thirty (A. D. 941-2), Mundhir was appointed to the place of Kádí-l-kodá, or supreme judge of Cordova, by 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., who distinguished him much, owing to his profound learning and great piety. Al-makkarí, (Part I. Book v. fo. 97, *verso*,) who mentions him among the illustrious Moslems who left Andalus to travel in the East, gives some interesting details on the life of this theologian. I shall transcribe the passage elsewhere. The title of his work الابانة من حقايق اصول الديانة is not to be found in Hájí Khalfah.

67 Abú Suleymán Dáúd Ibn 'Alí Ibn Khalf, of Isfahán, surnamed Adh-dháherí, because the doctrines he preached were ظاهر *dháher, i. e.* consisting rather in external than internal practices, was the founder of a sect, after him called the Dháherites. He was born in Kúfah in two hundred and two (A. D. 817-8), but resided most of his life in Baghdád, where he died in two hundred and seventy (A. D. 883-4). His life is in Ibn Khallekán, *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 222. See also Pococke, *Sp. Hist. Arab.* pp. 29 and 299; D'Herb. voc. *Daud, Thaherites*, &c.; and De Sacy, *Chrest. Ar.* tom. ii. p. 423.

68 Abú Mohammed Kásim Ibn Asbagh Ibn Yúsuf Ibn ناسيج Nássíj, or more correctly نسيج Nasíj, was a native of Baena, a town in the neighbourhood of Cordova, but passed most of his life in the latter city, where he died in three hundred and forty (A. D. 951-2). His life occurs in Adh-dhobí (Arab. MS. Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13), together with a catalogue of his works, in which are the titles of this and following compositions. See also Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 139); and Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 427-41, *et seq.*), who fixed also his death in 340, but, with his usual carelessness, makes him, a few pages after (p. 486), the preceptor of Hishám II., who was not born until 366. A more ample notice of this writer will be given in the second volume of this translation.

69 By Isma'íl the author no doubt means the famous traditionist Abú Is'hák Isma'íl Ibn Is'hák Al-azdí, of Basrah, who, according to Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Ah'kám*), wrote a work on the same subject.

70 كتاب المجتني—instead of which two of the MSS. read المحتني—and the epitome المجني The meaning is nearly the same; neither of these titles, however, occurs in Hájí Khalfah, but I find in

the Bibliographical Index by Kheyr, that the author alluded to wrote a work entitled المجتني *Al-mujtaní*, which he dedicated to Al-hakem II., Sultán of Cordova, and which contained two thousand four hundred and ninety traditional stories, divided into four parts.

I have already made several quotations from the Bibliographical Index of Kheyr Ibn Khalífah (Arab. MS. in Bib. Esc., No. 1667), and as, in the course of these notes, I shall often have occasion to refer to it, I shall give a description of it, together with a short analysis of its contents. It is a middle-sized folio of about four hundred and seventy pages, written in a large, clear, Maghrebí or Western hand, in the year seven hundred and twelve of the Hijra (A. D. 1313). The author, who flourished in the sixth century of the Hijra, is there said to be Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Kheyr Ibn 'Omar Ibn Khalífah Al-andalusí. The contents of the work are totally dissimilar to those announced by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 71). I recollect that when I first read the description of a manuscript said to contain an account of seventy public libraries existing in the Peninsula under the Arabs, with catalogues, too, of the works preserved in them, and the names of the authors, &c., I felt a great desire to see it, and made a journey to the Escurial on purpose. The reader may judge of my disappointment when, upon inspection, I found it to be a species of memorandum book, in which the author had put down the titles of all the works he had read in the various departments of science, and the names of the masters to whom he was indebted for his learning. At the end of the volume the writer names those doctors who had given him permission to quote from their works or their conversations, الذين اجازوا له لفظاً او خطاً and classes them under the towns of their birth in the following order: 1. those of Seville; 2. those of Cordova; 3. Almeria; 4. Malaga; 5. Algesiras; and, 6. Granada, and other cities of Mohammedan Spain. I need not say that there is not the least mention made in the work—which I perused entirely, taking numerous extracts, from which I now borrow—of any public library existing in Spain, and yet, on Casiri's authority, this mis-statement has not only been repeated over and over again, but has frequently been adduced as a convincing proof of the high intellectual culture of the Arabs! As it is, the production is a very valuable one, since it gives us the titles as well as the names of the authors of books which are sought for in vain in Hájí Khalfah's Bibliographical Dictionary, a work particularly deficient in the literature of the Spanish Arabs.

[71] المنتقي في الاحاديث is, according to Hájí Khalfah, the title of a voluminous work on traditions by Mujiddu-d-dín Ibn Yatímah, whose death is not recorded in the copy in the British Museum.

[72] كتاب في فضايل قريش و كنانة Hájí Khalfah gives no account of this work, which I find mentioned by Kheyr, *loco laudato*.

[73] The transcription of the Korán is subject among the Arabs to certain rules, defined by a particular branch of literature, which they call *'ilmu-n-násikh wa-l-mansúkh*, (the science of the copy and the original.)

[74] Abú 'Omar (*al.* 'Amru) Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr is the same author mentioned at p. 37. His life may be read in Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 148), as well as in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 847), and in the *Mattmah* by Al-fat'h, fo. 147. He died at Xativa in four hundred and sixty-three (A. D. 1069). Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Istidhkár* and *Tamhíd*) gives the titles of these two works, which, together with many others, chiefly on religious subjects, are preserved in the Escurial Library. (See Catalogue, Nos. 1699, 1803.) A collection of proverbs and remarkable sentences, made by him, is also in the Library of the British Museum, No. 9564.

[75] كتاب الكافي في الفقه و مذهب مالك و اصحابه These two works appear to be the same which Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 138,) calls *Pandectæ Hispanæ* and *Historia Scholarum*, translating اصحاب by 'disciples,' instead of 'companions' of the Prophet.

[76] Náfi' Ibn Abí Na'ím and Abú 'Amrú Ibn Abí-l-'olá are two out of the seven founders of as many schools of reading the Korán. Their lives occur in Ibn Khallekán. See *Tyd. Ind.*, Nos. 516 and 767.

[77] Hájí Khalfah, who mentions this work in his Bibliographical Dictionary, (voc. *Bahjah,*) describes it as being only one volume, divided into one hundred and twenty-four chapters: he adds that it was very much esteemed and consulted for law-suits. A copy of the work is in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon., No. 106.

[78] كتاب جامع العلم و فضله و ما ينبغي في روايته—B. adds بيان after جامع

[79] The life of this author occurs in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 358). See also Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 142), who made a patronymic of the word *Háfedh*, which means 'traditionist,' and called him Abú-l-walíd *Alhaphedi;* and De Sacy, (*Chrest. Ar.* vol. ii. p. 325,) who read *Ebn-alfardh* instead of Ibnu-l-faradhí.

[80] The title of the work here attributed to Ibnu-l-faradhí is المختلف والموتلف في اسماء الرجال which, literally translated, means 'what is different and alike in the names of men.' The science of writing and spelling proper names forms among the Arabs the subject of a particular study, being a branch of the science of genealogy. See Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Mokhtalef* and *Mutalef.*

[81] Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 412,) gives the life of a famous theologian and traditionist named Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-ghání Ibn Sa'íd Al-azdí, but instead of Basrah he makes him a native of Cairo, where he died in four hundred and nine (A. D. 1018-9). He is there said to have composed various works on genealogy, and among others that which is here mentioned.

[82] There are various authors with this name in Casiri's *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* One is Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd Al-bájí (vol. i. p. 466, c. 1), another Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Ibráhím Al-hamdání (vol. ii. p. 140, c. 1), a third is Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd Ibn 'Alí Al-kanttarí (vol. ii. p. 141, c. 1), and, lastly, the same author mentions (vol. ii. p. 134, c. 2,) a writer called Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Hazm Al-montejilí. One of the ancestors of Ibnu Sa'íd was also called Ahmed. Perhaps he is the person here alluded to, but as both Ahmed and Sa'íd are very common names among the Arabs, and the patronymic is wanting, it is impossible to decide which of the above-mentioned individuals the allusion regards. Hájí Khalfah does not give the title of this work among the histories of the companions of the Prophet.

[83] Kheyr Ibn Khalífah, in his Bibliographical Index, mentions a work on traditions by Abú Ja'far Mohammed Ibn 'Amrú Ibn Músa Al-'okaylí, entitled الضعفآ و المتروكين من المحدثين 'a treatise on those among the traditionists who erred or were guilty of omissions in their writings.'

[84] Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 661,) speaks of an author, a native of Spain, named Abú Bekr Al-hasan Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mufarraj Al-kaysí, who wrote several works on jurisprudence and traditions.

[85] Abú Sa'íd Al-hasan Ibn Abí-l-hasan Yesár Al-basrí, one of the most illustrious among the tábi's, and a famous traditionist. See his life in Ibn Khallekán, *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 155.

86 Instead of فقه one of the MSS. reads الفقه الواضحة 'manifest or clear jurisprudence.'

87 I cannot decide how this word الزهري is to be written, for it may be pointed so as to be pronounced Az-zaharí, Az-zahrí, or Az-zohrí; neither can I decide whose patronymic it is, unless it be that of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'íd Az-zahrí, of Basrah, who was a scribe to Wákedí, the author of the *Fotúhu-sh-shám* (conquests of Syria), and died in Basrah in two hundred and thirty (A.D. 844-5). His life is to be read in Ibn Khallekán, *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 656.

88 Hájí Khalfah mentions a work on the sect of Málik, entitled *Al-'otbiyyah*, from the name of its author Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Al-'otbí, of Cordova, whose death he places, by mistake, in A.H. six hundred and fifty-four (A.D. 1256-7). According to Al-homaydí (*loco laudato*, fo. 17,) the author of that work was Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Ibn 'Otbah Ibn Hamíd Ibn 'Otbah Al-'otbí, so named because his ancestor had been a *mauli* of 'Otbah Ibn Abí Sufyán. He died in Spain in A.H. 255, and not in 654, as the manuscript copy of Hájí Khalfah in the British Museum states.

89 B. presents a different reading. These two sentences are blended into one, so as to make only one of these two individuals; the patronymic المكوي is also written thus, الكوي which is decidedly an error. On Ibnu-l-makúwí, who died in four hundred and twenty (A.D. 1029-30), after having filled situations of high trust at the court of Al-hakem II., of Cordova, the reader may consult Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 140, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 475. His names and surnames are much disfigured by the latter writer, who calls him *Ahmed Ben Abdelmelik Ben Haxem Mocui.*

90 Abú Merwán 'Obeydullah Al-mu'ayttí is mentioned by Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 475. He flourished in Cordova under the Khalif Al-hakem II., to whom he is said to have dedicated a work on the science of government. Al-homaydí (*loco laudato*, fo. 107,) speaks of this author, but adds no information to that contained in this epistle, which he consulted and used.

91 الباهر في الفروع 'the shining or the conspicuous on special jurisprudence' is the title of a work by the Sheikh and Imám Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Ahmed, known by the surname of Ibnu-l-haddád (the son of the smith), of the sect of Sháfi', who, according to Hájí Khalfah, died in A.H. three hundred and forty-five (A.D. 956-7). The life of this theologian, who is described as a native of Cairo, (not of Basrah,) and of the tribe of Kanánah, may be read in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 584). See also Al-homaydí, *loco laudato*, fo. 107.

92 كتاب المنتخب—The author is Mohammed Ibn Yahya Ibn 'Omar Ibn لُبَابة Lubábah, who, according to Ibnu Bashkúwál, flourished under 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., Sultán of Cordova. See also Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 492. Al-homaydí (*loco laudato*, fo. 33, *verso*,) places his death in Alexandria, A.H. three hundred and thirty or thirty-one (A.D. 942-3).

93 صاحب الوثايق may mean either the author of the work entitled *Al-watháyik*, a title common to several works quoted by Hájí Khalfah, or the holder of some judicial situation to revise contracts and wills, for the word وثيقة has this meaning. Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his history of Granada, speaks of a theologian named Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Al-kashtálí, who had also the surname of *Sáhibu-l-watháyik*.

[94] This is the same author alluded to at p. 177, and Note 42, p. 453. I find in the list of his works given by Adh-dhobí (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13,) the title of this and the following treatise.

[95] Hájí Khalfah, under the above titles, mentions several treatises of this kind, but the present, by Al-kálí, was unknown to him.

[96] كتاب الافعال و تصريفها 'the book of verbs and their inflexions,' says Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Af'ál*). The life of Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, of Cordova, surnamed Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah (the son of the Gothic woman), owing to his claiming descent from the royal blood of the Goths, has been given by Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 661); Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 251); and the author of the *Bigh'yatu-l-multamis* (Ar. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13). Al-makkarí, too, speaks of him in several parts of the present work, and gives some interesting details on his ancestors. I shall therefore defer till the translation of those passages the account of his life and writings.

[97] The name of this continuator of the grammatical work of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah is mentioned in Kheyr Ibn Khalífah (*loco laudato*), who calls him Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Taríf. He died in A.H. four hundred (A.D. 1009-10). See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 145, c. 1.

[98] That is, *Jezáyir Bení Mazganah* (the islands of the Bení Mazganah), the Arabic name for Algiers. Mujáhid was king of that city, as well as of the Balearic Islands, Denia, Murcia, and other sea-ports on the coasts of Spain.

[99] This is the same anecdote which has already been given, with some slight variation, at p. 35.

[100] العالم في اللغة 'the book of the learned on the language,' says Hájí Khalfah, "is a work "in one hundred volumes by Ahmed Ibn Ibán Ibn Seyid, the Andalusian, who died in three hundred and "eighty-three of the Hijra" (A. D. 993-4). The word عَالَم thus pointed might mean 'the world and its creatures,' not an inadequate title for a dictionary of nouns. This is the same individual mentioned at page 147, and the work appears to be the same, although with a different title.

[101] Instead of 'parts' I ought perhaps to have translated 'volumes,' as the word used in B. is مجلد which admits of no other interpretation. I have, however, followed the reading in A., which has سفر 'books,' as I know by experience that many works, composed merely of two or three volumes, divided into books, are often swollen by Hájí Khalfah and other bibliographers into works of twenty or thirty *majlad* (volumes). For instance, the present work, the writing of which is compressed into a thick folio volume, is stated by Hájí Khalfah to be composed of fifteen.

[102] كتاب النوادر 'the book of novelties or rarities of the speech,' by Abú 'Alí-l-kálí. See a preceding note, p. 453.

[103] الكامل في اللغة 'the book of complement on language' is the title of a work by Abú-l-'abbás (not Ibnu-l-'abbás as in the text) Mohammed Ibn Yezíd, known by the surname of Al-mubarrad, a native

of Basrah, who, according to Hájí Khalfah, died in two hundred and seventy (A.D. 883-4). Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 647,) places his death in 285 or 286. (See also D'Herb. voc. *Mobarrad.*) Hájí Khalfah mentions a commentary on this work by Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf Al-mázini, of Saragossa, who died in five hundred and thirty-seven (A.D. 1142-3).

104 صاعد Sá'íd Ibnu-l-hasan Ar-raba'í, of Baghdád, surnamed Abú-l-'olá, was a famous rhetorician who entered Spain from the East, and settled in Cordova in three hundred and eighty (A.D. 990-1), during the Khalifate of Hishám II. (See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 525.) Besides the work here attributed to him, he wrote many others on grammar and general literature. He died, according to Hájí Khalfah, (voc. *Fossúss,*) in four hundred and seventeen (A.D. 1026). His life may be read in Ibn Khallekán, *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 300.

105 Al-kesáyí is the patronymic of a famous grammarian and theologian, whose entire name, according to Ibn Khallekán, (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 444,) was Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Hamzah Ibn 'Abdillah Al-asadí, of Kúfah. He died in one hundred and eighty-nine (A.D. 804-5). See D'Herb. voc. *Kessai.*

106 I believe this Al-haufí to be no other than Abú-l-kásim Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Khalf Al-ishbílí (from Seville), who died in five hundred and eighty-eight (A.D. 1192-3), and who, according to Hájí Khalfah, (voc. *Faráyidh,*) wrote an excellent treatise on the law of inheritance, which may be found in the Escurial Library. See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc. Cat.* vol. i. p. 459.

107 العالم و المتعلم 'the instructor and the instructed.' The author of this work is the same Ibnu-s-sídah, of Badajoz, previously mentioned at p. 335, Note 33. The work was unknown to Hájí Khalfah.

108 الاخفش *Al-akhfash,* which means 'the purblind,' is the surname of three famous grammarians: Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Suleymán Ibnu-l-fadhl, surnamed الاصغر *Al-asghar,* 'junior;' Abú-l-khattáb 'Abdu-l-hamíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-majíd, who was called الاكبر *Al-akbar,* 'senior;' and Abú-l-hasan Sa'íd, surnamed الاوسط 'the middle one.' (See a preceding note, p. 455.) 'Alí, who is the one here intended, died in A.H. 315 or 316, at Baghdád. Hájí Khalfah, however, places his death in 310.

109 ابن مآء السّمآء—literally 'the son of the rain-water.' This strange surname is that of 'Obádah Ibn 'Abdillah, a poet of the court of Al-muyad Hishám, Sultán of Cordova, who, according to Al-homaydí, (*loco laudato,* fo. 125,) wrote a biography of Andalusian poets. "There are," adds that writer, "various opinions upon the year and circumstances of his death; some saying that he was still alive in "the month of Safar, four hundred and twenty-one (February or March, A.D. 1030), while others state "that he died in Malaga, in Shawwál, four hundred and nineteen (A.D. 1028), from sorrow, because "some thieves had stolen from him one hundred dinárs." Al-homaydí does not say why 'Obádah was surnamed *Ibn Mái-s-samá,* but I suppose it was his mother's name. Rain-water is often used by poets metaphorically for beauty, and I find in Ibnu-l-athír (the author of an historical work in my possession) that Al-mundhir, one of the ancient kings of Arabia, was also called *Ibn Mái-s-samá,* owing to his mother's great beauty. As-sama'ání, in his *Nozhatu-l-albáb* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7351, fo. 52), mentions an Arab named 'A'mir Ibn Harithah Ibn 'Amri-l-kays, who had the same surname.

He is also mentioned by Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 508; and by Al-fat'h, in his *Mattmah* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9580, fo. 174).

110 The same author mentioned at Note 110, p. 443.

111 This work by Abú Mohammed Ibn Dáúd, though from the pen of an Eastern writer, was unknown to the Arabian bibliographer.

112 This author is slightly mentioned in Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 513). His entire name was 'Abdillah Ibn Abú-l-kásim Ibráhím Ibn Mohammed Ibn Zakariyyá Ibn Mufarraj Ibn Yahya Ibn Zeyyád Ibn Kháled Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abí Wakáss Az-zaharí Al-iflílí, or rather Al-ifleylí, from إفليلة Ifleylah, a town in Syria; he was born in Shawwál, A.H. three hundred and fifty-two (October, A.D. 963), and died at Cordova, in Dhí-l-ka'dah, four hundred and forty-one (April, A.D. 1050). He was Wizír to the Sultán Mohammed Al-muktafí-billah, and was considered one of the most eminent grammarians and rhetoricians of his day. His life may be read in Ibnu Bashkúwál (Ar. MS. in the Nat. Lib., Mad., Gg. 29), as well as in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 13). See also Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Díwán Al-mutennabí.*

113 This seems to be the same work mentioned by Hájí Khalfah under the title شذور في الإكسير 'particles of pure gold,' and which he attributes to Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Músa, the physician, whose death he places in A.H. five hundred (A.D. 1106-7). This date however by no means agrees with that given by Al-makkarí.

114 'Omar Ibn Hafssún was a celebrated brigand, who resisted for a length of time all the power of the Cordovan Khalifs. Full mention will be made of him in the second volume of this translation.

115 Instead of الجليقي I read الحليقي—but there can be no doubt that the former is intended. Al-jalíkí, a patronymic from Jalíkiyyah (Galicia), was given to 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Merwán, who, having revolted and gone over to the Christians, lived some time in that country.

116 The Tojibites التجيبيون were a noble and powerful family, who settled in Spain soon after the conquest. One of them (Al-mundhir Ibn Yahya At-tojibí) made himself master of Saragossa.

117 The Bení At-táwáil, الطوايل or as written in B. طويل Tawíl, are occasionally mentioned by Al-bekrí (Brit. Mus., No. 9574, fo. 48-62, *et passim*), as well as by Marmol, *Descrip. de Africa,* vol. ii. lib. IV. fo. 165. They were a powerful family, residing in a castle in the province of Cairwán, called the castle of Bení Towáyl or Tawíl. A branch of this family settled in Spain as early as the third century of the Hijra.

118 I have said elsewhere that Rayah was either the name of a city built by the Arabs of Ray, close to Malaga, and which afterwards formed part of that city, or the city of Malaga itself, so denominated by the people who settled in it. There was, however, another town called Raya, close to Archidona. See Note 102, p. 356.

[119] Is'hák Ibn Salémah Ibn Is'hák Al-leythí, who is here said to be the author of a history of Rayah, is the same individual mentioned by Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 136.

[120] The work here alluded to is in the Bodl. Lib. at Oxford, No. cxxvii; it is entitled تاريخ قضاة قرطبة 'the history of the Kádís of Cordova,' and abounds with precious information of all kinds, but especially relating to the prosperous times of the Cordovan empire. According to Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 133), the author was still living in A.H. three hundred and thirty (A.D. 941-2). A fuller description of this MS. will be given in the notes to the second volume.

[121] The want of a patronymic to this name renders it somewhat difficult to know who is this writer on genealogy. I believe that Ar-rází is meant, for his name and surname are the same; besides, I learn from Al-homaydí (*loco laudato*, fo. 18,) that he left a work in five large volumes on the genealogy of the principal Arabian families who settled in Andalus.

[122] Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 139, c. 1,) mentions this author, whom he calls *Cassemus Ben Ahmad Ben Sabeghus*. Al-makkarí treats likewise of him in the fifth part of the second book, fo. 102. The two works here attributed to Ibn Asbagh are in the catalogue of his writings given by Adh-dhobí (Ar. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 14); one is كتاب الانساب (the book of the genealogies), in five volumes, which Casiri translated by *Etymologiarum Libri* v.; the other is said to be a history of Spain under the Sultáns of the family of Umeyyah. See also Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Ansáb*.

[123] اصحاب المعقال means 'feudal lords of castles.' Traces of a feudal system similar to that of the Christians are early discernible in the history of the Spanish Arabs.

[124] I have observed that whenever Hájí Khalfah and the rest of the Arabian bibliographers give the number of volumes of which a work is composed they generally use the word نحو (which means 'nearly or thereabout') before the number intended. The reason of this expression I imagine to be, that as the number of volumes in an Arabic work depends in some manner upon the scribe or his employer, it would be impossible to fix the number of volumes which a work ought to have. In the present case all the copies read في نحو عشر مجلد 'in nearly ten volumes;' but as this work of Ibnu Hayyán has been said elsewhere to have been composed of fifty or sixty volumes (see p. 147), I rather think the statement must be an erroneous one. However, the history here mentioned might not be the *Al-matín*, but the *Muktabis*, which is really composed of ten volumes. See above, pp. 338, 425.

Ibnu Hayyán, as I have stated elsewhere (Note 3, p. 310), died in A.H. four hundred and sixty-nine (A.D. 1076). He was therefore a contemporary of Ibn Hazm, whose death happened in four hundred and fifty-six (A.D. 1064).

[125] Among the works which Ibnu-l-khattíb, in the preface to his history of Granada, speaks of having consulted, is a history of Elvira, by Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-wáhed Al-gháfekí Al-malámí, or Al-malláhí, (for in my copy this word is not distinctly written.) Conde (vol. i. p. 480,) speaks likewise of a Granadian poet, named Ibn 'Isa Al-ghosání, who, on his return from the East, whither he had gone for the purpose of performing pilgrimage, presented to Al-hakem Al-mus-

tanser-billah a geographical and topographical description of the districts about Elvira. A little lower he is called Mohammed Ibn 'Isa.

126 Instead of مطالع both B. and the epitome read الطوالع which would change the sense; as the latter word means 'horoscopes.'

127 كتاب الباثر العامرية The word ماثر máthir means a commendable action, which leaves a trace, and is handed down to posterity. The title of this work does not occur in Hájí Khalfah. The author is Huseyn Ibn عاصم 'A'ssim, a writer of the fifth century of the Hijra. He left a son, named 'Abdullah, who was a distinguished poet, and whose life occurs in the *Yatímatu-d-dahr*, by Ath-tha'álebí (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9578, fo. 118).

128 Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Tabakát*) mentions a work on the classes or divisions of Kátibs, by Mohammed Ibn Músa, known by the surname of الافشين Al-ifshín, whose death he places in three hundred and seven (A.D. 919-20).

129 Sakn or Saken Ibn Sa'íd is mentioned in Casiri's extracts (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 137). He was a native of Seville, and died, according to Adh-dhobí, in four hundred and fifty-seven (A.D. 1065). He must have been a contemporary of the author of the epistle.

130 This Ahmed Ibn Faraj appears to be the same author mentioned in Note 110, p. 443.

131 The life of this physician has been given separately in the Appendix A., p. xxiii., translated from Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah.

132 Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 136,) gives the life of this physician in the following terms:—
"Yahya Ibn Is'hák was an eminent and experienced physician; he excelled above all in the knowledge of "medicines, and was a very skilful practitioner. He lived under 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., who appointed him "his Wizír, and gave him important commands in the army and the provinces, naming him to the "government of Badajoz, which he filled for some time. He was very much beloved by that Sultán, "who placed great confidence in him. Yahya compiled a very excellent work on the simples used in "medicine, divided into five books, in which he treated the subject according to the doctrines of the "Greek physicians, which were then generally in use among the Christians; for although Yahya himself "was a Moslem, his father Is'hák had been a Christian."

133 Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 136, *verso*,) gives the life of this physician, who flourished under Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, and was employed in his household. Al-homaydí, (Ar. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., fo. 21,) who mentions him also, says that he died after A.H. 400.

134 Both the copies read عياس 'Iyás, instead of 'Abbás, his true name. "Abú-l-kásim Khalf Ibn "'Abbás Az-zahráwí," says Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, (*loco laudato*, fo. 139, *verso*,) "was a distinguished "physician, deeply versed in botany and natural history. Among the many works which he composed "on the sciences connected with his profession, the most esteemed is that generally known by the title of

"*Kitábu-z-zahráwí*, from his name. He wrote also on the same subject a work entitled كتاب التصريف "لمن عجز عن التاليف في الطب" (the substitute for those who cannot procure works on medicine), "which is not only the most voluminous of all those he composed, but passes likewise for the best." Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 136) places the death of Abú-l-kásim in A.H. five hundred (A.D. 1106-7); but it must be a mistake, since the author of this epistle died in 456. Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Tasrif*) says that he died after four hundred of the Hijra, which is more likely. This is the same Arabian physician so well known during the middle ages by the names of Abbucasis, Bucasis Galaf, Azaragi, &c., and whose works were translated into Latin, and published in 1519 and 1532.

135 According to Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 137), 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Is'hák Ibnu-l-haytham was one of the most eminent Andalusian physicians. He lived at Cordova, where he gained great celebrity by his practice as well as by his writings. He flourished towards the end of the fourth century of the Hijra, and wrote several works on the science of medicine and the knowledge of simples. In the list of these his biographer gives the title of one called كتاب السمايم 'the book of poisonous substances.'

136 If I am not mistaken this is the name of a mathematician who flourished during the reign of Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, and whom Conde erroneously calls *Said Ben Fahlon*. See *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 485.

137 الجمّار *Al-jammár* means 'the maker or dealer in جمر *jamr* (matches).' The word وقيدة *wakídah*, which means the same thing, has been preserved in the Spanish *alguaquida*.

138 I have given elsewhere (p. 427) an account of this Moslemah Al-majeritti, that is, from *Majoritum*, the ancient name of Madrid. Two of his works,—one upon alchymy, the other on the manner of constructing and using astrolabes,—are preserved in the Esc. Lib. (See Cat. vol. i. Nos. 947 and 972.) According to Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, who gives his life, Moslemah died in Cordova in three hundred and ninety-eight (A.D. 1007-8). He is further said to have translated the Almagest of Ptolemy into Arabic, and to have constructed some excellent astronomical tables.

139 Ibnu-s-samah or Ibnu Samh is the same individual mentioned at p. 149, and p. 428, Note 40, under the name of Abú-l-kásim Asbagh Ibnu-s-samh.

140 Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 446) mentions an eminent theologian named Khalíl Ibn Is'hák, who was the author of numerous works on theology and jurisprudence, since the Escurial Library contains no less than ten volumes of his different compositions. But unless Casiri made a mistake he cannot be the same author here alluded to, since that author places his death in seven hundred and seventy-six of the Hijra (A.D. 1374-5), that is, nearly two centuries after the death of Ibn Hazm.

I have already observed elsewhere (see p. 445) that the author of this epistle, Ibn Hazm, professed the religious opinions of the Dháherites. It is thus stated by Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 459), who says that in his youth he followed the sect of Sháfi', but that he afterwards left it, and adopted that of Adh-dháherí. It would even appear that Ibn Hazm, whose reputation for learning and virtue seems to have been very great among his countrymen, made some reform or innovation, since

As-sekhawí, in the life of Makrízí, mentions a religious sect founded by him. See Hamaker, *Spec. Cod. MSS. Or. Bib. Lugd. Bat.* p. 206, *et seq.*

141 By Diyár-Rabí', or 'the habitations of Rabí',' is understood that part of ancient Mesopotamia where the Arabs of the tribe of Rabí' settled after the conquest of Syria. *Diyár-Modhar* and *Diyár-Bekr* have analogous meanings.

142 ابو الاجرب جعونة بن الصبة I have been unable to obtain information on this poet, who, besides, is not mentioned in what precedes, as the meaning of the sentence seems to purport.

143 This is Abú Hazrah Jerír Ibn 'Attiyyah At-temímí, who, according to Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 129), died in A.H. eighty (A.D. 699-700); or, according to others, in one hundred and eleven (A.D. 729-30).

144 Al-farazdák is the surname of the celebrated poet, Abú Firás Hamám Ibn Ghálib, whose life is in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 788). See also D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or.* voc. *Farzadak.*

145 Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Abí-l-hasan Isma'íl Al-bokhárí, a famous traditionist, who died in A.H. two hundred and fifty-six (A.D. 870). His life occurs in Ibn Khallekán, (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 580,) and Abú-l-fedá, (*An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 237, *et seq.*) See also D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Bokhari.*

146 Abú-l-huseyn Moslem Ibnu-l-hejáj (not Ibnu-l-hejjáj as in the text) Al-kusheyrí An-nisabúrí is the author of the famous collection of traditions entitled *As-sahíh.* He died in two hundred and sixty-one (A.D. 874-5). See D'Herbelot, voc. *Sahih;* Ibn Khallekán, *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 727; and Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 342.

147 Abú Dáúd Suleymán Ibnu-l-ash'ath اشعث Al-azdí As-sejestání, the author of a compilation on traditions and Mohammedan law, entitled *As-sonon.* He passes among Eastern people as one of their most eminent theologians. He did at Baghdád in two hundred and seventy-five (A.D. 888-9). See Ibn Khallekán, *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 271.

148 Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ahmed Ibn Sho'ayb Ibn 'Alí Ibn Sonán An-nisáyí died, according to Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 28), in Mekka, A.H. three hundred and three (A.D. 915-6). My MS. copy of Ibn Khallekán gives the name of this theologian differently from the printed editions, where he is called Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ahmed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Bahr An-nisáyí.

149 قفال Al-kaffál, or 'the locksmith,' is, I believe, the surname of a famous theologian, of the sect of Sháfi', whose entire name, according to Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 586), was Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Isma'íl Ash-sháshí, (from Shásh, a town of Transoxania,) who died in three hundred and sixty-six (A.D. 976-7). It may also be the surname of Yúsuf Ibn 'Alí Al-kodhá'í, who was called *Al-kaffál,* owing to his father's trade.

150 This name is differently written in the different copies. A. has ابن عقيل الفريابي — B. ابن عقل الغريابي

151 Abú-l-hasan ابن المفلس Ibnu-l-muf'lis is mentioned in Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 408.

152 Al-khallál means 'the vinegar merchant,' from خل *khall,* 'vinegar.' Ibn Khallekán (No. 857, *Tyd. Ind.*) gives the life of a theologian and poet named Abú-l-hejáj Yúsuf Ibn Mohammed Ibnu-l-khallál.

153 Ad-deybájí, or Ad-díbájí. I find in the *Nozhatu-l-albáb* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7351, fo. 64,) that there were two authors surnamed *Díbájah:* Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Amrú Ibn 'Omar Ibn 'Affán, and Mohammed Ibn Ja'far Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Alí.

154 روايم—I have been unable to obtain any information about this author.

155 I have already observed that Al-makkarí transcribed the present epistle from the work of Ibnu Sa'íd, who copied it from Ibn Hazm and embodied it in his own, for the purpose of writing the following addition. It is therefore not to be wondered at that various inconsistencies are remarked now and then, which must necessarily be the mistakes of copyists. For instance: Mohammed Ibn 'Omar Ibn Lubábeh, or Lubábah, is here mentioned as if previous notice had been taken of him, whereas it is Mohammed Ibn Yahya Ibn 'Omar Ibn Lubábah, the author of the *Muntekhab,* who has been named at p. 183. However, this Mohammed Ibn 'Omar, who, according to Al-homaydí (*loco laudato,* fo. 33), was the uncle of the Mohammed Ibn Yahya Ibn Lubábah mentioned at p. 183, died in three hundred and fourteen of the Hijra (A. D. 926-7). Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 582,) gives the life of a celebrated theologian named Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakam Al-misrí, who died in two hundred and sixty-eight (A.D. 881-2). He seems to be the same Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakem who wrote a history of Egypt, and who is so often quoted by Makrízí, As-soyúttí, and other Egyptian historians.

156 I have already observed (Note 52, p. 454) that there is in the Escurial Library a work on jurisprudence by a certain Mohammed Ibn Sahnún. I doubt, however, his being the same person here alluded to, since it is evident that Ibn Hazm speaks of a writer born out of Spain, and who most likely never resided in it.

157 The same observation may be applied to this individual, whom my copy calls simply Ibn 'Abdús, as in p. 178; but who in all others is named Mohammed Ibn 'Abdús. If such be the case, he cannot be identified as I imagined (Note 51, p. 454) with the Sa'íd Ibn 'Abdús mentioned by Conde. Al-homaydí, in his *Jadh'watu-l-muktabis,* gives the life of a writer whose name was Mohammed Ibn 'Abdús Ibn Masarrah; but without further proof it is almost impossible to decide in such matters.

158 No previous mention has been made of this poet, as the author seems to imply, whence I conclude that in transcribing this epistle from Ibnu Sa'íd's work, Al-makkarí missed or suppressed some passage. The patronymic الرياحي Ar-riyáhí is common to Spanish Arabs. Ibn Khallekán, in the life of Abú Bekr Mohammed Az-zubeydí (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 662), mentions a certain 'Abdullah Ar-riyáhí, who was an eminent grammarian, and the master of that celebrated author.

159 All the copies of the present work that I have consulted, except the epitome, read دواج *Dawáj,*

instead of دراج *Darráj*, which is undoubtedly meant here. This is the same author mentioned at p. 39, and Note 48, p. 342.

160 شاكر I recollect meeting with the life of this poet, and some extracts from his verses, in a MS. entitled شمس الدلالات 'bright sun of the arguments,' (Esc. Lib., No. 358,) but, having made no extracts from the work, I am unable to fix the country of his birth or the age in which he lived. I have looked in vain for his name in the lives of the Arabian poets by Ath-tha'álebí (Brit. Mus., No. 9578), or in the *Kitábu-l-aghání* by Abú-l-faraj (*ib.*, Nos. 7339 and 9657).

161 All the copies read بشر Bashar, but I think بشار Bashshár is to be substituted; if so, it is the name of an Arabian poet whom Abú-l-faraj, in his *Kitábu-l-aghání* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7339, fo. 207), as well as Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 112), mentions. His entire name was Abú Mo'ad Bashshár Ibn برد Burd Ibn يرجوخ Yorjúkh Al-'okaylí. He flourished in the third century of the Hijra.

162 This is Abú Temám Habíb Ibn Aus Ibn Kahttán, the author of the celebrated collection of poems entitled *Hamásah*.

163 Ja'far Ibn 'Othmán Al-mus'hafí was Hájib to Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah and to his son Hishám II. He held that office until he was deprived of his life and honours by the usurper Al-mansúr. See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 491, *et passim.*

164 Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Merwán. I find no mention of this poet in any of the biographical dictionaries I have consulted; but Ibnu-l-kádhí, in his *Ráyidu-l-falláh* (Ar. MS. in my possession), mentions a distinguished poet of that name who was a member of the royal family of Umeyyah.

165 Agh'lab Ibn Sho'ayb. The life of this author, together with extracts from his poems, occurs in Ath-tha'álebí, (*Yatímatu-d-dahri*, No. 9578, Brit. Mus., fo. 107.)

166 The entire name of this poet is Mohammed Ibn Mutref Ibn شخيص Shakhíss, or Shokhayss. His life occurs in Al-homaydí, *loco laudato*, fo. 39, as well as in Ath-tha'álebí, *loco laudato*, fo. 107. Al-homaydí says that he died before A. H. four hundred (A.D. 1009-10).

167 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd المرادي Al-murádí or Al-moredí is also among the poets mentioned by Ath-tha'álebí, *loco laudato*, fo. 114. He was originally from the town of مراد Murád or Mored, in the neighbourhood of Cordova.

168 Instead of Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn شهيد Shoheyd, A. reads Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn سعيد Sa'íd, but I have followed the former reading, as such are the name and surname of a distinguished poet, who, according to Al-homaydí (*loco laudato*, fo. 125), was an intimate friend of Ibn Hazm, the writer of this epistle, and who, according to Casiri, (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 135,) and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 624,) died in Cordova in A. H. four hundred and twenty-six (A.D. 1034). There

is another poet of the same name and surname, who was a Wizír to 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., but as he died before Ibn Hazm wrote, he cannot be the person here intended. If Ibnu Sa'íd be meant, he is the great uncle of the historian 'Alí Ibn Sa'íd. See a preceding note, p. 440.

This passage is interesting, as it shows the precise date of this epistle. Ibn Hazm was born in 384; he died in 456 or 460. If he wrote this epistle before the death of Ibn Shoheyd, which happened in 426, he must have been about forty at the time.

169 'Amru and Sahl are considered by the Arabs two of their most eloquent poets. The entire name of the former, who was the author of one of the *Mu'allakát*, or suspended poems, is 'Amru Ibn Kolthúm. See D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Mallacat* and *Amrou*. Sahl is another celebrated poet.

170 Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn مسرّة Masarrah is not mentioned in Ath-tha'álebí, but Al-fat'h, in the *Mattmah*, fo. 146, gives a short notice of him. His surname was Abú 'Abdillah; he appears to have been a relative of the individual named Note 157, p. 467.

CHAPTER V.

1 The title of this work is not in Hájí Khalfah, but Ibn Khallekán, who gives the life of the author (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 747), mentions it among his works, and says that it was composed of seventy parts. It was entitled كتاب الهداية الي بلوغ النهاية في معاني القران الكريم و تفسيره 'the direction to reach the end of perfection in the reading and interpretation of the obscure passages of the Korán.' The author is Abú Mohammed مكي Mekkí (A. writes بكي) Ibn Abí Tálib Hamúsh Al-kaysí, whose death Hájí Khalfah repeatedly places in 437 instead of 374 (the real year of his death), I suppose by an inversion of numbers. See Hájí Khalfah, *loco laudato*, voc. *Tabsírah, Tasmiah, Ahkámu-l-korán*, &c.

2 The eighth volume of a commentary on the Korán by this theologian is preserved in the Esc. Lib., No. 1275. His entire name, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb in his Biographical Dictionary of illustrious Granadians, was Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-hakk Ibn Ghálib Ibn 'Attiyyah. He was born in A.H. 481, and died in 546. He was the son of Abú Bekr Ibn 'Attiyyah, of Valencia, a famous poet, whose life Ibn Khákán gives in his *Kaláyid*.

3 A. reads كتاب التسير—evidently a mistake for التيسير Both these works (that of Mekkí and that of 'Amrú) on the various schools of reading the Korán are in the Bodl. Lib., Oxon., Nos. 73 and 244. A copy of the latter is also in the Lib. of the Brit. Mus., No. 9485.

Abú 'Amrú 'Othmán Ibn Sa'íd Ibn 'Othmán Ad-dání was born in Cordova in three hundred and seventy-one (A.D. 981-2), and died at Denia in four hundred and forty-four (A.D. 1052-3). See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 504, and vol. ii. pp. 110, 138, 145.

4 Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 460) has given a short notice of a writer whose entire name was Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Mohammed Ibnu-l-kattán, ابن قطان who is said to have flourished in the

eighth century of the Hijra, and to have been the author of a work on jurisprudence, preserved in the Esc. Lib., No. 1090. If he be the same as the one here mentioned there must be an error in the date, for Ibnu Sa'íd, himself a writer of the seventh century, could not mention one who had lived in the eighth.

[5] Read *Sonan* instead of *Sonnan*. There are various collections of traditional law with this title, the most famous of which are those of Al-beyhakí, An-nisáyí, and Abú Dáúd. See Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Sonon*, and D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Sonon, Beyhaki*, &c.

[6] By 'Abdu-l-hakk, from Seville, the author means Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-hakk Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-azdí, of Seville, who, according to Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Ahkám*), died in five hundred and eighty-four (A.D. 1186-7), and composed all the works here alluded to.

[7] According to Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Juma'*), Al-homaydí, the author here mentioned, and of whom I shall treat hereafter, wrote a theological work, a species of parallel between the two famous collections of Mohammedan traditions, entitled *Sahíh*.

[8] كتاب التذهيب literally means 'the book of gilding,' from ذهّب *dhahhaba*, 'to gild.' Metaphorically employed it means 'the book which shows the rules to lead an exemplary life.' The title of this work is not in Hájí Khalfah; but Kheyr Ibn Khalífah mentions its author among the writers on traditions whose works were known to him. His name was Abú Bekr Ahmed Ibn Hárún Ibn Rúh البردعي Al-barda'í, not البرادعي *Al-barádá'í*, as in text.

[9] Hájí Khalfah makes no mention whatever of this work by the celebrated Ibn Roshd (Averroes), nor is it to be found in the list of his writings given by Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah.

[10] كتاب المنتقي في الحديث is the title of this work as given by Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Al-mowattá*). Its author is Abú-l-walíd Suleymán Ibn Khalf Al-bájí, a native of Badajoz, but who lived in Cordova, where he died in four hundred and seventy-four (A.D. 1081-2). Two of his works, both on jurisprudence, are preserved in the Esc. Lib., Nos. 1191 and 1911. See Casiri, (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. pp. 469, 524,) who, misled by the patronymics, *Bájí* and *Al-kortobí*, made two distinct persons of one. See also Ibn Khallekán, who, in the life of Abú-l-walíd, (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 274,) gives the titles of this and other of his works.

[11] كتاب العواصم و القواصم The title of this work is not in Hájí Khalfah, but Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 8) mentions it among the works which he consulted for his history. عواصم *Awássim*, the plural of عاصم or عاصمة means 'small particles of any thing;' قواصم *kawássim*, also the plural of قاصم or قاصمة means 'the fragments of any thing broken.' From the description here given of this work the contents seem to me to differ much from what Casiri announced (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 16, c. 2,) when he translated the above title by *Bibliotheca Arabica*, nor can I guess what led so eminent a scholar as Hamaker to translate the same by *Chronicon rerum in provinciis hostico vicinis gestarum.* (See *Spec. Cod. MSS. Or. Bib. Acad. Lugd. Bat.* p. 31.) The entire name of the author is

Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-'arabí. There is in the Escurial Library a work on jurisprudence, (No. 1509,) which Casiri states to have been written by this author himself in Jerusalem in four hundred and eighty-eight (A.D. 1095). There is also in the British Museum, No. 9486, part of another work by him, entitled احكام القران 'Statutes of the Korán,' and transcribed at Hamah in A.H. 763. The life of Ibnu-l-'arabí is in Ibn Khallekán (No. 637, *Tyd. Ind.*), who places his death in 543. Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Mowattá*) gives it three years later, but it may be an error of the copyist. See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 16, and D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Ebn Arabi.*

12 كتاب مختصار المستصفي The *Mustsafí* is a work on jurisprudence, by Abú Hámid Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Al-ghazálí. (See Appendix A., p. xv. note 16.) Hájí Khalfah mentions two commentaries upon the work; one by Abú 'Alí Huseyn Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Al-fehrí, of Valencia, who died in six hundred and eighty-nine (A.D. 1290-1), the other by Suleymán Ibn Mohammed, of Granada, who died in six hundred and thirty-nine (A.D. 1241-2); but he takes no notice of that here attributed to Ibn Roshd.

13 كتاب المتين في التاريخ الاندلس 'the solid or firm on the history of Andalus' is, as I have observed elsewhere, the title of the great historical work by Ibnu Hayyán. It is mentioned by Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Táríkh Andalus, Táríkh Ibn Hayyán, Mubeyn,* &c). It is singular enough that no portions whatever of this voluminous work should be preserved in any of the libraries of Europe.

14 *Dhakhírah,* or rather الذخيرة في محاسن اهل الجزيرة 'the hoarded treasure on the excellences of the people of the Island' (Andalus), is the title of an historical work by a Spanish author named Ibn Besám. The second volume is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where I consulted it, (No. DCCXLIX;) but as I intend to give some extracts from it in the second volume of this work, I defer until the appearance of that volume a fuller account of the work and its author.

15 I have already stated (see a preceding Note, p. 425,) that the large historical work composed by the Sultán of Badajoz was known in the East by the title of *Al-mudhdhaferí,* from the name of its royal author. No portion of this work,—which, to judge from the number of volumes of which it is said to have been composed, and from the subjects treated in it, must have been highly interesting,—is, to my knowledge, preserved in any of the public libraries of Europe. It is likely that it perished during the civil wars which distracted Spain in the fifth century of the Hijra, and caused the dissolution of the kingdom of Badajoz, together with the death of the last princes of the family of Al-afttas. I have never met with quotations from it, and it seems to have been but imperfectly known to Hájí Khalfah and Ibn Khallekán, who neither give the title, nor declare its contents.

16 ابن صاحب الصلاة Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát, *i.e.* 'the son of the Imám;' for the words *Sáhibu-l-salát,* or 'the master of the public prayer,' are often employed to designate the priest, who, in Mohammedan mosques, conducts prayers in the absence of the Khalif, who is the Imám by right. The expression is analogous to those of صاحب القضاء meaning 'a kádí,' and صاحب الولاء 'a general.'

There were in Spain several Moslems known by the surname of *Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát.* 1st. 'Abdullah Ibn Yahya Al-hadhramí *Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát,* who is reported to have composed a biographical dictionary of

illustrious Moslems born in Spain, and whose death Casiri places in five hundred and seventy-eight (A.D. 1182). (See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 128, c. 2.) 2nd. Ahmed *Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát*, an historian, who was a native of Seville, and whose words are quoted by Casiri, (*loco laudato*, p. 55, c. 1 and 2.) 3rd. Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed *Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát*, mentioned by Ibnu-l-khattíb in his Dictionary of illustrious Granadians. 4th. Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Táríkh Molúk*) gives the name of an historian also called *Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát*, who is reported to have written a history of the Almuwáhhedún or Almohades.

That the historian named by Hájí Khalfah is the same individual alluded to by Ibnu Sa'íd, and who is so frequently quoted by the author of the *Karttás*, by Ibnu Khaldún, and other African writers, cannot for a moment be doubted; but his names and surnames are not entirely ascertained, for, although the Bodleian Library at Oxford possesses the second volume of the historical work here mentioned, and the author's name is said at the end to be 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Mohammed Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát Al-bájí (from Beja), I have reasons, which I shall give elsewhere, for doubting that statement.

Conde has occasionally mentioned this writer in his work, especially in the second volume, which is an unfaithful and rambling version of the *Karttás;* but he seems not to have understood the meaning of the words *Ibn Sáhibu-s-salát*, which he translates at times by *El autor del Salat* (see vol. ii. p. 250), and at others by *El autor del libro de los Principes.* (See *ibid.*, p. 254.) Neither has M. Fluegel, in his translation of Hájí Khalfah, which is in course of publication (see vol. ii. p. 153), seized the meaning of those words; since, mistaking صلاة *salát*, 'public prayer,' for صلة *silah*, 'joining,' the title of an historical dictionary by Ibnu Bashkúwál, he has translated the words *Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát* by 'filius auctoris operis Silet.'

17 Hájí Khalfah, who, as I have observed elsewhere, consulted Ibnu Sa'íd's writings, transcribes this passage, but gives no further information as to the title and number of volumes which composed the work. The author's entire name was Abú Bekr Yahya Ibn Mohammed; he was a native of Granada, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, and died in that city in 570, not in 557, as Hájí Khalfah erroneously states. Kheyr Ibn Khalífah, the author of a Bibliographical Index already described, gives the title of this history as follows: كتاب الانوار الجلية في اخبار الدولة المرابطية 'the shining stars on the history of the Almoravides.

18 By "second civil war" the Andalusian writers mean the long period of war between the Almoravides and Almohades. They call الفتنة الاولي 'first civil war' that which distracted the empire of Cordova during the first half of the fifth century of the Hijra.

19 Of Ibnu Bashkúwál I have given an account, Note 7, p. 327. The title of the historical work here mentioned is unknown to me. Hájí Khalfah (see voc. *Táríkhu-l-andalus*) merely states that Ibnu Bashkúwál wrote, besides the *Silah*, another short history of Spain. Casiri alludes frequently in his extracts to a history of Andalus written by Ibnu Bashkúwál, but it is not quite clear that the work so called is different from the historical biography entitled كتاب الصلة 'the book of the joining,' preserved in the Escurial Library, (see Cat., No. 1672,) and which Hájí Khalfah mentions in various places of his Bibliographical Dictionary, giving the names of all the authors who, after the death of the author in five hundred and seventy-eight of the Hijra (A.D. 1182-3), wrote supplements to it. Ibnu-l-khattíb, in the preface to his history of Granada, mentions another work by Ibnu Bashkúwál entitled المنتخب من تاريخ الروسا'

و الفقهاء و القضاة بطليطلة لابي جعفر بن مطاهر 'selections from the history of the chief men, theologians, and Kádís of Toledo,' written by Abú Ja'far Ibn Mutáhir.

20 جذوة المقتبس—In order to understand the meaning of these words it is necessary to know that Al-homaydí (see Preface) wrote an abridgment of Ibnu Hayyán's history of Spain, entitled المقتبس a word meaning 'he that borrows a spark of fire from another,' and hence 'the steel,' and figuratively, 'he who is instructed' and 'he who teaches another.' The title of Al-homaydí's abridgment may therefore be translated either 'a particle of knowledge from the imparter of it,' or 'a spark of fire from the steel.' A copy of this excellent work is preserved in the Bodl. Lib. (*Hunt.* 464). It is a folio of about four hundred pages, handsomely written in a plain Maghrebí hand towards the beginning of the fifteenth century of our era. A note at the end states that it was composed by Al-homaydí during his stay in the country of 'Irák. Its contents seem to me to be different from those of the work of Ibnu Hayyán, of which it is said to be an epitome; they are the lives of illustrious men born in Spain, divided into ten parts, while the work of the former, if I am to judge from the volume preserved in the same library, is a chronological history of Spain.

Al-homaydí, whose entire name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Abí Nasr Fatúh Ibn 'Abdillah Al-azdí, was a native of the island of Mallorca. He travelled to the East, and died at Baghdád in A. H. 488. His life may be read in Ibn Khallekán, *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 627, and Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 147.

21 The work here alluded to, and which is the composition of the famous historian Abú Bekr 'Abdullah Ibn Abí Bekr Al-kodhá'í Ibnu-l-abbár, of Valencia, can be no other than a supplement to the *Kitábu-s-silah*, by Ibnu Bashkúwál, which Hájí Khalfah attributes to this historian, entitled كتاب مشكل الصلة 'the difficult passages of the *Silah*,' and which I believe to be the same as one in the Esc. Lib. marked No. 1670.

22 A copy of this work is in the translator's collection. An extract from it respecting the invasion and conquest of Spain by the Moslems has been given in the Appendix D.

23 نقطة العروس في اخبار الخلفآء بني امية في الاندلس—Hájí Khalfah writes نقط

24 كتاب التبيين في خلفآء بني امية بالاندلس—Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Táríkh* and *Risáleh*) mentions an historical work by Ibn Zeydún, which he says was written in the form of a *risáleh* (epistle), and addressed to Waládah, the daughter of Mohammed III. I believe the work, here alluded to, to be the same which is preserved in the Bodl. Lib., No. cccxviii. Nicoll's Cat., and in the library of the British Museum, No. 7555. If so, it is a concise history in verse of the Khalifs of the house of Umeyyah who reigned in Andalus.

25 كتاب التعيين في خلفآء المشرق—I find no mention of this work either in Hájí Khalfah or in Ibn Khallekán, who wrote the life of Mes'údí.

26 See Appendix C., where a description of the former of these works, together with a short extract from it, has been given. I ought to observe that there is in the Bodleian Library a work entitled

تاريخ صاعد 'the history of Sa'íd.' It is a volume in small folio, containing little more than two hundred pages, written in a very clear *neskhí* hand upon coarse brown paper, but the occasional want of diacritical points makes the reading rather difficult. It begins with an account of the prophets who preceded Mohammed; it then gives the life of the latter, together with a description of his wives, freedmen, secretaries, servants, slaves, horses, mules, weapons, &c.; it proceeds then to give the narrative of his conquests. At fo. 69 the author introduces a compendious history of the Khalifs of the house of Umeyyah who reigned in Spain. At fo. 80 he gives that of the Khalifs of the house of 'Abbás who reigned in the East; the volume ending in six hundred and twenty-eight (A.D. 1230-1), under the reign of Al-mustanser-billah. It is hardly necessary to remark that the above work has nothing in common with the *Tabakát* written by the Kádí of Toledo, an author who preceded him by nearly two centuries.

27 Hájí Khalfah gives the title of this work differently; he says, القصد والامم الي انساب العرب و العجم 'the object and the end towards the knowledge of the genealogy of Arabs and foreigners,' by Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdillah, known by the surname of Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr the Háfedh, a native of Cordova, who died in four hundred and sixty-three of the Hijra (A.D. 1070-1). But, immediately after the said title, follows that which is here given, but which is there attributed to Mohammed Ibn Ayúb Ibn Ghálib Al-ansárí. Mistakes of this kind abound in the work of Hájí Khalfah, who was but slightly acquainted with the literature of Mohammedan Spain.

28 Hájí Khalfah makes no mention of this abridgment among those of Tabarí's chronicle. Gharíb Ibn Sa'íd appears to be the same author whom Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. pp. 273, 324,) calls *Garibay Ben Saïd, seu Saad.* He wrote a work on medicine which is in the Escurial Library (see Cat., No. 883), and was a *Kátib* to 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., Sultán of Cordova.

29 I find this title differently written in the various copies. In A. كتاب العبر—in B. كتاب العيق The epitome and my copy read كتاب العين I find no mention whatever of the work in Hájí Khalfah; nor have I been able to obtain an account of the author, for although there are various writers bearing the name of Ahmed Ibn Sa'íd in Casiri, I find none distinguished by the surname of ابن الفياض Ibnu-l-fayyádh, which means 'the son of a man generous like an overflowing torrent.' See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 466, and vol. ii. pp. 134, 140, 141.

30 See Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Tabakát*). The author, Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Hasan Ibn Mad'haj Ibn منير Manír Az-zubeydí, died in three hundred and seventy-nine of the Hijra (A.D. 989-90). B. reads بالمشرق و الاندلس 'in the East and in Andalus,' but I have preferred the reading as in the text. I learn from Kheyr Ibn Khalífah (*loco laudato*) that the title of Az-zubeydí's work was بقية الوعاة في طبقات اللغوين و النحاة 'the bottom of the closet on the classes of rhetoricians and grammarians;' he adds, "that the author was a native of Seville." The life of Az-zubeydí, who was also an eminent poet, occurs in Ath-tha'álebí (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9578, fo. 126), as well as in Ibn Khallekán, who gives the list of his works, (No. 662, *Tyd. Ind.*) See also Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 166.

[31] Yahya Ibnu-l-hakem, surnamed Al-ghazzál, was a distinguished poet of the court of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., Sultán of Cordova, who sent him on several embassies to the monarchs of Europe, and to the Emperor of Constantinople. He died in two hundred and fifty of the Hijra (A. D. 864). See Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 294), who calls him erroneously *Al-gazali.*

[32] Al-fat'h Ibn Khákán died in Morocco in five hundred and thirty-five (A. D. 1140-41). See Note 39, p. 340. Ibnu Sa'íd was born in six hundred and ten (A. D. 1213-4), which gives seventy-five years' difference between the death of the former and the birth of the latter. The expression, therefore, is incorrect, unless Ibnu Sa'íd quotes the words of his own father, also an historian, as we shall presently see.

[33] I have given elsewhere the title of this work as it is written in a copy of it preserved in the British Museum (see Preface, and Note 39, p. 339), namely, مطمح الانفس و مسرح التانس في ملح اهل الاندلس This title, however, is differently written by the various authors I have consulted. Hájí Khalfah has مطمح و مسرح القانس My copy of Ibn Khallekán, in the life of Al-fat'h, reads مطمح الانفس و مسرح الانفس As-sadfí, in his *Wáfí bi-l-wafiyyát* (Ar. MS. in my possession), has it as above, and I ought to add that such is also the title of this work in the copy preserved in the British Museum. M. Weyers, in his *Spec. Crit. exhib. locos Ibn Khakanis,* Lugd. Batav. 1831, has chosen the reading as given by Ibn Khallekán, but I believe the above to be more correct.

This celebrated production of Al-fat'h, so much esteemed by Eastern scholars and so often quoted and alluded to by Andalusian writers, is by no means so common as his *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán,* copies of which are easily met with. I know, indeed, of no other copy than that preserved in the library of the British Museum, and that is so incorrect, and so badly written, as to be almost unintelligible. The contents of the work are the lives of the illustrious poets who lived in Al-fat'h's time, accompanied with numerous extracts from their verses, and a few interesting anecdotes, the whole being written in that inflated and metaphorical style so much to the taste of Arabian writers, but which to the European scholar is of little or no use, since it is but seldom that the difficulties he has to encounter at every step are compensated by the information to be derived from works of this description. The *Mattmah* is divided into four books or sections: the first contains the lives of Sultáns and chiefs, seven in number; the second those of Wizírs, in all thirty-seven; the third those of twenty-three doctors and faquihs; and the fourth those of twenty-four poets and literati not belonging to either of the above classes. So not only is the general distribution of the *Mattmah* similar to that of the *Kaláyid* (see Note 39, p. 339), but its contents are in many instances the same, for it is not uncommon to find upon collation several pages of the *Kaláyid* agreeing exactly with those of the *Mattmah;* in short, the only difference seems to be this,—that the *Mattmah,* which is undoubtedly a posterior work, contains more lives than the *Kaláyid.* This, perhaps, explains why Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Mattmah*), Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 536), and Ibnu Sa'íd, mention different editions of the same work, since the *Kaláyid* might well be only an epitome of a larger work resembling the *Mattmah.*

The copy in the British Museum (No. 9580) is a small octavo of about two hundred pages; the transcript is modern, and badly executed, and what is still worse, swarms with blunders, so that it is almost impossible to peruse it without the assistance of a better one. It is marked wrong in the Catalogue of Additions for 1833, where the title is said to be *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán* instead of *Mattmahu-l-anfus.*

34 سمط الجمان و سقيط المرجان—literally 'strings of large pearls, and showers of small pearls.' *Al-marján* (which in one of the copies is erroneously written ترجمان) means 'seed pearls.' The Spaniards call it *aljofar* from الجوهر *al-johar*, an Arabic word which has the same meaning.

35 This work is to be found in the Esc. Lib. (see Cat., No. 356). The author, Abú Bahr Sefwán Ibn Idrís At-tojibí, died, according to Ibnu-l-abbár, in five hundred and ninety-eight of the Hijra (A. D. 1201-2). Another work by the same author, being a collection of poems by Andalusian poets, is also found in the Esc. Lib. See Cat., No. 355.

36 In the copy of Hájí Khalfah which I have used for these notes the title of this work is written sometimes المشهب *Al-mash'hab*, and said to be the composition of an author named Al-hejází (see voc. *Táríkh Maghreb*), and at other times المسهب *Al-mis'hab*, and attributed to its real author, Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Ibráhím Al-hijárí. (See Note 30, p. 319.) Casiri, who gave a notice of this writer (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 101), erred not only in the translation of this title, which he also writes المشهب في غرايب المغرب—but in supposing the contents of the work to be the history of the Fátimites instead of a general history of Spain. The authority of a bibliographer, so accurate as Hájí Khalfah generally is, would have induced me to doubt whether the titles given by him were not those of two distinct works written by different authors, had I not found in Al-makkarí himself (fo. 310) a long disquisition on the merits and contents of the *Mas'hab*, as likewise on the meaning of that word, which he says may be pronounced *Al-mis'hab* or *Al-mas'hab*, and means 'he who is always speaking, a gossiping man.' المسهب هو اكثر الكلام

It is therefore very probable that Hájí Khalfah, to whom the work of Ibnu Sa'íd was known, and who, as I have often stated, copied almost literally the bibliographical information contained in the present epistle, saw a copy in which the words المسهب and الحجاري were written المشهب and الحجازي —a mistake which is of frequent occurrence among copyists, and with which I have often been troubled even in the course of this translation.

37 Of 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd I have treated, p. 440, Note 107; but, in order to make what follows more intelligible, I have thought it necessary to translate the following passage from Part I. Book V. fo. 142, *verso*, where part of the preface and considerable extracts from the work of his grandson Ibnu Sa'íd are given by Al-makkarí:—"The present work (the *Mughrib*) was begun in the year five hundred and thirty "(A. D. 1135-6), and continued until the new moon of the year six hundred and forty-one (A. D. 1243-4). "The principal cause of its being written was my great grandfather 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd, Lord of "Alcalá, a fortress which he received as a fief from 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín, Prince of the Moslems, "and King of the Berbers; and which he held, defending it in the year 539 against the Almohades. "The Háfedh of Andalus, Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Ibráhím Ibnu-l-hijárí, happened to pass in the "year 530 near the castle of the Bení Sa'íd, and having been hospitably received and entertained by my "great grandfather, he, in the course of time, wrote and dedicated to him his great historical work called "*Al-mas'hab fí gharáyibi-l-maghreb*, composed of about six volumes, in which he collected the history of "Andalus from the time of the conquest up to the year in which he commenced his task, (that is, the "year 530.) After this, it came into the mind of my great grandfather 'Abdu-l-málik to add to the "said work the history of events which had escaped the author's observation: this he did, with the

"assistance of his two sons, Abú Ja'far and Mohammed, who worked at it under his eyes, making "considerable additions, and increasing its value, until my grandfather Mohammed undertook it by "himself alone, and worked at it with the greatest activity. Then came my father Músa, who certainly "was the most learned and experienced of all my ancestors in these matters, and the one who showed "the greatest ardour in collecting information for his book, as will be proved by the following anecdote: "While we were staying at Algesiras, which city my father governed for some time by the appointment "of Ibn Húd, Sultán of Andalus, I informed him that an illustrious inhabitant of that place possessed "some quires of paper containing poetical and other extracts composed by poets of Algesiras, as well as "the history of its governors and principal men during the dynasty of the Bení 'Abdu-l-múmen. My "father sent immediately to ask him for the loan of the book, but this the man, who was both an ignorant "and a fool, refused, saying, 'I swear to Allah that this book shall never go out of my house,' adding, "'if the governor wants it, let him come himself and ask me for it.' When the answer was brought to "my father, he burst into a laugh, and turning towards me said, 'Let us go to the man.' 'And who "is he?' said I, 'for us to go to his house in the manner described.' Then my father said, 'Certainly "I should not do this for the sake of the man himself, but I shall do it for the honour of the illustrious "men whose verses and biographies are contained in that volume. Dost thou think that if they were "all alive, and collected in one spot, I would hesitate in going to them? Certainly not.' We went "immediately to the man's house, who, by Allah! not only did not come half way to meet us on "our approach, as is the custom between well-bred gentlemen, but remained where he was. When my "father had expressed his wish, the man lent him his book, and we retired, after returning him thanks "for it. It has been said of my father Músa, that out of sixty-seven years, which made the duration of "his life, he passed not one day without reading or writing."

[38] The titles of this work, as I find them in this passage, are المشرق في حلي المشرق and المغرب في حلي المغرب Instead of في حلي Hájí Khalfah writes sometimes في اخبار اهل (see *Táríkh Maghreb*), and at others في محاسن اهل (see *Maghreb*). The word مغرب admits of various meanings, according to the manner in which it is punctuated. مُغَرِّب *Mugharrib*, the verbal adjective derived from the second form, means 'he who travels towards the West.' المَغْرَب *Al-maghreb* means 'the setting sun,' and مُغْرِب *Mugh'rib* or *Mugh'rab*, from أغْرب 'he who speaks eloquently on any subject.' The word مشرق being intended for an antithesis, may go through the same modifications and be read مُشَرِّق مَشْرَق مُشْرِق *Musharrik, Mashrek, Mush'rik*, and may mean 'he who travels through or to the East, the rising sun, and any thing shining like the rays of the rising sun.' But although these words occur in Al-makkarí at almost every two or three pages, and that too in the various copies and epitomes of the work that I have consulted, strange to say, I have not once found that word pointed so as to lead me to a knowledge of its real meaning. The copy of Hájí Khalfab which I have used left me in the same uncertainty, and it was only by consulting the text now in process of printing, under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Committee, and seeing it thus pointed, مُغْرب that I decided upon adopting the reading as in the translation; this being the reason why I have written in two or three instances *Mugh'rab* instead of *Mug'hrib*, the true reading. Hájí Khalfah, who knew the work, and, as I

have often remarked, made use of it, says that it was composed of fifteen volumes, and was dedicated by its author to Muhiyyu-d-dín Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Al-jezarí. It is no doubt the same which Abú-l-fedá and other writers on geography mention occasionally.

Besides the above historical work by Ibnu Sa'íd I have frequently met with quotations from another, which appears to have enjoyed equal reputation in the East. It is entitled عنوان المرقصات و المطربات 'lines that make people dance and sing,' being a collection of poetical extracts from his larger work, to which it was intended as a preface. Some fragments of this work are in the valuable collection of Oriental MSS. in the possession of Dr. John Lee, to whose kindness I am indebted for the loan of this and other works.

39 سراج الادب 'the torch of literature.' This work, the production of Ibn Abí-l-khissál, (see Note 40, p. 340, and Note 82, p. 436,) was unknown to Hájí Khalfah.

40 زهر الادب و ثمر الالباب 'flowers of literature, and fruits of the mind,' is the entire title of a work, divided into three parts, by Abú Is'hák Ibráhím Ibn 'Alí Al-hosrí, who, according to Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Zohr*), died in four hundred and three (A.D. 1012-13). Ibn Khallekán, who wrote his life (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 15), places his death in 413 or 453, although he adds the former date is most probable. He was a native of حُصر *Hosr*, a district near Cairwán.

The word *adab*, which means polite literature in general, is written thus, اداب *adáb*, in one of the copies, as well as in Ibn Khallekán, but I think that the former orthography is more correct.

41 كتاب اللالي Hájí Khalfah had no knowledge of this book, which I find in Kheyr's Bibliographical Index, attributed to Abú 'Obeyd-illah Al-bekrí, the celebrated geographer mentioned Note 7, page 312.

42 كتاب الامالي 'the book of dictations' is a work by the famous orator Abú 'Alí-l-kálí. See a preceding Note.

43 ادب الكاتب or الكتاب 'the duties of the scribe or scribes' is the title of a work by the celebrated Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Moslem Ad-dinawarí, better known by the surname of Ibn Koteybah, who died, according to Ibn Khallekán (No. 327, *Tyd. Ind.*), in two hundred and seventy or two hundred and seventy-six of the Hijra (A.D. 888-9), and not in 213, as Hájí Khalfah erroneously states, voc. *Ma'rif*. (See Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 265; D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Deinouri, Adab al Káteb, Catbah*, &c.) A very ancient and beautifully written copy of this work, with copious marginal notes, is preserved in the Escurial Library, No. 570.

The work of Ibn Koteybah was commented upon by several eminent writers; but, among the numerous commentaries mentioned by Hájí Khalfah, none, says that bibliographer, was so highly esteemed as that of Ibnu-s-síd Al-bathaliósí. There are two copies of it in the Escurial Library, Nos. 501, 571. I think that the words *Adabu-l-kátib* or *kottáb*, which some writers have translated by *Institutiones Scribæ*, (see Hamaker, *Spec. Cod. Or.* p. 1, and Fluegel's Hájí Khalfah, vol. i. p. 222,) and others by *Scribendi methodus seu regulæ*, (see Reiske's Abú-l-fedá, *Not. Hist.* 232,) ought properly to be rendered by *Institutiones viri á secretis* (the duties of a secretary), since the work purports to point out the qualities and endowments which a man filling that situation ought to be possessed of.

[44] سقط الزند 'sparkles from the steel' is, according to Hájí Khalfah, the title of a collection of poems, containing upwards of three thousand verses, by Abú-l-'alá Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah At-tenúkhí Alma'rrí, who died in four hundred and forty-nine (A.D. 1057-8). His life is in Ibn Khallekán, *Tyd. Ind.*, No. 46. A copy of these poems is in the Bodl. Lib., No. 324. There is another in the British Museum, (No. 7554,) with a commentary by Abú Zakariyyá Yahya Ibn 'Alí At-tebrízí.

[45] Among the numerous commentaries on the poems of Mutennabí and on the Hamásah, a collection of ancient Arabic poetry formed by Abú Temám Habíb Ibn Aus الطائي At-táyí, Hájí Khalfah mentions those of Abú-l-hejáj Yúsuf Ibn Suleymán الشنتمري Ash-shantamarí (from Santa Maria), who died in 476.

[46] Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 462,) gives the life of a celebrated grammarian born at Seville, whose entire name was Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Al-hadhramí, better known by the by-name of Ibnu-l-kharúf (the son of the lamb). He is there said to have written an excellent commentary on the grammatical work of Síbauyeh, but this being mentioned a few lines lower down, the work here intended must be a commentary on the كتاب الجمل *Kitábu-l-jumal*, by Abú-l-kásim Az-zajájí, which I find likewise in the list of his works. Ibnu-l-kharúf died in 609 or 610.

[47] It is not clear from the text whether the patronymic Ar-rondí (of Ronda) is to be joined to Ibn Kharúf's name, and applied to him, or to be read separately, as being that of another grammarian. I find that Ibn Kharúf's patronymic was Al-ishbílí (from Seville), but he might be born in Ronda, and yet denominate himself after the place of his residence.

If, however, Ar-rondí be meant for the patronymic of another grammarian, it may be applied to 'Isa Ibn Suleymán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Abdillah Ar-ro'ayní Ar-rondí, whom I find mentioned by Al-makkarí (Part I. Book V. fo. 150) among those illustrious Moslems who left Spain to travel to the East, or else that of 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-majíd Al-azdí Ar-rondí, an eminent grammarian, who died, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb, quoted by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 109), in A.H. six hundred and six (A.D. 1219).

[48] Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Múmen Ibn عصفور 'Osfúr, (the son of the sparrow,) was a native of Seville. He died, according to Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Mukarreb*), in six hundred and sixty-three of the Hijra (A.D. 1264-5).

[49] Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Tautiyah*) mentions a work on grammar entitled توطية في النحو by Abú-l-'Abbás Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-khalíl At-tudmírí (from Tudmir or Murcia), who died at Fez in five hundred and fifty-five (A.D. 1160). But as the names and surname of this writer do not agree with those of Ash-shalúbíní, the author mentioned in Ash-shakandí's epistle (see p. 37), the work must be a different one. This commentary is preserved in the Esc. Lib. (see Cat., No. 190), written in a very fine African hand shortly after the author's death. Abú Músa Ibn 'Isa Al-jazúlí is the author commented. The life of Shalúbíní or Shalúbín occurs in the *Wáfí bi-l-wafiyyát*, by As-sadfí. I here translate it: "Abú 'Alí "'Amr Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Abdillah Al-azdí Al-ishbílí (from Seville) was better known by the "by-name of شلوبين *Shalúbín*, a word meaning, in the dialect of the people of Andalus, 'a man who "has a white complexion and rosy cheeks,' (*salubrem?*) He was the king of his age in grammar; he

"was born in five hundred and sixty-two (A.D. 1166-7), and died in six hundred and forty-five "(A.D. 1247-8). He took lessons from Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-jadd, and from Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Zarkún, "and from Abú Mohammed Ibn بونه Bonoh, and from Abú Zeyd As-sohaylí. Abú-l-kásim Ibn "Habísh and Abú Bekr Ibn Kheyr authorised him to use and divulge their writings اجازوا له He also "kept up a literary correspondence with As-salafí, who lived in the *Thagher*, (Aragon?) and was "educated, as it were, in Ibnu-l-jadd's family, since his father, Mohammed, was a servant of the former. "Owing to this Shalúbín was from his earliest youth imbued with a love for science, and became soon a "master in grammar, so as to be able to undertake, when still young, the education of Abú Bekr "Mohammed Ibn Khalf Ibn صاف Sáf, the grammarian, who became in time a most accomplished "writer.

"According to Ibnu-l-abbár, *Shalúbín's* masters in grammar and rhetoric were Abú Is'hák Ibn Malkún "and Abú-l-hasan. After this he began himself to give public lessons in the year five hundred and "eighty (A.D. 1184-5), and continued giving lectures upon the Arabic language for upwards of sixty "years, but was obliged to discontinue them in A.H. 640, owing to his advanced age. He left several "works of the greatest merit, and among others two commentaries on the *Jazúliyyah*, although in the "opinion of the learned these are full of blunders. They say, that as he was one day reading some parts "of his manuscript on the banks of a river, he happened to drop it into the water, and his labour was "lost. Shalúbín was eighty-three years old when he died."

It is evident that the biographer As-sadfí made a mistake in supposing that *Shalúbín* was a by-name, and still more in saying that it was a Latin word, since *Shalúbeyní*, as it ought to be written, is the patronymic used by the Spanish Moslems born or residing at شلوبانية *Shalúbániah*, now Salobreña, the ancient *Salambina*. See Abú-l-fedá's Geography.

[50] كتاب معجم—A geographical dictionary by the author of the *Kitábu-l-mésalek wa-l-memálek*. A copy of this valuable work is preserved in the library of the University of Leyden. See *Spec. Cat. Bib. Lugd. Bat.*, by Hamaker, fo. 68.

[51] See Appendix A., p. xv. *et seq*.

[52] Abú-l-faraj 'Alí Ibnu-l-huseyn, of Isfahán, who died in three hundred and six (A.D. 918-9), is the author of the celebrated كتاب الاغاني 'book of songs.' There are in the library of the Brit. Mus. two volumes containing fragments of this work. One marked 9657 is a good-sized volume, written in the African hand; the other, a much finer copy, containing part the sixth, is in the Rich collection, No. 7339: it is bound together with an epitome of the whole work made by Ibn Wásel Al-hamawí (from Hamah). I find no mention whatever in Hájí Khalfah of this imitation of Abú-l-faraj. The name of the author too, who is unknown to me, is variously written in the MSS. A. has الحداج which may be the author's trade, (viz. a man who leads camels.) I read in B. الخرج المرسي Al-khorj Al-mursí (a native of Murcia). The epitome reads الحدج *Al-hodj*. Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Al-aghání*) relates that Ibn 'Abbád, King of Seville, used always to travel with a collection of books on poetry and polite literature, making thirty camel loads, but that when he had read the book of Abú-l-faraj he found it so useful, and so abundant in good songs and fine poetry, that he ever afterwards left his library behind, and never took any books in his travels, except a copy of Abú-l-faraj's work.

On Abú-l-faraj the reader may consult Ibn Khallekán's lives (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 451); Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* tom. ii. p. 494); and D'Herb. (*Bib. Or.* voc. *Agani, Aben farage al Esfahani, Esfahani,* &c.); Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 347, c. 2), who calls him Ben Alhasan instead of Ibnu-l-huseyn; and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 466.

An epitome of Abú-l-faraj's work, by Sheikhu-l-islám Al-bedr Al-ghazzí, is in Dr. John Lee's collection.

53 Abú-l-'Abbás Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mofarraj النباتي An-nabátí (the botanist), better known by the surname of Ibnu-r-rúmiyyah (the son of the Greek or Christian woman), inhabited Seville, and travelled to the East, where he improved his knowledge as a physician and naturalist. He was at the court of Al-'ádil in A. H. 613. His life may be read in Ibn Abí 'Ossaybi'ah, fo. 148, *verso*.

54 The author here mentioned under the name of Abú Mohammed Al-málakí (from Malaga) is the celebrated naturalist 'Abdullah Ibn Ahmed, surnamed Ibnu-l-beyttar, (see a preceding note, p. 431,) who was contemporary with Ibnu Sa'íd, since he died in six hundred and forty-six of the Hijra (A.D. 1248). The work here alluded to is undoubtedly his dictionary of simples used as medicaments, entitled كتاب المغني في الطب—of which I possess a splendid and very ancient copy in two thick volumes, in folio.

55 Al-gháfekí is the patronymic of an eminent Andalusian physician, often quoted by Ibnu-l-beyttar and other naturalists. His entire name was, according to Ibn Abí 'Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 139), Abú Ja'far.

56 There can be no doubt that the author here mentioned is the famous geographer, generally known by the name of Idrísí. I find him frequently quoted by Ibnu-l-beyttar, as well as by Ibn Abí 'Ossaybi'ah (fo. 139, *verso*), who speaks of him in the following words:—" The Sherif Mohammed Ibn Mohammed " Al-hasaní, whose entire name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah, of the " posterity of Idrís Al-hasaní, surnamed العلي بالله Al-'alí-billah, was very learned in the knowledge of " simples, and their properties and use in medicine. He left a treatise on the subject." However, as neither Ibnu-l-beyttar nor Ibn Abí 'Ossaybi'ah give the title of Idrísí's work, I conclude that he was not a physician, but was comprised in that category merely from the fact of his mentioning occasionally in his Geography facts connected with natural history. The same might be said of Abú 'Obeyd Al-bekrí, whom the Arabian geographer counts likewise among the physicians of Spain.

57 All the copies consulted by me read 'Abdu-l-múmen, son of Almansúr; which must be a mistake of the author, since it is every where repeated. 'Abdu-l-múmen was not the *son* but the *grandfather* of Ya'kúb, the only sovereign of the Almohades who assumed the title of Al-mansúr bi fadhli-llah (*i. e.* the victorious by the grace of God). Besides, as may be seen in the Appendix A., p. xix., Abú-l-walíd was cast into prison in the year 595 or thereabout, that is to say, nearly twenty years after the death of 'Abdu-l-múmen. There can therefore be no doubt that for عبد المومن بن المنصور as in the text, المنصور من بني عبد المومن ought to be substituted, *i. e.* 'Almansúr, one of the Bení 'Abdu-l-múmen.' The name of this author, Ibn Habíb, is not among those of the learned men imprisoned by Al-mansúr. See Appendix, p. xix.

[58] ابن زيد الاسقف القرطبي Ibn Zeyd Al-askaf Al-kortobí. These three words not being pointed, it is difficult to determine what their real signification is. From the peculiar syntax of the Arabic language, they may mean either *filius Zeidi, episcopi Cordubensis,* or *filius Zeidi, episcopus Cordubensis:* the former is most probable. There might have been a Bishop of Cordova who was converted to Islám, and who received the Arabian name 'Zeyd;' the son of whom might well have been a writer on astrology, while it cannot be presumed that a Christian bishop, residing in Cordova, would take the name of 'Ibn Zeyd,' and much less that he was the son of a Mohammedan called Zeyd. Again, the word *askaf,* which admits of no other interpretation in Arabic but that of 'bishop,' might be a nickname given to Ibn Zeyd by his countrymen, owing to some circumstance unknown to me. However, be this as it may, it will be shown in the course of these notes, that during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., and other enlightened sovereigns of the house of Umeyyah, the Christians of Cordova were admitted to fill posts of honour and trust in the civil administration, as well as in the armies of the Khalif. Another Bishop of Cordova was dispatched by the above Sultán on various missions to Germany, Constantinople, &c. The title of the work كتاب تفصيل الازمان و تصليح الابدان is not to be found in Hájí Khalfah.

[59] I find no author of this name in the biographical works which I have consulted. Casiri mentions two individuals whose first name was Motref (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. pp. 118, 147), but both were born at Granada, and preceded Ibnu Sa'íd by nearly three centuries.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

A considerable portion of the present book, the seventh in the original work, has been translated by Professor Shakespear, and inserted in 'The History of the Mohammedan Empire in Spain,' by James Cavanah Murphy, Lond. 1816.

1 يباري اصحاب الكتب اصحاب الكتايب says the writer, very elegantly.

2 دع عنك حضرة بغداد و بهجتها ∴ و لا تعظم بلاد الفرس و الصين
فما علي الارض قطر مثل قرطبة ∴ وما شي فوقها مثل بني حمدين

By 'the Beni Hamdín' the author means the family of Ibn Hamdín (Abú Ja'far Hamdín Ibn Mohammed Ibn Hamdín), who, during the civil wars between the Almoravides and Almohades, ruled independent in Cordova, and took the title of *Al-mansúr-billah.*

3 The writers here mentioned are not very far from the truth. It is well known that the Roman Era instituted by Augustus, and which began thirty-eight years before Christ, was, until the fourteenth century, the only standard of computation for the Spanish historians; and as to the four cities said to have been founded by Augustus, if we except Seville, (built by Julius Cæsar, as the author himself has stated elsewhere, see p. 55,) the other three, viz. Merida (*Emerita*), Saragossa (*Cæsarea-Augusta*), and Cordova (*Cortuba Colonia Patricia*), owe either their foundation or their re-establishment to that Roman emperor.

4 By 'the sons of 'Ayssu' the Vandals are undoubtedly intended, for many of the Arabian historians believe them to be of a common origin with the Romans. 'Ayssu or Esau, they say, had a son called Rúm, from whom all the Greek and Roman emperors were descended. Esau is likewise called *Edom* (red-haired), and his posterity Edomites, Idumeans, or *Beni al-asfar* (the children of the yellow or red-haired man).

5 قلوب الشكلة—which I suppose is meant for Cor-dubia, a derivation of the same stamp as those of *Cæsarea-Augusta* and *Toletum*. See pp. 47 and 64.

[6] I do not know how else to translate the words اجر ساكنها which I find written the same in the three different copies. Perhaps the word *Corduba* had in the language of the ancient Phœnicians a meaning analogous to that here assigned to it by this author. Perhaps, again, the words *reward of her inhabitants* are meant as a translation of *Colonia Patricia,* the name usually given to Cordova by Roman writers; but it would be a fruitless task to follow the Arabian authors in their etymological vagaries.

The Carthaginians are generally designated by African writers under the name of العمالقة 'Amalekites.

[7] These titles in Arabic are as follow : ∴ كتاب وشي الطرس في حلي جزيرة الاندلس
كتاب الالحان المليه في حلي جزيرة صقيلية ∴ كتاب الغاية الاخيرة في حلي الارض الكبيرة

[8] كتاب حلي العرس في حلي غرب الاندلس ∴ كتاب الشفاة اللعس في حلي موسطة الاندلس
كتاب الانس في حلي شرق الاندلس ∴ كتاب الخطات الهريب في ذكر ما حماه من
الاندلس عباد الصليب

I ought to observe here that in these titles, as well as in those quoted in the note immediately preceding, and in two or three more instances in this translation, the words 'book of' ought to be suppressed. This would make them more correct, as well as agree better with the genius of the Arabic language. See below, Note 10.

[9] كتاب الحلة الذهبة في حلي مملكة قرطبة ∴ كتاب الذهبية الاصيلية في حلي المملكة الاشبيلية
كتاب خدع الممالقة في حلي مملكة مالقة ∴ كتاب [a]الفروس في حلي مملكة بطَليوس
كتاب الحلب في حلي مملكة شلب ∴ كتاب الديباجة في حلي مملكة باجة
كتاب الرياض المصونة في حلي مملكه الِشبونة

[10] الحلي الذهبية في حلي الكورة القرطبية 'golden ornaments on the beauties of the district of Cordova.'

الدرر المصونة في حلي كورة بلكونة 'hidden pearls on the beauties of the district of Bolkúnah.'

محداثة السير في حلي كورة القصير 'the novelties of the road on the beauties of the district of Al-kosseyr.'

الوشي المصور في حلي كورة المدور 'variegated robes on the beauties of the district of Al-mudowár.'

نيل المراد في حلي كورة مراد 'the object of the traveller on the beauties of the district of Morád.'

المزنة في حلي كورة كزنة 'the white clouds on the beauties of the district of Koznah.'

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[a] The word *al-farús* may also mean 'the lion;' but as neither the one word nor the other has the least relation, that I know of, to the title of the book, (the rhyme only being intended,) I am unable to determine which of the two is meant.

الدر النافق في حلي كورة غافق 'valuable pearls on the beauties of the district of Gháfek.'

النفحة الارجة في حلي كورة استجة 'aromatic smells on the beauties of the district of Estijah.'

الكواكب الدرية في حلي الكورة القبرية 'shining constellations on the beauties of the district of Kabrah.

رقة المحبة في حلي كورة اصطبة 'the tenderness of the lover on the beauties of the district of Astabah.'

السوسانة في حلي كورة اليسانة 'the white lily on the beauties of the district of Al-yasénah.'

These titles will sound rather oddly to the chastened ear of an European; but here, as well as in the rest of this work, I have made no attempt to reconcile them by a freer translation to our general custom of entitling books. I have, on the contrary, offered on every occasion a most literal version; thus preferring to be accused of quaintness rather than of altering the signification, which in most instances it is extremely difficult to seize: the titles of Arabic books, indeed, are of the most fantastic kind; and it is but seldom that they have any connexion at all with the subject of the work. Thus, for instance, the chronology of the Sultáns of Africa and Spain, by Ibnu-l-khattíb, bears the appellation of 'silken vest embroidered with the needle;' a biography of Spanish Doctors, famous for their piety and learning, is entitled 'fragrant plants;' and a treatise on constancy of mind, 'approved butter.' This contagion seems to have passed from the Arabs to the Spaniards, since almost all the collections of romances and other poems printed in Spain during the sixteenth century bear some such title as '*Ramillete de flores amenas*' (nosegay of sweet smelling flowers); '*Primavera y flor de Romances*' (spring and flower of Romances); '*Cristales puros y fuentes claras*' (transparent crystals and limpid fountains); lastly, a Spanish writer of the sixteenth century published in 1554, at Antwerp, a work entitled '*Libro de caballeria celestial del pie de la rosa fragante*' (the book of celestial chivalry from the foot of the fragrant rose bush).

Most of the cities here mentioned preserve their Arabic names. Bolkúnah, a corruption of *Obulco*, ὁ Βουλκῶν of Strabo, and the *Municipium Pontificense* of Pliny, is now Porcuna; *Al-kosseyr* (the small castle) is the present Alcozer; *Al-mudowár*, which I find also written *Al-mudawar* and *Almudawwar*, is Almodovar del Rio, the ancient *Carbula; Morád*, or *Moréd*, as it ought to be pronounced, can be no other than Morente, a small town in the province of Cordova; *Koznah* is evidently the small village now called Cuzna.

11 My copy gives the titles of these four chapters thus—

النغم المطربة في حلي حضرة قرطبة 'the modulated intonations on the beauties of the city of Cordova.'

الصبيحة الغرا في حلي حضرة الزهراء 'the first morning dawn on the beauties of the court of Az-zahrá.'

البدايع الباهرة في حلي حضرة الزاهرة 'the glittering novelties on the beauties of the court of Az-záhirah.'

الوردة في حلي مدينة شقندة 'the rose on the beauties of the city of Shakandah.'

الجزعة السيعة في حلي كورة وزعة 'the mother-of-pearl vase on the beauties of the district of Waza'h.'

This last district, which, from the description given of it, must have been annexed to Cordova, is entirely unknown to me. I have been particular in transcribing in Arabic the titles of all the books, sections, chapters, &c., into which Ibnu Sa'íd's valuable work is divided, that they may be more easily recognised when discovered in the libraries of Europe, where I have no doubt some parts are in existence under other titles. I have already shown that some extracts from it are to be found in the British Museum, No. 6020. There is also in the Bodleian Library, No. 874, a volume entitled تاريخ ابي الحسن علي بن سعيد which appears to contain some fragments of his work.

[12] The Spanish version of Ar-rází says " *En rededor de los muros del alcazar del Rey ay treinta e tres* " *mil cobdos, e en tres vezes mil cobdos a una quarta de legua, e assi fazen dos leguas y tres quartas de legua.*"

[13] The author means, no doubt, of the large rivers, which have mostly kept their Roman or Iberian names, sometimes with the addition of Guada, and sometimes without, like Tajo (*Tagus*), Ebro (*Iber*), Xenil (*Singilis*), Segre (*Siccoris*), Xucar (*Sucron*), Duero (*Durius*), Guadiana (*Ana*), &c.; for, of less considerable streams, several may be pointed out which entirely owe their names to the Arabs, as Guadalabiad, or 'the white river,' وادي الابياض in Valencia; Guadalmedína, or 'the river of the city,' وادي المدينة near Malaga; Guadaroman (Guaroman), or 'the river of the pomegranate trees,' وادي الرمان near Carolina; Guadarrama, or 'the river of the throwing,' وادي الرماء near Madrid; and many more.

[14] Cordova was taken, according to the writers consulted by Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. iii. p. 18), on a Sunday, the twenty-third of Shawwál of the year six hundred and thirty-three, which answers to the 30th of June, A.D. 1236.

[15] A. reads حوا بنت الريحان The epitome حوا بيت الريحان I have preferred the reading in my manuscript, حوانيت الريحان which means 'the shops of the sellers of sweet basil.' I have translated *Ar-rakkákín* by 'bakers,' because I find in the *Kitábu-l-mughrib fí-l-loghah* that *rokák* means 'a small loaf.'

[16] حمام الانبيري—which I believe to be a mistake for الالبيري—If so, it means 'the inhabitant,' or 'born at Elvira' (Illiberis), near Granada.

[17] The word روضة (raudhah) means 'a garden;' but I have seen it used in Adh-dhobí and elsewhere for a burying ground, owing, no doubt, to the custom observed by the Moslems of planting their cemeteries with all sorts of trees and flowers. The Spanish word *rauda*, which is derived from it, has the same meaning. My copy reads simply *rabadhu-r-raudhah*, 'the suburb of the gardens or cemetery.' The word *rabadh* has likewise passed into the Spanish *arrabal*.

[18] *Salár* سلار is written thus in every manuscript. However, I find this suburb mentioned by Ibnu-l-khattíb in the life of Aslam Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, and written thus, شلار—I find it also written in this way, شبلار *chebalár*, in Adh-dhobí (Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 14), which, for aught I know, may be the true

reading. فران Farán and بربل Barbal are also mentioned by Adh-dhobí (*loco laudato*). That author says that they were both destroyed during the civil wars in the fifth century of the Hijra. Instead of Farán and Barbal my copy reads فرن *Feran* and بريل *Baril*.

19 The Roman causeway here alluded to is still preserved and used by muleteers; it leads from Cordova to Carmona, Anduxar, and Seville. This gate of Algesiras must have been called for some time *Bábu-l-jenán*, 'the gate of the gardens;' for I find it mentioned in Ibnu-l-abbár (Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 13).

20 لقد اطلعوا عند باب اليهود ∴ بدرًا ابي الحسن ان يكسفا
تراه اليهود على بابها ∴ اميراً فتحسبه يوسفا

Instead of بدر the principal MS. reads شموسًا—I have followed the reading in the epitome.

21 I need not observe that only a few pages before the author has said, quoting another writer, that Cordova was founded by Octavius. Contradictions of this kind are unavoidable from the plan followed by Al-makkarí in the composition of his history.

22 One of the copies reads قبط Copts instead of قوط Goths.

23 Vestiges of these works are still visible among the hills in the neighbourhood of Cordova.

24 It is remarkable enough that the three words here employed to designate '*lake*,' '*tank*,' and '*reservoir*,' should all have passed into the Spanish language. *Albuhera* or *albufera*, from بُحيرة *buheyrah* (a small sea), means 'a lake;' *alberca*, 'a tank' or 'pond,' comes from بركة *berkah*, which means the same in Arabic; *safareche*, 'a reservoir or place where water is kept for the purpose of irrigation,' from صهاريج *sahárij* (a cistern). Indeed, almost all words in the Spanish language meaning a receptacle for water, whether for drinking or for agricultural purposes, will be found to be derived from the Arabic: *aljibe* is 'a well,' from جوب *al-júb* or *al-jíb; alcubilla*, 'a small building in the shape of a dome built over a place where water is found,' comes from القُبيبة *al-kubiyah*, meaning 'a small cupola or kiosque;' *raudal*, 'any stream or volume of water whatever,' is from روضة *raudhah; azuda*, 'a dam constructed in a river or mill,' from سُد *sudd*, a 'wall,' an 'obstruction;' *azequia*, 'a canal for irrigation,' from الساقية *as-sákiyah*, which means the same; *azeña*, 'a sort of water wheel,' from السانية *as-sániyah*, which means 'a camel employed in carrying water for irrigation;' *anoria*, 'a Persian wheel,' from الناعُورة *an-ná'úrah*, and many other of the same sort.

25 Theodofred, Duke of Cordova, and father of the King Roderic, is said by Ambrosio Morales (*Cronica General*, vol. iii. fo. 197,) to have been the builder of this palace, the ruins of which were still visible in the days of the author about two miles from Cordova, in the midst of a field called *Casa-*

blanca. The Arabs often called the feudal lords among the Goths *Molúk, i. e.* 'kings.' The spot here called *Kudyat Abí 'Obeydah* (the hillock of Abú 'Obeydah), is mentioned by 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Habíb, the author of an historical work preserved in the Bodl. Lib., No. 127, Nic. Cat., fo. 158, under the name of "the hillock of Abú 'Abdah"—عَبْدَة

26 سطح المشرف—literally 'a terrace in a commanding situation.' The word *sotah,* whence the Spanish *asoteha* (and by corruption *azotéa*) is derived, means 'a terrace or flat roof on the top of the house.' The expression, 'the gates which God Almighty opened for the redress of injuries, &c.,' is an allusion to the ancient custom among Eastern monarchs of administering justice to their subjects sitting under the gate of their palaces, a custom which was religiously observed by the first Sultáns of the house of Umeyyah in Spain. See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 342, *et passim.*

27 There must be here some mistake. Narbonne was retaken by the Franks in 797 of our Era, under the reign of Al-hakem I., the grandfather of Mohammed; and from that moment it never afterwards made part of the Moslem dominions. Perhaps the author means Hishám, who not only stormed that city, plundered, and set it on fire, but obliged the inhabitants to furnish him with materials for the construction of the great mosque at Cordova.

28 Mohammed I., son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., and the fourth among the Sultáns of Cordova of the family of Umeyyah.

29 This was Mohammed Ibn Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbár, surnamed *Al-mahdí-billah,* who usurped the royal power in Cordova after the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Al-mansúr, in the year three hundred and ninety-nine of the Hijra (A.D. 1009).

30 Mr. Shakespear has constantly translated رمن *roman* by 'peach;' when it is notorious that this word means 'a pomegranate.' The sort of fruit here described is to this day called in Spain *granada zafarí,* and considered the best of its kind. Spaniards also call *ensalada romana* a sort of salad with which the grains of the pomegranate are mixed. In the description which the author of the *Karttás* gives of the agricultural productions round Fez he mentions, among other fruits, this sort of pomegranate. See the translation by José Antonio Moura, Lisboa, 1828, p. 43.

31 In the partition of lands made by the Amír Husám Ibn Dhirár Al-kelbí in A. H. one hundred and twenty-two (A.D. 740), the city of Malaga and the neighbouring districts fell to the lot of the Arabs of Al-urdán (that part of Palestine watered by the Jordan) and to the people of Ray or Rayya (a district of Persia), whence the name of Raya, afterwards given to Malaga, is most likely derived. See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 110, and a preceding note, p. 356.

32 The origin of this fruit is differently related in the treatise on agriculture by Ibnu-l-awám. It is said there that the pomegranate called شعري *sha'rí* (that is, hairy,) came from Baghdád or from Medína, and was sent as a present to 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. by his sister, then residing in the East; that it was called سفري *safrí,* or the traveller, owing to this circumstance. (See the Spanish translation by Banqueri, Madrid, 1802, vol. i. p. 274.) However, although the introduction of a particular species of

pomegranate may be owed to the Arabs, as here asserted, it is probable that the fruit existed already in Spain, since Isidorus Pacensis, who lived in the beginning of the eighth century, compares the Peninsula to a pomegranate, "*ut diceres, augustalem esse malo-granatum.*" (See Florez, *Esp. Sag.* vol. vii. sect. 60.) The author inserts here a poem which I have omitted, by Ahmed Ibn دوح Dauh, describing this fruit.

[33] Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, grandfather of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel I., Sultán of Cordova, built, not far from his capital, Damascus, a pleasure-house surrounded by gardens, to which he gave the name of *Rissáfah*, or, according to other writers, *Russáfah*.

[34] قصر الحَايِر might mean also 'the palace of the stupified or struck with amazement.'

[35] Abú Yahya was governor of Cordova during the reign of his father, Yúsuf Abú Ya'kúb, the second Sultán of the Almohades. He was beheaded by order of his brother, Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, in five hundred and eighty-two (A.D. 1186). See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 391, and the *Karttás*, translated by Moura, p. 230, *et seq.*

[36] Looking into the *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán*, by Al-fat'h Al-kaysí, I find at the place mentioned a poetical description of the palace called Dimashk, in Cordova. The entire name of the Wizír Ibn 'Ammár was Dhú-l-wizárateyn Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn 'Ammár. See Note 43, p. 341.

[37]
كل قصرٍ بعد الدمَشق يُذمّ ∴ فيه طابَ الجني و فاح المشمّ
منظر رَايقٌ و ماء نمير ∴ و ثري عَاطِرٌ و قصرٌ مشيمٌ
بت فيه و الليل و الفَجر ∴ عنبرٌ اشهب و مسْك احمّ

[38] This villa took its name from Ja'far Al-mus'hafí, who was Wizír to Hishám II., of Cordova. According to Ibnu-l-abbár, who gives a short description of it, it was one of the most magnificent country residences that were to be seen in the outskirts of Cordova. The gardens by which it was surrounded were very tastefully laid out, with grottos, marble walks, running fountains, &c.

[39] Zubeyr Ibn 'Omar Al-mulaththam governed Cordova for a short time during the absence of Abú-l-hasan 'Alí, Sultán of the Almoravides. Al-mulaththam, which means 'the wearer of the veil called *latham*,' was an epithet generally given to the Almoravides, because the tribe of Senhájah, to which they belonged, covered their faces with a triangular piece of cloth.

[40] *Na'urah* or *ná'úrah*, whence the Spanish *anoria*, means 'a water wheel' or 'a Persian wheel,' any contrivance to raise water for the purpose of irrigation. Wheels of the same clumsy description as those constructed by the Arabs are still in use all over Spain. According to Ibnu-l-khattíb these gardens gave their name to a certain quarter of Cordova called *Jahatu-n-ná'úrah*. Ibn Khákán says that the gardens and the palace built in the midst of them existed so late as the year four hundred and sixty-two (A.D. 1069-70).

[41] قصر الفارس M. Weyers (*Specimen criticum exhibens locos Ibn Khakani de Ibn Zeiduno*, Lugd. Batav. 1837, p. 74,) has conjectured that this pleasure-house was built by a noble Persian, named Shabúr, who settled in Cordova, and obtained the charge of Wizír during the reign of Al-hakem II.

A portion of the *kassídah*, to which Al-makkarí refers his readers, has been given by Ibn Khákán in his *Kaláyidu-l-'ikiyán*, at the life of the Wizír Ibn Zeydún, and translated by the above-mentioned eminent German scholar, who has added numerous notes and illustrations bespeaking the most exquisite erudition.

[42] مرج النضير—*Merj* is a green field, a piece of ground covered with grass. It means also a low and marshy spot; whence the Spaniards have made *marjal.*

[43] مرج الخر—*Khorro*, whence the Spanish *chorro* seems to be derived, means 'the noise produced by running water.' However, instead of خر the epitome reads خز *khaz*, which means 'a species of raw silk,' with which the Arabs used to ornament the saddles and bridles of their horses; in Spanish *jaez.*

[44] Instead of السراق *sorrák*, the plural of *sárik*, 'a thief,' another copy reads سرادق *sorádik*, which means 'a sort of awning,' generally used in Africa and Spain to keep the houses cool, and keep off the rays of the sun in the hot days of summer. Mr. Shakespear has likewise *surádik.*

[45] السد *As-sudd* (in Spanish *azuda*) means 'a dam,' any obstruction or impediment thrown in the bed of the river so as to turn its course, and direct the waters to a mill, or to a canal for the purpose of irrigation.

[46] The author introduces here some poetical descriptions of Cordova and its outskirts, which occupy several pages. I have translated them all, but the unusual length of some, and the little connexion they all have with the principal object of this work, (for no historical fact is to be gained by their perusal,) have prevented me from inserting them here; they may perhaps find a place in a work which I think of giving to the press at a future time on the poetry of the Arabs, viewed in connexion with the popular poetry of Spain. I shall, therefore, merely give here the names of the authors of the said poems: Kásim Ibn 'Abúd Ar-riyáhí; Músa Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd, and Ja'far Ibn 'Abdi-l-málik Ibn Sa'íd, the father and uncle of Abú-l-hasan Ibn Sa'íd (see Note 107, p. 440, and Note 37, p. 476); the Sherif الاصم Al-assam, of Cordova; Abú Sheybah, of Malaga; the Wizír Ibn Zeydún; Abú-l-hasan Al-merínì; the Wizír Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-kobtornah (see Casiri, vol. i. p. 105); the Wizír Abú-l-huseyn Ibnu-s-serráj, &c. &c.

[47] The Guadalquivir was, until practically observed at the beginning of this century, believed to have its rise in the same spring as the Segura. Owing to this circumstance the poets of Mohammedan Spain elegantly call the Guadalquivir شقيق وادي شقورة 'the uterine brother of the river Segura.'

[48] Probably the bridge, though begun under As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khaulání, was not completed until the times of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who succeeded him soon afterwards; the former having been killed in battle with the Franks. (See Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique*, vol. i. p. 117.) Conde attributes its erection to 'Anbasah, who ruled two years afterwards. See *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 75.

[49] All the copies read distinctly القلص—*i. e.* 'he that uses the قلص *kalass,*' probably an article of dress exclusively used by lawyers and theologians.

[50] المدونة *Al-madúnah* is the title of a celebrated work on the sect of Málik Ibn Ans, by a theologian named Abú 'Abdillah 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibnu-l-kásim Al-máliki (see Note 59, p. 455), who, according to Ibn Khallekán, died in one hundred and ninety-one (A. D. 806-7). Hájí Khalfah, who gives the title of this volume, mentions no less than nine other commentaries and epitomes of the work of Málik, mostly written by Spanish Arabs.

[51] The Rich copy reads كرتش—Mine and the epitome read كرناش Karnásh. I have followed the former reading here as well as in a preceding passage (see p. 389), where this word is likewise written *Kartásh.* I confess, however, that the name and situation of those places, if they be not the same, are unknown to me. Both silver and quicksilver (in Spanish *azogue* from the Arabic الزيبق) abound in the territory of Cordova; the former at Guadalcanal, the latter at Priego.

[52] Two of the copies read سيطالسة *Sittálisah,* another يسطالسة *Yastálisah,* neither of which is now in existence. (See Appendix A., p. xix.) In the *Cronica General,* fo. 412, Ferdinand III. is said to have passed through a town called *Sietefilia* on his way to Cordova. The زنجفر *zonjifor,* which Ibnu-l-beyttar translates by 'a sort of vermilion which is generally found in quicksilver mines,' is the cinnabar.

[53] الشرنج in my copy; that in the British Museum reads شرنج—but I believe سرنج *sirenj* is intended. (See Avicennæ Opera Arabicè, fo. ٢٢٢). Might not *sirenj,* which is the same thing as the stone called *hæmatites,* be a corruption of the Spanish word *sangre?*

[54] My copy reads here احصيتُ دور قرطبة التي بها و ارباضها ايام محمد بن ابي عامر 'I counted the houses and suburbs of Cordova during the times of Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir;' I did not therefore think myself justified in translating 'numbered, &c.,' as Mr. Shakespear has done, p. 184.

[55] The word translated by 'wooden cabins' is مصاري the plural of مصرية—which is often used by African writers to designate a ship-cabin or any light house built only of wood. The editor of the original Travels of Ibn Battúttah, in describing the ككم *kakam,* (a sort of vessel used by the Chinese,) says as follows: و تكون فيهم البيوت و المصاري و الغرف للتجار و المصرية منها يكون فيها البيوت و السنداس و عليها المفتاح يسدها صاحبها و يحمل فيها الجواري و النساء و ربما كان الرجل في مصرية فلا يعرف به غيره ممن يكون بالمركب حتي يتلاقيا اذا وصلا الي بعض البلاد و البحرية يسكنون فيها اولادهم ∴ ∴ ∴

"Each of these vessels is provided with a certain number of rooms, *cabins,* and recesses for the use of "merchants and passengers; some of the *cabins* will even be composed of various apartments with "curtains or blinds, and have doors with locks. The occupant of the cabin will keep the key of it in his "possession, for it frequently happens that merchants take with them their wives and family. So

"secluded are these cabins that the people inside of them will be entirely unknown to each other during "the voyage, unless they happen to meet on the deck when the vessel goes into port. There are other "cabins for the use of the crew, who generally keep their children in them."

The word *masariyah* means now, on the coast of Barbary, a slightly constructed room in one side of the house, a sort of a ground floor where the Moors receive their guests, transact business, or lodge unmarried men; it is called also دار الضيفان *dáru-dh-dheyfán*, or 'the apartment of the guests.' The word *masarí* has been preserved in the dialect spoken in the Balearic Islands, which is the Lemosine or Provençal, and is used to designate a study or cabinet on the ground floor.

56 My copy reads 'eighty-two thousand four hundred and fifty-five.' The word which I have translated lower down by 'markets' is سوق *súk* or *sok*, whence the Spanish *zocco*. It was then customary, and it is so now in Spain, to give that name to any narrow street lined on both sides by the shops of dealers in a particular trade. What we now call market-place was then called *alfondák*, a word which the Spaniards corrupted first into *alfondica*, and thence into *alhondiga*. The *fondák* (whence the Italian *fondaco* and the Spanish *fondà*) was, properly speaking, a large inn, a caravansary, where the foreign traders were accommodated with rooms to dwell in, as well as with a suitable place to exhibit their goods for sale.

57 It was during the glorious reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., and more especially under that of his grandson, Hishám II., that the capital of Mohammedan Spain reached the highest degree of splendour and magnificence.

58 Instead of 'eight hundred and thirty-seven mosques,' both my copy and the epitome read 'three thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven,' while the principal MS. reads distinctly 'three hundred thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven!' I have not hesitated in reducing their number as above, especially when I find the eight hundred and thirty-seven recorded in a description of the city of Cordova, written in Spanish, but with Arabic letters, in the year 1462, by an Aragonian Moor, named *Mohammed, fijo de Ali, fijo de Isaac, el ballestero* (Mohammed, son of 'Alí, son of Is'hák, the maker of cross-bows). I shall hereafter give a more detailed account of this manuscript.

59 The number of houses which Cordova is said to have contained during the prosperous times of the Khalifate, may at first sight appear rather hyperbolical; but if we consider the mode of living of the Mohammedans, among whom each family always occupies an entire house, however small it may be; if we reflect that Arabs even from Damascus, Baghdád, and other great capitals of the East, who travelled to Spain, all bore testimony to the extraordinary size and extent of Cordova during the Khalifate, (see Ibn Haúkal's Geography, Arab. MS. in the Bodl. Lib., No. 963, fo. 87, *et passim;*) we may safely adopt Ibnu Sa'id's computation as that which is nearest the truth. Besides, it is probable that the number of 'fifty-six thousand,' fixed for palaces and residences of public officers and people of distinction, includes all the houses in Cordova built of masonry, and that all the remaining were mostly barracks, tents, wooden houses, &c. It is well known that Al-mansúr, as well to serve his ambitious views as to push on his conquests against the Christians, made considerable drafts and recruited his armies from the opposite coast of Africa, and that at one time the outskirts of Cordova were covered with the *dowárs* or encampments of the Senhájah, Zenátah, Masmúdah, Gomárah, and other African tribes.

60 Again, instead of 'seven hundred,' I read 'seventeen hundred mosques' in the principal MS.; but to judge by what precedes as well as by what follows, the former must have been the number intended.

The number of mosques which Cordova is said to have contained cannot be much exaggerated. In that of the baths there might be an error, and perhaps سابع 'seven' is to be read instead of تاسع 'nine.' Marmol Carvajal, who visited Fez in the sixteenth century, states the number of the mosques in that city and its suburbs at six hundred and fifty, of which fifty were very large, and the baths at eighty-five. Leo Africanus also confirms the statement. The author of the *Karttás* says, that in the days of Al-mansúr, Sultán of the Almohades, the city of Fez contained seven hundred and eighty-five mosques; forty-two tanks or reservoirs supplied with water from the river or from springs; ninety-three bath-houses for the use of the public; eighty-nine thousand two hundred and thirty-six houses; nineteen thousand four hundred and forty-one *masári* or wooden cabins; four hundred and sixty-seven inns; nine thousand shops, &c. See the translation by Padre Moura, Lisboa, 1828, p. 48; Marmol, *Des. de Africa*, vol. ii. fo. 86, *verso, et seq.*; and Leo Africanus, *apud* Ramusium.

Mr. Shakespear's copy adds that the number of *minárets* or towers, whence the people were summoned to prayer, was four thousand three hundred, which would give the same number of mosques, since the two are always joined.

CHAPTER II.

1 'Obeyd Ibnu-l-jerráh and Kháled Ibn Walíd were the two Arabian generals who, under the Khalifate of 'Omar, son of Al-khattáb, (A.H. 14,) took the city of Damascus, when the principal temple was by them divided as here stated. See Al-makín, *Hist. Sar. apud* Erpenium, fo. 28, and Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 223.

2 The epitome reads شنت نلجنت—A. بلجنت *Binjent*, which I suppose is meant for St. Vincent, who suffered martyrdom in Valencia under the Proconsul Dacien, the 22nd of January, A.D. 304, and who is called by St. Paulinus the "glory and ornament of Spain." (See the *Flos Sanctorum.*) But among the Christian temples mentioned by Florez (*Esp. Sag.* vol. ix. p. 121) as existing in Cordova before the invasion, I find none dedicated to St. Vincent. It will, perhaps, not be amiss to observe here that Ibn Habíb (*loco laudato*, fo. 158,) says that the principal Christian church in Cordova, at the time of the taking of that city by the Moslems, stood in the quarter of the city called *Kudyat Abí 'Abdah* (see Note 25, p. 487), not far from the dwelling of Asbagh Ibn Halíl.

3 يعلقون سقيفة بعد سقيفة—literally 'they kept suspending or adding roof after roof.' From the word *sakífah*, adding to it *sámí*, which in Arabic means 'high or elevated,' the Spaniards have made the word *zaqui-zamí*, سقيف سامي now signifying 'a garret,' but the meaning of which was formerly, as in Arabic, the space between the plastering and the roof, tiling, or covering of a house. I find this word used by Marmol (*Africa*, vol. ii. fo. 176,) to designate the open space underneath a gateway where the guards of a city generally stand.

4 According to Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 215), the building of the mosque was not begun until two years afterwards (A.D. 786). Ar-rází says in the year 169. It is by mistake that Abú-l-fedá places

this event in A. H. 121. (See *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 61.) Rodericus Toletanus (*ad calc. Erpen.* fo. 18) says in 149; Ibn Shihnah in 171.

[5] The whole of this passage seems to be only a repetition of what Al-makín, Abú-l-fedá, Abú-l-faraj, and other Arabian historians, whose works we possess translated into Latin, relate of the Khalif Al-walid, who erected the great mosque at Damascus. See *Hist. Sar.* apud Erp. fo. 71; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* tom. i. pp. 429, 433; and Abú-l-faraj, *Hist. Dyn.* p. 129.

[6] Abú-l-fedá (vol. ii. p. 61) says 'one hundred thousand.' The same may be read in Ibn Shihnah (Ar. MS. Brit. Mus., No. 7328).

و انفق في دين الاله و وجهه ∴ ثمانين الفا من لجين و عسجد
توزعها في مسجد امة التقي ∴ و منهجة دين النبي محمد
تري الذهب البازي فوق سموكه ∴ يلوح كبرق العارض المتوقد

Dih'yah might not be a name, but the office of this poet, for the word دحية means 'a general' in the dialect of Yemen. The patronymic البلوني Al-balúní seems to indicate that Mohammed was a native of Bolonia, the Βελὼν of Strabo, and the Βαιλὼν of Ptolemy, between Bæsippo and Melaria. The epitomist of the original Travels of Ibn Battúttah had also the patronymic البيلوني Al-baylúní.

[7] Both the principal MS. and the epitome have simply 'that 'Abdu-r-rahmán ordered the *zakhrafah* or gilt-work to be made.' The word زخرفة which may also be pronounced *zokhrofah*, means 'gilding.' Instead of خزرفة the epitome reads زخرفة

[8] مجمع المفترق—literally 'the union of what is scattered.' The title of this work is not in Hájí Khalfah.

[9] The word بلاط plur. بلاطات which I have every where translated *aisles*, is not in the Dictionaries. M. de Quatremère translates it by chapels, *chapelles*, (see his fragment of Al-bekrí in vol. xii. *des Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bib. du Roi*, pp. 439, 592, *et passim*;) but in what way the learned Frenchman applies that meaning to a mosque, I am unable to comprehend. I find it used by Ibn Bashkúwál, fos. 72 and 135, by Ibnu-l-khattíb, and by almost every African or Spanish writer, as applied to the aisles or naves in a mosque, or, rather, to the space between each row of columns, which the Spaniards call *calle*, that is, 'alley,' 'walk.' In describing the mosque of Damascus, Ibn Battúttah (original Travels) uses the following expressions: و بلاطات مسجد دمشق ثلاثة مستطيلة من شرق الي غرب سعة كل بلاط منها ثمان عشرة خطوة و قد قامت الي اربع و خمسين سارية و ثماني ارجل خصية

"and the aisles in the mosque of Damascus are three in number, extending from east to west, each of "the aisles being ten paces wide, and resting upon fifty-four columns and eight square pillars."

I find also in the *Barnámej* by 'Obeydullah Ibn Yúsuf (Arab. MS. in the Escur. Lib., No. 1818), و حكي ان بالجمع مدينة اقليش بلاط فيه جوايز منشورة مربعة مستوية الاطراف طول الجايزة منها ماية شبر و اربعة عشرين شبراً ∴ ∴ ∴
" and they relate that in the principal mosque of the city of Uclés there is an aisle with large beams (thrown " over) sawed, squared, and having the ends smoothed and made equal; and they say, that each of these " beams measures in length one hundred and twenty-four spans." I find likewise in the *Kitábu-l-'ayn,* or a Dictionary of the Arabic language (Ar. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 571,) بلاط ج بلاطات هي كالبهو " *balátt,* which forms its plural *baláttát,* means the same thing as *bahu,*" that is, 'a piece of ground or any thing long and narrow.' I need not add that the circumstance of the present cathedral of Cordova consisting of nineteen aisles intersected by twenty-nine others (as here described) removes all doubt as to the real meaning of the word *balátt* when applied to a mosque.

[10] I have stated elsewhere my reasons for translating the word *jauf* for the north-west, in opposition to the *kiblah,* which in all Mohammedan temples, in Spain as well as in Africa, was (as far as I can judge from several passages of Ibn Bashkúwál) a little inclined towards the south-east. However, when treating of the dimensions of a mosque, I have always preferred preserving the original word to prevent all mistake; *jauf* meaning, properly, 'the body of the mosque,' or that part of it which was opposite to the *kiblah,* to which ever point of the compass this might be turned.

[11] صحن *sahan,* in Spanish *zaguan,* is 'an open court,' and sometimes 'a porch.'

[12] The actual dimensions of the mosque are as follow: in length, from north to south, six hundred and twenty feet; in width four hundred and forty. The court measures in length two hundred and twenty.

[13] The doors of the cathedral were still covered in the sixteenth century with plates of brass, as here described. See Amb. Morales, *Antig. de España,* fo. 121.

[14] It is almost impossible to fix with any degree of certainty the number of columns of all sizes which the mosque of Cordova contained during the times of Mohammedan sway. Both Ambrosio de Morales and the Infante Don Juan Manuel, who described it before their numbers were considerably reduced by the modern unnecessary, not to say barbarous, alterations to which that building has been exposed, state it at one thousand and twelve, but it is not unlikely that when the mosque was converted into a church, some were removed to make room for altars, chapels, and the like. See *Conde de Lucanor,* by Don Juan Manuel, and Morales, *Antig. de España,* Alcalá, 1575, fo. 119, *et seq.*

[15] The *makssúrah* is a screen or enclosure surrounding the *mihráb* with a sort of throne or platform, somewhat elevated above the level of the mosque, where the Sultán sits; it is generally railed in. The whole of that space which was taken up by the *makssúrah* is now occupied by the chapel of San Estevan.

[16] In Mr. Shakespear's copy the *makssúrah* is said to have been built by Al-hakem II.

[17] The word which I have translated by 'cornices' is شرافات the plural of شرفة—In that sense I find it commonly used by the Arabian writers of Spain.

[18] The *mihráb* is a cavity in the wall of a mosque, showing to the Mohammedans the point of the compass towards which the *ka'bah* stands. Behind it was a room where the Koráns were usually kept. Both are now converted into a chapel, consecrated to St. Peter, and which the inhabitants of Cordova vulgarly call *la capilla del zancarron* (the chapel of the chin-bone), from a popular belief that that of Mohammed was preserved in it.

[19] I find this word written سُفيسفاء *sofeysafá*, which, no doubt, is a transposition of فُسيفساء *foseyfasá*: the word is not in the Dictionaries; but I find in the *Kitábu-l-'ayn* الفُسَيفَسا شي يطبخ من الزجاج و الاحجار ذو بهجة و الوان و ربما يرد له الذهب او الفضة "the *foseyfasá* is a substance made "of glass and small pebbles baked together, and uniting with great variety of colour great brilliancy and "beauty; it is sometimes mixed with silver or gold." In this sense I find the word used by Al-bekrí, fo. 44, and by Bakúwí, p. 427, as well as by Ibn Battúttah in his description of the imperial palace at Constantinople. The words of the latter author are as follow: و دخلوا بي الي مشور كبير حيطانه بالفسيفسا قد نُقش بها صور المخلوقات من الحيوان و الجماد "I was introduced into an extensive "hall, the walls of which were all covered with enamel, having figures of men and beasts engraved "upon it." I find also in various writers that this substance came from Greece. According to the historian Sá'id, (Bodl. Lib., No. 713,) one of the conditions of the peace granted to the Emperor of Constantinople by the Khalif Al-walíd was that he should provide him with a certain quantity of *foseyfasá* or enamelled work for the great mosque he was building at Damascus; and Idrísí, in his description of the mosque of Cordova, says that the enamel which covered the walls of the *mihráb* came from Constantinople, and was put up by Greeks whom 'Abdu-r-rahmán had engaged for that purpose.

[20] فرجة *firjah* or *forjah* means 'a rent or opening on one side of a robe.' Hence the Spanish *alforza* (with the article), meaning the same thing, and *alforja*, 'a travelling bag.' It is here applied to an open space which must have been cut out of the body of the mosque to form the *makssúrah*.

[21] عضاضتي the dual number for عضاضة—which I presume means the jambs of the arch at the entrance of the *mihráb* (now the chapel of St. Peter), where the four columns here described are placed.

[22] Instead of منبر *manbar*, 'a pulpit,' the copy used by Mr. Shakespear must read مرية *mariah*, 'a mirror;' or else that gentleman would not have introduced here a speculum or reflector, of which there is not the least mention in the other copies. (See Murphy's History of the Mohammedan Empire, p. 181.) What follows leaves no doubt as to which of the two is the true reading.

This pulpit was to be seen in the cathedral of Cordova as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, when it was destroyed, and its materials employed in the construction of an altar. It was known under the name of *carro de Almanzor* (the chariot of Al-mansúr), no doubt because it stood upon wheels, as that which the author of the *Karttás* describes in the mosque of Fez. See Morales, *Antig. de España*, fo. 10, *et seq.*, and Moura, *Historia dos Soberanos*, p. 54, *et seq.*

[23] Ibnu-l-beyttar describes this wood in the following words: بقم ابو حنيفة هو خشب شجر عظام

و ورقه مثل ورق اللوز اخضر و ساقه و افنانه حمر و نباته بارض الهند و الزنج و يصبغ بطبيخه

"The *bakam*, according to Abú Hanífah, is the wood of a large tree, the leaves of which resemble in "colour those of the *al-lúz* (in Spanish *alloza*, 'almond tree'); they are green, but the trunk and the "branches are of a reddish hue. It grows in India, and in the country of Zinj (Ethiopia), and a decoction "of it is used for dyeing." It is, I believe, the Brazil wood.

[24] There were at one time in the Christian states of Spain various descriptions of gold coin called *mizcal*, from the Arabic مثقال *mithkál*. Hence that coined by Mohammedan sovereigns was distinguished by the appellative "Mohammedí."

[25] This mosque was so called from its being built in that quarter of the city of Fez which was inhabited by the people of Cairwán. For a detailed account of the building the reader is referred to Moura's translation of the *Karttás*, Leo Africanus, *apud* Ramusium, and Marmol, *Descripcion de Africa*, vol. ii. fo. 86, *et seq*.

[26] The Khattíb, or preacher, Ibn Marzúk, of whom I have given an account in a preceding note (Note 90, p. 437), wrote, according to Hájí Khalfah, a work entitled المسند الصحيح 'collection of the traditions contained in the Sahíh.' There is in the British Museum, No. 9486, a volume containing extracts from his other works.

[27] Ibnu-l-khattíb says, "that when Ibn Ghániyyah, the general of the Almoravides, took possession of "Cordova in the year five hundred and forty-one of the Hijra (A.D. 1146), the Christians, who were his "auxiliaries, penetrated into the great mosque, tied their horses to the columns of the *makssúrah*, and "profaned with their impious hands the sacred Korán that was preserved in its *mihráb;* and that in con-"sequence of this, when the Sultán 'Abdu-l-múmen retook Cordova from the hands of Ibn Ghániyyah, "unwilling to leave such a jewel exposed to further pollution, he determined upon having it sent to a "more secure place; and always afterwards took it in all his military expeditions wrapped up in a "precious case which he ordered to be made." The author of the *Karttás* says as much in nearly the same terms. See also Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. pp. 321, 351.

[28] This is the same prince whom Ibnu-l-khattíb, in his *Al-hololu-l-markúmah* (or silken gown embroidered with the needle), calls Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn Abí-l-'olá Idrís, surnamed Sa'íd, who was the ninth Sultán of the Almohades, and was killed in a battle fought before Telemsán against Yaghmarasán, the founder of the dynasty of the Bení Zayyán. See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 224, where this event is erroneously placed in 641, although a few pages further (229 and 263) it is said to have happened in 646. The author of the *Karttás* agrees with Ibnu-l-khattíb in the year of Abú-l-hasan's death, which he places on a Tuesday, the last day of Safar, but differs as to the spot where the battle was fought, which he fixes at تامزجورت Támezjúrt (Moura reads Tameradit), instead of Telemsán. See Moura, p. 383, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 443.

[29] Instead of Ibráhím the author ought to have said *Ibn Ibráhím;* since, according to Ibnu-l-khattíb (*loco laudato*, p. 224,) and to the *Karttás*, Abú-l-hasan's successor was called Abú Hafs 'Omar Ibn Abí Ibráhím Is'hák Al-murtadhí. He was killed, according to the above-mentioned writers, on the twenty-second of Safar of the year six hundred and sixty-five (November, A.D. 1266), at Azamor, while trying

to reduce to obedience a relative of his who had revolted; and not, as Al-makkarí seems to imply, in war against Yaghmarasán. He was not the son but the brother-in-law of Abú-l-'olá.

30 One of the copies reads التجيبي At-tojibí, by the simple addition of one point. Both patronymics were common to the Spanish Arabs.

31 Ibn Battúttah, who visited Damascus in the year seven hundred and forty-six of the Hijra (A.D. 1345), and who gives in his original Travels a very full description of the famous mosque of that city, says that he saw in the *makssúrah* the Korán here alluded to as being one of the four sent by the Khalif 'Othmán. I ought to observe that both Idrísí and Ibnu-l-abbár treat of this Korán as being in the mosque of Cordova in their time. The latter author, who declares he saw it, says that it was called 'Othmání, not because it was written by 'Othmán, or had been presented by him to any mosque, but because it contained four leaves out of a Korán which that Khalif held against his bosom when he was pierced by the daggers of his assassins. "Traces of the precious blood of the Khalif were still visible in my time," says Ibnu-l-abbár. The geographer Ibn Iyás (Brit. Mus., No. 7503, fo. 9,) corroborates the statement.

32 التجغي is, I believe, a patronymic taken from one of the Berber tribes.

33 The reader may consult the learned memoir by the late M. De Sacy, *Not. et Extr. des MSS.* vol. viii., where the origin of these four copies of the Korán, considered authentic by the Mohammedans, is satisfactorily explained.

34 Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Ya'kúb Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk, Sultán of Fez, of the dynasty of the Bení Merín, succeeded to the throne of his father in the year seven hundred and thirty-one of the Hijra. (See Ibnu-l-khattíb, *apud* Casiri, vol. ii. p. 301, and Conde, vol. ii. p. 451.) This Prince is not mentioned by the author of the *Karttás*, whose chronology reaches only to the year 726; but I find an account of him in a short history of Morocco described elsewhere, Note 73, p. 349. Abú-l-hasan reigned twenty years and four months; after which he was killed in the mountains of Hentetah, in the jurisdiction of Morocco, towards the end of Rabi' I., A. H. seven hundred and fifty-two (A.D. 1351).

35 The famous battle of Tarifa, or *la batalla del Salado* (as it is called by the Spaniards), was fought on Monday, the ninth of Jumáda I., A.H. seven hundred and forty-one (Oct. A.D. 1340), by the combined armies of Castile and Portugal.

36 I have omitted a *kassídah* of unusual length, describing this Korán, the different cases and bags in which it was wrapped, and the additional ornaments with which it was embellished by the Sultán Abú-l-hasan, when it was brought to Fez, the capital of his dominions. The names of the merchants who procured it from the Portuguese are said to have been Abú Sa'íd and Abú Ya'kúb, but no mention is made of the manner in which the book was acquired. Ibn Rashíd, from whom the account is borrowed, is the author of an itinerary alluded to elsewhere. See p. 437.

37 صومعة *sauma'h* is an African word used by Al-bekrí, Ibnu Khaldún, and other writers, to designate the square tower or steeple of a mosque. It was synonymous with المنارة *al-menárah*, whence the Spanish words *alminar* and *almenara*. Casiri and Conde have often mistaken in their translations the

minbar or pulpit inside the mosque (in Spanish *alminbar*) for the tower attached to the building, which is called *almenárah*. From *sauma'h* the Spaniards made *zoma*. Father Figuerola, in his *Tratado contra el Alcorán* (a MS. work in my possession), fo. 40, *verso*, says "*Zomas son unas torres altas y estrechas en* "*que un Moro se subia para llamar los demas á la zala.*" The last word, *zala*, is likewise Arabic, and comes from *salát* (prayer).

[38] An inscription commemorating the building of this tower is still preserved on one of the interior walls. It bears the date of Dhí-l-hajjah, A.H. 354, that is, four years after the accession of Al-hakem II.

[39] I think the author means "in the hand-writing of the Khalif Al-hakem," who is reported to have composed a book on the history of Spain, from which Ibnu Hayyán, Ibnu Bashkúwál, and other eminent historians, borrowed considerably. This, too, would agree better with the reading of my copy, where it is said "in a book in the hand-writing of the Khalif Al-mustanser-billah."

[40] The word I have translated 'reservoir for purification' is الميضاءة from وضا—which means 'to make ablutions.'

[41] The text says, supplied with water from بير السانية *bír as-sániyah*, that is, a well, the water of which is raised to the surface by a camel turning round. The word *azeña* has been preserved in Spanish to designate a water mill.

[42] The word الساقية in Spanish *azequia*, is a canal for the purpose of irrigation or to convey drinking water.

[43] The Spanish words *caño, cañeria, cañada*, are all derived from the Arabic قناة *kannát*, which means 'a reed,' (in Spanish *caña*,) and figuratively, a subterraneous canal through which water is made to flow, a pipe.

[44] Rather 'cisterns,' for such is the meaning of جواب *jawáb*, the plural of جوب *júb* or *jíb*, whence the Spanish *algibe*.

[45] These marble receptacles for water may still be seen in the cathedral of Cordova. The quarry whence they were extracted is likewise shown by the peasants at a few miles from the city.

[46] I find a description of this establishment in the Biographical Dictionary of Ibnu Bashkúwál, in the article 'Ahmed Ibn Kháled,' a poet who resided in it for a long time. It appears that it was chiefly destined for poor theologians, or students who came to Cordova from the provinces to study the law. Eminent literary men, poets, orators, and historians, were also admitted and honourably treated. The former received a daily allowance of food, and provisions of all sorts, besides a small sum of money; the latter received yearly pensions from the treasury, each according to his merits or station in life.

[47] Al-beládhorí, an ancient geographer who described Spain in the fourth century of the Hijra, and Ibn Haukal, who copied him, say that the extensive plain of *Fahssu-l-bolútt*, close to Cordova, was

in their time entirely covered with the houses and tents of the African tribes, owing to the crowded population of the capital.

48 Instead of the 'court of the mosque,' the author no doubt means 'in the spot, which, after the building of the addition, would have been appropriated to the court.'

49 *Beyt-mál* signifies a treasury, and also a certain sum of money (one million of dinárs), according to Ibnu Khaldún, whose words are as follow: و بيت المال في اصطلاح عمال الدولة و قهارمتها الف الف دينار مكررة الالف مرتين "the *beyt-mál* among treasurers and governors is equivalent to one million of dinárs." In the present case the expression is used *per synecdochen*, as the Spaniards, when they want to extol the value of a thing, say "*Vale un Potosí*,"—it is worth a Potosí,—a mountain in South America where gold was found in large quantities.

50 See page 220. For a plan of the mosque of Cordova, as it was in the times of the Arabs, the reader is referred to the drawings of Murphy, and the splendid work published by the Spanish Academy of San Fernando in 1780. In neither work, however, are the various additions painted in colours.

51 The word اعلاج *a'láj*, which I have translated by 'slaves,' is the plural of علج *'alaj*, and means, properly speaking, 'a barbarian or foreigner,' and hence 'a Christian.' In the latter times of the Mohammedan empire in Spain the word *'aláj*, which passed afterwards into the Spanish *elche*, was applied by the Moslems to all those among their countrymen who held communion with the Christians.

52 This cistern, which occupies almost the whole of the court, is still preserved as in the days of Al-mansúr. It is built in the shape of a vault made with strong arches.

53 The meaning of the word مشاكي *masháki* is entirely unknown to me. It is only by guess that I have translated 'supporters;' for if the author means a sort of frame, within which the wick of a Moorish lamp of this description is encompassed to prevent its sinking into the oil, they are generally made of lighter materials than lead, such as cork, wood, sometimes a very thin piece of tin, &c. It may also mean a sort of ring made of lead or wire, within which glasses or lamps of this kind are generally suspended.

54 The قنطر *kintar*, whence the Spanish *quintal*, is a measure of weight of one hundred pounds. Most of the Spanish names for weights and measures are derived from the Arabic: for instance, *arroba*, a weight of twenty-five pounds, comes from الربع *ar-roba'*, which in Arabic means the fourth part of a *kintar; arralde* and *arrelde* are pounds, from رطل *rattl; xeme*, a span, is from شامة *shemeh; almud*, a measure for grain, is from مد *mudd*, which might itself be a corruption of *modius; cahiz* and *cafiz* are from قفيز *kafíz; aukía*, an ounce, comes from اوقيا *oukiyyah*, and this seemingly from the Greek οὐγκία; *kilate*, a weight of four grains, from قراط or قيراط κεράτιον, a bean, and the weight of a bean; *danique*, a weight of two *kirats*, from دانق—*mizcal*, a weight of 1⅞ drachms, from

مثقال—*adarme,* a drachm, from درهم *dirhem; cantara,* a measure for wines and other liquids, is from قنطرة—*azumbre* and *zelemin* from زنبل *zunbel* and سلمي *salemí,* &c.

[55] According to Ash-shakandí (see p. 41) some of these lamps were Christian bells suspended from the ceiling in an inverted position, with their concavities upwards. I remember having read the same thing in Ibnu-l-abbár. Marmol Carvajal, (*Descrip. de Africa,* vol. ii. fo. 86,) while treating of Fez, says that in the great mosque called *Mesjidu-l-kairawín* there were some bronze lamps cast out of the materials of bells brought from Spain. In one of his expeditions against the Christians, Al-mansúr removed the bells of the church of Santiago, and brought them to Cordova. See Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 331.

[56] I have here omitted the translation of a long *kassídah,* by the Faquih and Kátib Abú Mohammed Ibráhím Ibn Sáhibi-s-salát Al-welbáni (of Huelva), giving an account of this mosque.

[57] That is to say, during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. and that of his successors, Al-hakem II. and Hishám II., for these are the only three sovereigns of the house of Umeyyah who assumed in Spain the title of Khalifs.

[58] I am inclined to believe that Al-makkarí made here a mistake, since the phenomenon which he describes is attributed by almost every Arabian geographer I have consulted to a globe of quicksilver placed in the centre of a circular hall in the palace of Az-zahrá, not in the mosque of Cordova.

[59] *Nashaku-l-azhár fí 'ajáyibi-l-akttár* is the title of a geographical work by Ibn Iyás. (See Preface.) I have collated this passage with a copy of that work in the Brit. Mus., No. 7503, fo. 9. The author gives likewise the dimensions of the mosque, and the number of lamps, which he calls تنور *tanúr,* (in Spanish *atanor,*) but adds no new particulars.

[60] Some of the ovals here alluded to are still remaining, but the inscriptions were carefully effaced when the mosque was transformed into a Christian temple. However, those in the *mihráb,* and in the angles near the tower, did not share the same fate.

CHAPTER III.

[1] I find that my MS. copy, as well as the printed editions of Ibn Khallekán, gives this passage somewhat differently. The breadth of the building is stated at fifteen hundred cubits, and the total expenditure at *fifteen millions* of dinárs.

[2] It is unnecessary to remark, that although no doubt can be entertained that this sumptuous city once existed, and in the site too which all authors agree in giving it, no remains of any kind are extant to remind the traveller of the scenes here described.

[3] The word زاملة *zámilah*, whence the Spanish *azemila* is derived, means 'a beast of burden.'

[4] التبليط from بلط 'to pave with large flags of stone.' To pave with bricks, or with pounded clay, as is generally the custom all through Africa, is called تفريش *tafrish*, from *farrasha*, 'to strew, to lay down any thing flat.'

[5] The nineteen columns here said to have come from the country of the Franks were probably brought from Narbonne, a city abounding with temples and other monuments of antiquity, and which Hishám I. plundered of every material that might be appropriated for the building of the great mosque of Cordova. It is likely that those brought from Tarragona had a similar origin.

[6] المجزّعة I believe means 'streaked marble,' or a sort of veined jasper, which the Spaniards call *marmol de aguas*.

[7] According to the meaning given to the word *beyt-mál* in a former note (p. 500), the total expenditure upon this palace would have been fifteen millions of dinárs. But, by multiplying the twenty-five years of An-nássir's reign by three hundred thousand dinárs, which he is reported to have spent annually, I only obtain seven millions and a half, which leads me to suppose that Ibnu Khaldún committed an error when he said that a *beyt-mál* was one million of dinárs.

[8] Instead of 'eighty *mudd* and seven *kafíz*,' I suspect that the contrary is meant by the author, since the latter measure is larger than the former. I find in the *Kitábu-l-'ayn*, an Arabic Dictionary of great repute among the Spanish Arabs, that the *kafíz*, whence the Spanish *cahiz*, was a measure for grain containing eight-and-forty *mudd*, each *kafíz* being equal to four صاع *sá'*, and each *sá'* equivalent to four *mudd*. At present the *mudd*, or *almud* as it is called in Spain, is the twelfth part of the bushel; and the *cahiz* is no longer used as a measure of capacity, but as one of extension. It is used to designate a piece of ground capable of receiving twelve *fanegas* (bushels) of corn in seed.

[9] Instead of احمد اليوناني 'Ahmed the Greek,' my copy and the epitome read الفيلسوف 'Ahmed the philosopher.' Such also appears to have been the reading in Mr. Shakespear's manuscript.

[10] It is recorded both by Christian and Mohammedan writers that a Christian bishop was employed by 'Abdu-r-rahmán in several embassies to the sovereigns of Europe, and, among others, to Otho, Emperor of Germany. The bishop's name, however, was Recemundus, not ربيع Rabi', which is a truly Arabic name. See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum*, sæc. v. p. 404, *et seq*.

[11] This would imply that the fountain came from some city in the interior of Asia, not from Constantinople, as here stated, or else there was no necessity for its being transported by land to the sea shore.

[12] المونس—*i. e.* 'the hall of familiarity and pleasure.' Instead of ناصب الناصر I read in one of the copies ناصب الناصب 'and the architect fixed it in the middle,' &c. Cardonne calls this hall 'the hall of the Khalifate.' See *Hist. de l' Afrique*, vol. i. p. 332.

[13] I have already stated that the words *dár san'áh* meant 'house of construction,' and were applied by the Arabs to a yard for the building of ships, as well as to an arsenal where weapons were manufactured or stored in time of peace.

[14] شاهين—which is described by Ad-demírí as a species of hawk. The word is Persian, and means 'royal.'

[15] الحِداَة From the description which Ad-demírí gives of this bird I conclude that it is a 'kite.' He calls it "the robber among the feathered tribe, because it lives entirely upon the food which other birds "procure, and which it steals from their nests."

[16] The Emperor Leo having died in the very year of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's accession, it is probable that the pearl formed a portion of the offerings in the embassy afterwards dispatched by his son Constantine, or in that of Romanus. See App. A., p. xxiv.

[17] The word which I have translated by 'arches' is حنايا the plural of حنية 'an arch of the horse-shoe form.' The author of the *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah,* who describes also this hall, says that the gates were sixteen, eight on each side.

[18] Al-makkarí borrowed this from Ibn Iyás. See the work of that geographer in the British Museum, fos. 9 and 165, *verso*.

[19] I read in the *Kitábu-l-ja'ráfiyyah* that the quicksilver came from Betrosh (los Pedroches), not far from Cordova.

[20] There must be here some mistake, for if the entire length of the mosque from *kiblah* to *jauf* (that is, from north-west to south-east,) was, as the author says afterwards, ninety-seven cubits, the aisles or rows of columns must have measured more than thirty cubits in length. However, as the three copies which I have used, as well as that in Mr. Shakespear's possession, offer the same reading, I have translated the sentence as I found it.

[21] My Spanish manuscript computes their number at twelve thousand. Having often alluded to a Spanish manuscript in my possession written with Arabic letters, and purporting to be a description of Cordova and Az-zahrá during the reign of the Bení Umeyyah, I now proceed to describe it in a few words, as the information upon this topic may be of some utility, and works of this kind are but imperfectly known. The work, a volume in quarto, was formerly in the collection of Casiri, who, unable to read its contents, described it on the fly leaf as containing a treatise in Arabic on the cabalistical science. The contents of the book are various: 1st. A description of Cordova and its principal buildings during the time of its greatest splendour, entitled *Hadiz de Cordoba e de lo que era en tienbo de los Banu Umayya sacado de las cronicas de los alimes.*[b] 2nd. Some chapters from the Korán in Arabic, with an interlinear version and a commentary in Spanish. 3rd. A few prayers and religious

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[b] There are two words in this title which are Arabic, not Spanish: *Hadiz*, which means 'a tale, a narrative preserved by tradition;' and *alime* from *'alam*, 'a doctor, theologian, or learned man.'

instructions. 4th. Several drafts of deeds and contracts passed between Moriscos. The first article, to which I now allude, is imperfect at the end, and was probably bound with the other treatises long after it had ceased to be complete, for it bears all the traces of great antiquity, being probably written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, while all the other documents appear from a note at the end of the volume to have been transcribed at Huesca, in Aragon, in 1603. The author is nowhere mentioned, but he must have been a Mohammedan in heart, if not externally, for the work begins with the usual invocations to Allah and his messenger Mohammed. In the course of the narrative the works of Ibnu Hayyán and Al-fat'h Al-kaysí, two celebrated historians, are frequently quoted, and every thing tends to prove that it is a compilation from Arabian sources. However, viewed in an historical light, the work is of little or no value; besides being incomplete, it is in most instances fabulous, and generally exaggerated. It is evidently the work of some wretched Morisco, who, moved at the degraded condition of his fellow citizens living under the Spanish yoke, undertook to retrace to their minds the scenes of past glory and magnificence which surrounded the throne of the Khalifs.

Manuscripts of this kind are by no means uncommon; they abound in the Escurial Library, where Casiri often met with them, and invariably described them as being Arabic. There are upwards of one hundred in the National Library at Madrid; and it is natural to suppose that hundreds of them upon all subjects perished in the flames of the *autos de fé*. They were to be found as late as the seventeenth century all along the coast of Africa, whither the exiled Moriscos carried them. (See Morgan's Mahometism Explained, London, 1725.) The library of the University of Cambridge, those of Stockholm, Paris, and many others on the continent, possess a few of these interesting relics. The author of this note procured some for the late De Sacy, with whom he maintained a correspondence of several years on the subject. For further information upon this interesting topic the reader is referred to an article in the Foreign Quarterly Review for January, 1839, where a rapid sketch of the origin, progress, and probable causes of the Morisco literature has been given.

22 Mr. Shakespear has rendered حمص by 'black pulse,' and I have followed his translation; the word, however, is susceptible of various meanings, 'lentils,' 'pease,' or what the Spaniards call *garbanzos*.

23 A. reads السطح المبرد—my copy and the epitome الصفح المموه I think, however, that السطح المرمر is the right reading. مرمر is nothing more than the Latin word *marmor* arabicised.

24 القوالب—the plural of قالب from قلب 'to turn.'

25 All the copies read *Al-mansúr* (the victorious), but as there was no king of the family of Dhí-n-nún who assumed that title, I think that *Al-mámún* is to be substituted.

CHAPTER IV.

1 When Ambrosio Morales wrote, the aqueduct here described was for the most part entire. It is now very much dilapidated, but such portion as remains is still used for the conveyance of water for culinary purposes to the city.

[2] The author here introduces a description of Cordova, which he professes to have read in an anonymous work in the East, but as it contains much which has already been translated, I have thought proper to suppress it in the body of the work, and insert it here.

" Cordova is the capital of Andalus, and the residence of its Khalifs; it is a great and populous city, " inhabited by Arabs of the noblest and principal families in the land, who are distinguished by " the elegance of their manners, the superiority of their mind and wit, and the opulence and exquisite " taste which they display in their meals, drink, dress, and horses. There thou wilt find doctors " shining with all sorts of learning, poets endowed with every talent, lords distinguished by their " virtues and generosity, warriors renowned for their expeditions into the countries of the infidels, " and officers experienced in all sorts of warfare. The city of Cordova is divided into five cities or " quarters immediately contiguous to each other, but separated by a high and strongly-fortified " wall. Each of these five cities has within its precincts every thing that is requisite either for " the comfort or the luxuries of its inhabitants, such as baths, markets, inns, shops, and trades of " every description. Cordova is three miles in length and one in width;[c] it is built at the foot of " a mountain which commands it: in the third city, which now occupies the centre of the town, " there is a bridge and a mosque, neither of which buildings have their equal in the world. The " latter measures one hundred cubits in length, and eighty in breadth. It contains one thousand " large columns and one hundred and thirteen brass chandeliers, the largest of which is capable of " holding at least one thousand lights. There is besides in this mosque so much carving and inlaid " work, and this so admirably executed, as to baffle all attempts at description. In the *kiblah*, especially, " there are works of art which dazzle the eyes of the spectator. In that part of the mosque occupied by " the *mihráb* there are seven arches resting upon columns of the most beautiful marble, and rising to " such a height that both Christians and Moslems are continually expressing their admiration at their " beautiful proportions. The jambs forming the arch at the entrance of the *mihráb* are made of " four columns of inestimable value, two of green marble, the other two of lapis-lazuli. There is also " a pulpit, which has not its equal in all the inhabited world; it is constructed with precious and aromatic " woods, such as the Indian plantain, ebony, *bakam*, and aloes wood. It is said in the history of the Bení " Umeyyah that this pulpit was built and carved in the space of seven years by the hands of eight " workmen continually employed on it, each of whom received a *mithkál Mohammedí* as his daily wages, " and that the total amount of expense incurred for it was one thousand and fifty *mithkáls*. The tower is " likewise considered one of the wonders of the world. It is very lofty, and wide in proportion, being " entirely built of freestone, which gives it extraordinary solidity. On the top of it are three balls, which " the people of Cordova call pomegranates, and which are supported on a spike of gilt brass rising high in " the air. Two of these pomegranates are made of pure gold; the middle one is of silver. Above these " rises a six-petalled lily, also made of gold, and on the top of all a smaller pomegranate, also made of " the purest gold. The walls of the tower, both in the interior and externally, are ornamented with such " fanciful drawings and ingenious work that it is quite out of our power to describe it. There is also in " this mosque a large store-room full of silver and gold lamps to place on the above-mentioned chandeliers " for the purpose of lighting the mosque, as well as a most beautiful copy of the blessed Korán, written, as " it is supposed, in the hand of the Khalif 'Othmán. The entrance to the mosque is by twenty doors covered " with Andalusian brass, highly polished, and kept in such a state of brilliancy and preservation that " whoever looks at them at noon may fancy them so many suns. But what surpasses all this are " the three columns of red marble in the body of the mosque, since any one may see plainly inscribed on

[c] No doubt exclusive of the suburbs.

"them, by the finger of the Almighty, in one the name of Mohammed, on the other the figure of Moses' "staff, and the sleepers of the cave, and on the third and last Noah's crow; the whole of these extra-"ordinary representations being the creation of the Almighty, and not in any way the work of man. As "to the bridge of Cordova, it is a real wonder of art; seen from the river it presents the most beautiful "aspect,—in fact, it may be said that no bridge in the world can be compared to it. It stands upon "seventeen arches, each arch being fifty spans in width, and the intermediate space being also fifty "spans. In one word, the interior beauties of Cordova baffle all description. As to the palace of "Az-zahrá, which 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir caused to be built near Cordova, on a plain which is only "separated from that city by the river, we need not mention it here, since it is well known that its "erection is the best testimony that can be adduced of the power and splendour of the dynasty of the "Beni Umeyyah in Andalus. It has been described by orators and poets with the most elegant and "brilliant metaphors, and there is no scholar in the East or West who is not acquainted with some of the "poetical descriptions written by the learned of Cordova and other cities."

The author then fills several pages with verses in praise of the palaces of Az-zahrá, Cordova, Seville, and Toledo, among which the most conspicuous is a long *kassídah* by an author called Ibn حمديس Hamdís, the Sicilian, describing a palace built in Seville by Al-mu'atamed, King of that city.

[3] During the civil wars which preceded the accession of Suleymán to the throne of Cordova, the city was repeatedly plundered by the Berbers serving under the banners of the princes of the house of Idrís.

[4] Conde fell into the same mistake, no doubt misled by the authorities he consulted. See vol. i. p. 526.

[5] كتاب الازهار و الانوار 'the flowers and the lights.' This work, which Al-makkarí quotes more than once without giving the name of its author, appears to have been a history of Al-mansúr. The title is not to be found in Hájí Khalfah.

[6] نِيلُوفَر *Níleufar*, of which *nenuphar* is a corruption, is the 'water-lily,' a species of Nymphæa.

[7] The word شنجول (which in another copy is written سنجول) is not to be found in the Dictionaries; I believe it to be African. The author of the *Kitábu-l-iktifá fí akhbári-l-kholafá* says that it means 'a fool,' احمق—and that 'Abdu-r-rahmán was so called by the people owing to his profligate life and impious habits; his familiarity with common soldiers, and men from the lowest ranks of society; his drinking of wine, and other spirituous liquors, of which he made a constant and most immoderate use; and, above all, his impudence and folly in exacting from the people of Cordova an oath of allegiance, and causing himself to be appointed successor to the throne after the death of Hishám.

[8] This Mohammed was the son of Hishám (not the Khalif), son of 'Abdu-l-jabbár, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., surnamed *An-nássir lidín-illah*, the seventh sovereign of the house of Umeyyah. The particulars of his rebellion will be more fully stated in another part of this work.

[9] كان لم يكن الحجون الي الصفا ∴ انيس و لم يسمر بمكة سامر

بلي نحن كنّا اهلها فنهلكن ∴ كصروف اليالي و الجدود العواثر

This last verse reads differently in the collection of Arabian poetry to which I have alluded Note 21, p. 368.

بلي نحن كنّا اهلها فابادنا ∴ صروف اليالي و الجدود العواثر

The meaning would be thus altered: "Certainly we, who were its inmates, have been separated by the "revolution of days, and the passing away of generations." *Safá* and *Hajún* are the names of two hillocks in the neighbourhood of Mekka.

10 I have read in the *Reyhánu-l-albáb* that some armour inlaid with gold, which had belonged to Al-mansúr, became the property of an African monarch.

11 The name of this Wizír was Abú-l-hazm (not Hazm) Jehwar Ibn Mohammed Ibn Jehwar. Further mention will be made of him in the second volume of this translation.

12 قلت يوما لدار قوم تفانوا ∴ اين سكانك العزاز علينا
فاجابت هنا اقاموا قليلاً ∴ ثم ثاروا و لست اعلم اينا

13 يا دار فيك من كل دار ∴ فجعل الله منك في كل دار

14 Florez (*España Sagrada*, vol. iii. fo. 121,) gives the names of all the Christian churches which existed in Cordova during the time of the Mohammedan domination; I find, however, none called St. Mary.

15 Ibn Shoheyd is the same individual mentioned Note 168, p. 468.

16 و غرست سرو استيناس says the text. *Saru* means 'a cypress tree,' but the word استيناس is not to be found in the Dictionaries.

17 One of the copies reads زبار—I have substituted زنار

18 I read in A. كانها يرشق من كاسها شبه لميا—my copy has كانها يرشف من كاسها شفه لميا. The former is, without doubt, the right reading.

19 Alluding, doubtless, to an image of the Holy Maid.

20 My copy reads بزيورة—but زبور 'the psaltery' is probably meant.

21 و لرب حان قد شممت بداره ∴ خمر الصباء مزجت بصرف عصيره

في فتية جعلوا السرور شعارهم ∴ متصاغرين تخشعًا لكبيره
و القس مما شآء طول مقامنا ∴ يدعوا بعود حولنا بزبوره
يهدي لنا بالراح كل مصفد ∴ كالخشف خفره التماح خفيره
تتناول الطرفا فيه و شربها ∴ لسلافه و الاكل من خنزيره

Instead of بداره I read in the epitome بديره—which appears to me more correct, and ought to be translated by 'the monastery.'

22 By Al-bájí the author doubtless intends the celebrated theologian Abú-l-walíd Suleymán Ibn Khalf Ibn Sa'd Ibn Ayúb At-tojibí, who, being originally from Bájah or Beja, a town in Africa, took the patronymic of "Al-bájí." See Appendix A., p. vi.

23 A celebrated theologian born in Spain, whose works were very much esteemed. See Note 52, p. 454.

24 At-tortoshí means 'one from Tortosa,' a town in Aragon. I know of no author who had this patronymic except Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibnu-l-walíd Al-fehrí, the author of the *Seráju-l-molúk*. See Note 8, p. 414.

25 In A. ابن شاس The epitome reads ابن ساش

26 One of the author's ancestors. His entire name was Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Al-makkarí At-telemsání. He was one of the tutors of Ibnu-l-khattíb. See Note 1, p. 302.

27 نياحة from ناح 'to cry for the loss of a wife.'

28 Such I believe to be the meaning of the word تشاوم from شام 'to be ominous.'

29 The breaking up of the Cordovan empire took place soon after the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the second son of the Wizír Al-mansúr.

30 During the sway of the Khalifs of the house of Umeyyah, the Kádí-l-jum'ah or Kádí-l-kodá at Cordova was the head of the law in their dominions. But when their empire was overthrown, and their dominions divided among their generals, each small kingdom had a Kádí-l-kodá, who no longer acknowledged the authority of that of Cordova.

31 The new city of Fez, which some geographers call *Al-baydhá* (the white city), was founded by Ya'kúb Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk, the first sovereign of the family of Merín. See Marmol, *Descrip. de Africa*, vol. ii. fo. 91.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

[1] The present book, the second in the original text, occupies fos. 30 to 43, *verso*, in the Rich MS. I have translated it entire, with the exception of such passages as I found repeated elsewhere, and the numerous poetical extracts with which the narrative is interspersed.

[2] زويت لي مشارق الارض و مغاربها و سيبلغ ملك امّتي ما زوي لي منها—This is one of the numerous traditional sayings attributed to the Prophet. Ibn Salámah, who records it in his voluminous collection of traditions (Ar. MS. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1482), refers it to 'Ayyeshah, the widow of the Prophet.

[3] The word صاحب *Sáhib* means 'a lord, master, king,' &c. Its signification is very vague. It is frequently used to designate a sovereign ruling independent in a country, but who has not assumed the title of Khalif. It is also given to the king of a nation of infidels, as *Sáhib Konstantiniyyah* (the Emperor of Constantinople); *Sáhib Toleytolah* (the King of Toledo). Sometimes, too, it implies a governor, and such is no doubt the meaning intended in this passage; but as Roderic is lower down called also *Sáhib*, and the Arabian writers are at variance respecting Ilyán, I have preferred the more vague appellation of 'Lord.'

[4] يليان النصراني 'Ilyán the Christian.' It is my intention to investigate, in the course of these notes, the country, religion, and deeds of this celebrated instrument of the conquest of Spain; but, before I proceed any further, I think it necessary to state my reasons for spelling his name differently from any other writer on Spanish history. It is well known that the Arabs write generally without vowels; the want, however, is easily supplied by the help of grammar and the dictionaries; not so with proper names, the reading of which, unless they are pointed, becomes a mere matter of guess. Hence it is that Ibn Khallekán, As-safadí, Abú-l-mahásen, and their best biographers, give always the spelling of geographical and proper names. The word يليان not pointed, may be read *Yalyán* or *Ilyán*, but by no means *Julian*, as the generality of the Spanish historians have written it; for had such been the reading intended by the Arabs, they would have written يوليان as in the words يوسف *Yúsuf*, يوناني *Yúnání*, يوحانا *Yúhánâ*, &c. In the present work the names of Julius Cæsar and of the Emperor Julianus are always written يوليوش يوليانوش—This of itself would be sufficient to settle the reading

of the word يليان had I not repeatedly met with it in Ibnu Khaldún's history of the Berbers written and pointed thus, يِلْيَان—which at once dissipates all doubts that might arise with regard to it. Besides, both Al-bekrí (*loco laudato*, fo. 77, *verso*,) and Shehábu-d-dín Al-fásí (Ar. MS. in my possession) call this celebrated individual إِلْيَان—a word which, though differently written, is pronounced in the same manner, *Ilyán*. The *Cronica General*, attributed to Alfonso *el sabio*, but which, undoubtedly, was the work of converted Arabs and Jews, has likewise *Illan*; and lastly, San Pedro Pascual, who wrote in the dungeons of Granada at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and who must have heard the Mohammedans pronounce his name, calls him *Don Yllan*.

5 Roderic is again called *Ludherik*, the change of *l* into *r*, and *vice versâ*, being frequent among the Arabs. In what follows I shall always call him "Roderic," in whatever way his name may be written.

6 The appointment of Músa to the government of Africa has been placed ten years later by some Arabian writers; but there can be no doubt that those who did so confounded his confirmation by Al-walíd, in A.H. 88, with his appointment by 'Abdu-l-malek, which happened ten years before. See App. E., p. lv.

7 As will be seen hereafter (App. E., p. lv.), Músa's appointment originated in the command given him by 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, Viceroy of Egypt, and brother to the reigning Khalif, 'Abdu-l-malek. This took place towards the end of the year 78, Músa not entering Western Africa until early the next year, a circumstance which accounts for the discrepancy here observed between the accounts of Al-homaydí and Ibnu Hayyán.

Directly after this passage there follows in the MS. another, conceived in nearly the same words, but placing Músa's nomination in 89, and making it proceed from 'Abdullah, governor of Egypt. I need scarcely point out the circumstance which gave rise to so erroneous a statement. After the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz (A.H. 86), 'Abdu-l-malek appointed 'Abdullah, another of his brothers, to succeed him, and it is probable that Músa, whose government of Africa was a dependency of Egypt, had to take the customary oath of allegiance to the new Viceroy.

8 The Arabian geographers divide the regions watered by the river Sús into *al-adání*, or 'the nearest,' and *al-aksá*, or 'the remote.' The former was naturally that part which fell nearest to their possessions in Eastern Africa; the latter, that extensive country beyond the Sús, and bordering on Súdán. See Marmol, *Descrip. de Africa*, vol. ii. fo. 15, *verso*; Idrísí, *clim.* ii. *sect.* 11; Grammaye, *Africa Illustrata*, p. 18.

9 If the Khalif's share amounted to sixty thousand, the number of captives taken in these expeditions must have been three hundred thousand, since the fifth of all the spoil gained in war belonged by right to the sovereign.

10 Owing to the system of warfare adopted by the Arabs, it is not improbable that the number of captives here specified fell into Músa's hands. It appears both from Christian and Arabian authorities that populous towns were not unfrequently razed to the ground, and their inhabitants, amounting to several thousands, led into captivity.

11 This account is literally transcribed from Ibn Khallekán at the life of Músa Ibn Nosseyr (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 758), or rather from the writers consulted by that biographer.

12 The prayer which Músa is supposed to have uttered on this occasion was still repeated nine centuries afterwards by the Moriscos whenever the soil was threatened by a drought. I have it written in Spanish, but with the Arabic letters, nearly nine hundred years afterwards. It is entitled لَا رُغَتِبَ كَا فِزُ مُوسَي فِجّ ذَا نُصَيْر قُوَانْدُ اَشْتَبَ اَنْ اَفْرِيكَة إِ اَشْ مِيْ اَقُنْزِلَنْتَ بَرَ تِيَنْبُوشْ ذَا شَكَا

13 This disagrees with what is afterwards stated, that Músa besieged Tangiers, but could not take it. My copy adds و طنجة هي قصبة ملك البربر "and Tangiers was the capital or residence of the King "of the Berbers."

14 و لم تكن قبله فُتحت ثم استغلقت—literally 'it had never been opened before him, and was afterwards secured with locks;' the word *fataha* meaning 'to open a door,' and metaphorically 'to enter a town by conquest.'

15 Músa experienced little or no difficulty in enlisting under his banners the motley tribes of Berbers who inhabited the northern shores of Africa. A similarity of habits, the same love of war and plunder, the same roving propensities, and the existence of various traditions current amongst them, purporting them to be sprung from the same stock as the invaders,—a belief which the wary old general tried dexterously to strengthen,—rendered easy that which, under any other circumstances, it would have been next to impossible to accomplish. The Berbers, too, were sunk in the grossest ignorance; a few only professed Christianity. A considerable portion still worshipped idols, but the greatest number professed Judaism, a circumstance which the reader must bear in mind, as it will be found to have powerfully contributed to the invasion and conquest of Spain by the Mohammedans.

16 By the word *Rúm*, which I have translated by 'Greeks,' the author means the Imperialists, in whose hands were still some of the fortresses and ports lining the northern shores of Africa. The word was first used to designate the Romans of the lower empire and the people living in its dependencies. It became in time a synonyme for Christian, owing to the Greeks generally professing Christianity. However, Ibnu Khaldún, in his history of the Berbers (Brit. Mus., No. 9575, fo. 48), condemns the use of the word in the latter acceptation. He says, "I do not recollect ever meeting with the word *Rúm* as "applied to any nation or race of people inhabiting this country (Africa), at the time of its occupation "by the Arabs, nor have I ever met with that word in the ancient works which relate the said events, "whence I conclude that they were called so by antonomasia; since the Arabs of those days, not being "acquainted with the Franks (Vandals) as a nation, and having no other people to deal with and make "war upon in Syria but the Rúm, to whose empire they imagined all the other Christian nations to be "tributary, thought that Heraclius, the Roman Emperor, was the King of all Christendom. Hence the "name of *Rúm* was by them given to all the Christian nations."

17 الحزيني The patronymic of an historian whose name and surname are unknown to me.

18 How far the dominions of the Goths extended over Africa is not clearly specified either by the Byzantine or by the Visigothic historians. That they kept possession of both Ceuta and Tangiers, which they considered as the keys of the Strait, and ruled at one time over the mountain districts of Gomera, may be inferred from Isidorus Pacensis, and the Monk of Silos; but, as I shall show hereafter, it is more than probable that, at the time of the Saracen invasion, the authority of the Gothic monarchs was slightly, if at all, acknowledged in Africa. My copy has here a very remarkable passage, which strengthens this conjecture: فيها عمّال لصاحب الاندلس قد غلبوا عليها و علي ما حولها " After " this they (the Moslems) marched against the towns on the sea shore, in which were governors " appointed by the King of Andalus; but these had lately shaken off his allegiance, and made themselves " the masters of them, as well as of the neighbouring districts."

19 There is no mention whatever in the Arabian historians of the taking of Ceuta; this account is therefore the most probable. If Ilyán concluded a treaty with Músa (as afterwards stated), there was no occasion for the surrender of that city.

20 The name of this monarch is written in some copies غطيشة—in others غيطيشة—in a fragment of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah in my possession غَيْطَشَة There can be no doubt, however, of its being meant for Wittiza, although there is no historical evidence of his ever having sent troops to Africa. That monarch was too much occupied in quelling rebellion at home,—or, according to other authorities, too deeply plunged in vice,—to attend to his dominions across the sea. It is probable that the author meant اجيج *Ejih* or Egica, who, according to the testimony of both Arabian and Christian writers, dispatched Theodomir (the Arabs call him Adfunsh) with a fleet to ravage the Mohammedan settlements along the coast of Northern Africa. Adh-dhobí (Arab. MS. in the Nat. Lib. Mad., Gg. 14,) puts this event in A. H. eighty-four, which answers to A. D. 772; at which time Egica reigned alone, and had not yet appointed Wittiza his partner in the empire.

21 توفي عن اولاد 'he died leaving sons,' without stating their number; although lower down they are said to have been three. As to their being children when their father died, how could that be, when the same historian afterwards represents them as commanding armies?

22 The *Muktabis* is, as I have stated elsewhere, (Note 3, p. 310,) the title of an historical work by Abú Merwán Hayyán Ibn Khalf Ibn Hayyán, of Cordova, who flourished in the eleventh century of our Era. Roderic is generally believed to have been the son of Theodofred, Duke of Cordova, who was a descendant from Chindaswind.

23 The writer here quoted is no doubt Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, who says explicitly, ان اخر ملوك القوط غَيْطَشَة توفي عن ثلاثة اولاد اكبرهم المُنْذ ثم رُملة ثم ارطباس و كانوا صغارًا عند وفاة ابيهم فضبطت عليهم امّهم ملك ابيهم بطُلَيْطُلة و انحرف لوذريق و كان قايدًا للملك ابيهم بمن يطيق به من رجال الحرب فاحتال قرطبة ∴ ∴ ∴

" They say that Wittiza was the last King of the Goths, and that he died leaving three male children, the

"eldest Almond, the second Romalah, and the third Artabás, all of whom were very young when their "father died. Accordingly, their mother administered the kingdom of their father in their name, and "took up her residence at Toledo. In the meanwhile Roderic, who had been general of the forces under "the King their father, revolted with such of the troops as would follow his party, and marched upon "Cordova, where he fixed his residence."

Roderic's accession to the throne is, like most events of that important period, enveloped in darkness; and amongst the contradictory accounts of the Spanish historians it is next to impossible to decide at what time and by what means Roderic accomplished his usurpation. *Rodericus tumultuosè regnum hortante senatu invadit*, says Isidorus (*Esp. Sag.* vol. viii. No. 34); but whether he did so after the death of Wittiza, as Sebastianus (*Esp. Sag.* vol. xiii. p. 478) states, and is here surmised by Ibnu Hayyán and Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, or whether he succeeded in wresting the power from the hands of that monarch, and reigning conjointly with him, as Rodericus Toletanus (lib. iii. cap. xvii.) asserts, is not clearly ascertained. The latter opinion, however, appears the most probable, as by means of it we are enabled to reconcile the account of Sebastian, who gives Roderic a reign of three years, with that of Isidorus, who makes him reign only one.

[24] See Ambrosio Morales (*Cron. Gen.* vol. iii. p. 200), who mentions also this rebellion.

[25] The text says في هذه العدوة الجنوبية 'along these southern shores,' meaning those of the Mediterranean. Ibnu Khaldún, the author from whom this is transcribed, was a native of Africa, and was residing in it at the time he wrote. In similar cases, whenever the coast of Africa is meant, I have translated by 'northern shore' or 'northern coast,' to avoid confusion. In general, the African historians designate the coast of their country under the name of *'udwatu-l-janúbiyyah* (southern shore), to distinguish it from those of Spain, which they call *'udwatu-sh-shamaliyyah* (northern shore).

[26] The mountains of Gomera are a branch of the Atlas, so denominated after an African tribe called the Bení Ghomárah, who afterwards played so distinguished a part in the last wars of Granada. Their name was corrupted by the Spaniards into *Gomeles*.

[27] Ilyán is here distinctly called ملك البرابرة 'King of the Berbers.'

[28] و كان يدين بطاعتهم و بملّتهم—literally 'he obeyed their sway, and followed their religion.'

[29] The author is right; most of the Arabian historians allude to some enmity having arisen between Roderic and Ilyán, which became the principal cause of the conquest. See Ibnu-l-khattíb, (*apud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 251,) the historians consulted by Conde, Cardonne, and Desguignes, and in general all those who wrote after the eleventh century of our Era. Those of an older date, if they mention Ilyán at all, say nothing about his misunderstanding with Roderic.

[30] This fable, which has found its way into most of the sober histories of Spain, was first introduced by the Monk of Silos, a chronicler of the eleventh century. There can be no doubt that he borrowed it from the Arabs, but it seems hard to believe that it was altogether a tale of their invention. There are facts in it which an Arab could not have invented unless he drew them from Christian sources; and, as I shall show hereafter, the Arabs knew and consulted the writings of the Christians. If Ilyán was Roderic's vassal,—if he was his *Comes Spathariorum*, or captain of his body-guard, (which some of the

Spanish historians have translated by *Conde de las Esparteras!*)—there is nothing improbable in his daughter being educated in the royal palace.

[31] Another account calls him " Lord of Tangiers and Ceuta."

[32] يانير *Yánir,* from Januarius. This is a further proof of what I have stated above, Note 30.

[33] Instead of شذانقة *shadhankah* I believe *shudhanikah* is intended; my copy reads شذانقات *shadhánikát.* Both might be the plurals of شذانق—which seems to be a corruption of the Persian سوذنق *saudhanik,* 'a species of hawk.' I have in vain looked in Ad-demírí for a description of this bird.

I cannot pass in silence a very curious circumstance which I find recorded in the historical work of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, for a copy of which I am indebted to my friend Dr. Sprenger, who kindly transcribed it for me from one in the Royal Library at Paris. The work is but a short one, and the facts therein stated are very meagre; but, besides the author being himself a writer of the tenth century, he was (see Note 96, p. 460,) a descendant of Wittiza in the female line. Ilyán is there said to have been a merchant, and the cause of his enmity to Roderic, and his treason to the Goths, is thus explained: و كان سبب دخوله الاندلس ان تاجراً من تجار العجم يُسمي يليان كان يختلف من الاندلس الي بلاد البربر و كانت طنجة [منزله فولي] عليها و كان اهل طنجة علي [ملة] النصرانية و يجلب الي لوذريق عتاق الخيل و البزاة من ذلك الجانب فتوفيت زوجة التاجر و تركت له ابنةً جميلةً فامره لوذريق بالتوجه الي العدوة فاعتزربه بوفاة زوجته وانه ليس له احد يترك ابنته معه فامر بادخالها القصر فرفعت عين لوذيق عليها فا ستحسنها فنالها فاعلمتْ اباها بذلك عند قدومه فقال للوذريق ان تركت خيلا و بزاة لم ير مثلها فاذن له في التوجه فيها و بعث معها المال و قصد طارق ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴

" And the cause of Tárik's entering Andalus was this:—A foreign merchant, whose name was Ilyán, " was in the habit of crossing from Andalus to the country of the Berbers. The city of Tangiers " was his residence, and he ruled in it as master; the inhabitants professed the Christian religion. " . . . . This merchant used to bring to Roderic horses, hawks, and other productions of those " countries. It happened, however, that the wife of the merchant came to die, leaving him one daughter, " of great beauty; and Roderic having commanded him to repair to Africa, he excused himself with his " wife's death, and his having no one to entrust with the care of his daughter while he was absent; " upon which the King ordered that she should be lodged in his own palace. But Roderic's eye having " rested on her, he was taken in love with her charms, and he obtained the gratification of his wishes. " Upon the return of Ilyán to court, the girl apprised him of what had taken place; and Ilyán said to " Roderic, 'I have in store for thee horses and hawks, such as thou never sawest before in thy life.' " He then asked his permission to take away his daughter with him; and his request being granted, " Roderic suffered her to depart, after loading her with presents and money. Ilyán then went to see " Tárik, &c."

[34] The Greeks are here called *Yúnán* or Ionians, a name which the Arabs gave to the ancient inhabitants of Greece.

[35] This is allusive to the general drought which is elsewhere said to have depopulated Spain. See p. 23.

[36] The Arabian geographers are very fond of comparisons of this sort; but in this, as in many other things, they only imitated the Greeks.

[37] The word employed here is تلسمان 'a talisman, a charm, spell,' &c.

[38] The word رحي *raha*, which means 'a mill-stone,' and also 'a water-mill,' was appropriated by the Arabs to any hydraulic engine. The Spanish verb *rajar*, meaning 'to break down,' 'to crush,' is derived from it.

[39] Al-makkarí has shown here great ignorance by confounding the wharf or bridge elsewhere attributed to Alexander (see p. 28), with the mole or road which connects Cadiz with the main land, (see p. 77.) There can, however, be no doubt that the author whose words are here introduced alludes to a viaduct by means of which water was conveyed to Cadiz from the main land across an arm of the sea, and the remains of which were visible as late as the seventeenth century.

[40] A long white stripe, probably a bank of whitish clay, which is visible at low water in certain parts of the Straits of Gibraltar, gave, no doubt, rise to this conjecture. See Tofiño, *Derrotero de las Costas de España*, p. 10.

[41] I would willingly have suppressed this episodical account, more fitted for a collection of Arabian tales than for a sober history, were it not that it is to be found word for word in the ancient chronicles of Spain, and that I deemed it important to show the sources whence it originated. It is an error to suppose, as some modern critics have done, that the ridiculous fables which disfigure this part of the Spanish annals are the conception of the heated imaginations of the pious chroniclers of the middle ages; nor can they either be wholly attributed to the more fantastic minds of the Arabs. It was in the midst of populous cities like Toledo, Cordova, and Seville, and among the motley elements which formed their population,—Jews, Muzarabs, and Moors,—speaking a sort of jargon called *aljamia*, that these and other fables of the same stamp were forged and adopted by the Arabs, who, as usual, imparted to them an eastern colouring. The unravelling of the romantic portion of the Spanish annals is not my business at this moment, but it would greatly contribute to illustrate the history of romance in Europe.

[42] The description of this figure answers to that of a statue of Hercules.

[43] كفال *kafál* is 'a padlock.' In ancient Spanish writings the word *cafela* has an analogous meaning.

[44] This may be found word for word in Rodericus Toletanus (*De Reb. Hisp.* lib. iii, cap. xx.), in the *Cronica General* (cap. LV. fo. cc.), and in the authors who drew from either source.

[45] Roderic is called by this writer إريقة *Erika* or *Eriko*.

[46] Rojas, Pisa, Roman de la Higuera, Lozano, and the rest of the historians of Toledo, have dwelt at full length and considerably improved upon this amusing legend, which is better known to the English reader through the poetical pens of Scott, Southey, and Washington Irving.

CHAPTER II.

[1] The author of the *Reyhánu-l-albáb* (Ar. MS. in my possession) says that Ilyán did not go himself to see Músa, but wrote him a letter, which he gives in the following terms. "Hasten to that country where "the palaces are built of gold and silver, and those who dwell in them are like women, owing to the "exuberance of their comforts and the abundance of their riches." Such were at that time, observes the author, the luxury and magnificence in which the Goths lived, that the candlesticks upon which they lighted their tapers were made of silver and gold; their land abounding with mines which yielded every where those precious metals, and the soil being capable of producing any fruit whatsoever.

As I shall often have occasion in the course of these notes to refer to the above work, which I have already slightly described in the Preface, I will give here a fuller account of its contents. The author divides it into seven ladders, each of which is further subdivided into various steps. The first treats of science in general. 2. Of the sciences and arts cultivated by the Arabs, and some of their usual names. 3. Of similes, expressions conveying a double meaning, ironical sentences, &c. 4. Of eloquence and elegance of style. 5. Of poetry and the rules of prosody. 6. Of genealogy. 7. Of history and the biography of poets. In this last division, the largest in the work, the author introduces a history of the Khalifs of the houses of Umeyyah and 'Abbás, beginning with Abú Bekr As-sadík, and ending with Al-muktafí li-amri-llah 'Abdullah, Khalif of the latter family; to which is appended, by way of supplement, a concise but valuable account of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, followed by a chronological history of the Sultáns of Cordova, and other Kings who reigned in various parts of Mohammedan Spain, under the following title: "Step treating of the rulers of Andalus from "the conquest until the present time, being the year 557." مرقبة مقتضبة في ذكر ولاة الاندلس من عهد فتحها الي وقتنا هذا و هو سنة ٥٥٧

[2] The text is too explicit to leave any doubt whatever.

[3] This first expedition, commanded by Ilyán in person, is not mentioned either by the continuator of the *Chronicon Biclarense* or by Isidorus Pacensis, two contemporary writers. Many even of the Arabian historians omit it altogether; but this is not to be wondered at if we consider their mode of writing, at times laconic to excess, at others fastidiously diffuse. It is natural enough that if such a proposition was made to a wary old warrior like Músa, as that of invading a powerful and compact empire, the riches and resources of which had no doubt long been exaggerated by captives, he must, in the first instance, have suspected the man who, turning his arms against his own country, made him such an offer; and that in order to put his fidelity to the test, he should enjoin him first to invade alone the land whither he wished him to carry his arms.

[4] The ninetieth year of the Hijra, or Mohammedan flight, began to be counted November 19,

A.D. 708. Ilyán's expedition must therefore have taken place in November or December, A.D. 709, shortly after Roderic's usurpation.

5 These words "to try conquest" show that the first incursion was undertaken merely to put Ilyán's fidelity to the test.

6 The word which I have translated by 'light troops' is سرايا *saráyá*, the plural of سرية *sariyah*, which means a body of light cavalry of between three and five hundred men.

7 Taríf Abú Zar'ah, or Abú Zor'ah, (since the word زرعة admits of either pronunciation,) has often been confounded with Tárik Ibn Zeyád by the Christian historians, notwithstanding their being two distinct individuals, and their having invaded Spain at different times. The similarity of their names led, no doubt, to the mistake. Conde, who mentions both expeditions, that of the year 91, and that of the ensuing year, attributes the two to Tárik, and I need scarcely observe that this glaring mistake has since crept into the works of Dunham, Aschbach, and others of his translators or compilers. Had they consulted the Latin chronicles, they would have found the statement confirmed by almost every national writer of note; for, although his name is corrupted, there can be no doubt that he is meant by all: *Abú Zara* in Isidorus (sect. 34); *Abzuhura* in Monachus Albendensis; Rodericus Toletanus says *Taríf, nomine, cognomine Aben Zarcha*, a misprint for Abú Zarcha or Abú Zar'ah. Mr. Shakespear has read Taríf's surname differently. He calls him Abū Dhūa, (ابو دوعة ?) but it is obviously either a fault of the copy or a mis-reading of the translator.

8 This is the exact number recorded by Conde (vol. i. p. 28) as having landed in Spain under the orders of *Tárik*,—a further proof that the work which that writer consulted read in this instance *Taríf*. But the Spanish translator was a poor critic. He made his blunder still more conspicuous by a note at the bottom of the page, stating that "as the copy of Adh-dhobí which he used (Bib. Esc., No. "1671,) is deficient or erased in that part of the narrative, one invasion only out of the two is men- "tioned by the generality of the Arabian historians who wrote after him." Did Conde mean that all the Arabian writers in the East as well as the West transcribed their narrative from the work of Adh-dhobí, a writer of the thirteenth century, and that too from the very copy now in the Escurial, which is a transcript of the fifteenth century!

9 This island is the peninsula of Tarifa. *Jezírah Al-khadhrá* (the verdant island) is the modern Algesiras. A small island at the mouth of its port is still called by the Spaniards *Isla verde*. The authors of the notes appended to the splendid edition of Mariana, (Valencia, 1770, vol. ii. p. 385,) being unable to reconcile how Tárik, who is reported in one place to have landed at Gibraltar, could possibly have also landed at a spot called *Jezírah Al-khadhrá*, imagined that the rock Calpe was by the invaders called 'the green island.' It is evident that the author of the note never visited Gibraltar, or else he would not have fancied that the sterile rock could ever have been called 'verdant' by the Arabs.

10 It is clear from the expression 'where the Arabs of our days keep their ships and their naval stores,' that Al-makkarí transcribes here the words of an historian of the seventh century of the Hijra, when the reigning dynasty of the Almohades considerably strengthened the port of Algesiras,

which they considered as the means of communication between their dominions on both sides of the channel.

11 That the port of Tarifa took its name from the Berber Taríf is distinctly stated by Idrísí (*clim.* iv. *sect.* 1), Al-bekrí, fo. 63, and Abú-l-fedá. The latter-mentioned geographer is very explicit: جزيرة طريف منسوبة الي طريف احد موالي بني امية "and the island of Taríf took its name "from Taríf, one of the *maulis* of the Bení Umeyyah." Among the Christians, Rodericus Toletanus (lib. iii. cap. xx.) has words to the effect, *ad insulam citra mare quæ ab ejus nomine dicitur Gelzirat Tarif.* Conde, therefore, was guilty of an unjustifiable blunder in translating *Jezírah Taríf* by 'la isla del Puntal.' See *Geog. del Nub.* p. 95.

12 واقام بها يوماً—My copy reads اياماً 'a few days,' which I suspect is the true reading, and agrees better with the words of Rodericus (lib. iii. cap. xxi.), *et ibi substitit donec ad se cognati et complices ex Hispaniâ advenerunt.*

13 The text reads thus: ثم مضي حتي اغار علي جزيرة 'after this he (Taríf) marched until he made an incursion into an island;' but I suspect that the article is wanting, and that 'Andalus' (also called by the Arabs an island) is meant instead of 'captives.' Mr. Shakespear (p. 58) says 'a captive.'

14 This year began on the 8th of November, A. D. 709. Ramadhán being the last month of the Mohammedan year, Taríf's invasion must have taken place between the 29th September and the 27th October, 710, which date must be substituted for the *August* or *September*, A. D. 710, as in my translation.

15 If reasonable doubts may be raised about Ilyán's expedition to Spain, that of Taríf is too circumstantially detailed to admit of any. Not only is it recorded by almost every Mohammedan writer who has related in detail the events attendant on the conquest, but it may be found even in the Christian historians, from Isidorus Pacensis down to Rodericus Toletanus; since those who make no mention of Taríf admit of two expeditions at the orders of Tárik, the similarity of the names giving rise to the mistake.

My copy is still more explicit, ثم دخل ابو زرعة و ليس بطريف—'After this entered Abú Zar'ah, who is not the same person as Taríf.' It is easily perceived that the circumstance of this Taríf having, as is usual among the Arabs, a *kunyah* or appellative, (Abú Zar'ah,) and his being mentioned sometimes under his name (Taríf), and sometimes under his appellative (Abú Zar'ah), occasioned the error of modern writers, who thought they were two different persons.

16 I read in my copy, فضرموا عامتها بالنار و حرقوا كنيسة بها كانت عندهم معظمة 'they set fire to their corn-plantations and burnt down a church of great veneration among them.'

17 The Spanish version of Ar-rází, better known under the title of *La Historia del Moro Rasis*, gives a similar account.

18 Taríf's patronymic is differently given by the various writers I have consulted. Some call him

المعافري Al-mu'áferí; others المغافري Al-mugháferí; a few,—like the author of a fragment translated in the Appendix D. (p. xlvi.),—المعاوي Al-mu'áwí, which is no doubt meant for one of these two. Ibnu Khaldún calls him at times النجعي An-naja'í, at other times النجغي An-najaghí; Adh-dhobí and Ibnu Hayyán النفزي An-nefezí. Most of the Arabian writers simply call him 'the Berber,' and such he must have been if he really was a *mauli* or liberated slave of Músa, in which case the patronymic 'Al-mugháferí,' being that of an illustrious Arabian tribe, is in nowise suited to him.—On the other hand, if he was an African by birth, how could his name be Taríf, (an Arabic word meaning 'an elegant and comely youth,' 'a man who is descended from a long series of ancestors,') and that of his father Málik? This difficulty, however, can easily be obviated by supposing that both he and his father received new names on their embracing the Mohammedan religion, as was customary in such cases.

[19] I read in the *Reyhánu-l-albáb* that Ilyán met Músa at Cairwán, and spoke to him at length on the best means of invading Spain and making the conquest of the land.

[20] The same variance which I have said existed with regard to Taríf's name and patronymic, as written by the historians of Mohammedan Spain, is to be found in that of Tárik. Idrísí (*clim.* iv. *sect.* 1) calls him Tárik Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn ونمو Wanmu, or Unmu; Ibnu Bashkúwál, Tárik Ibn 'Amru, of the tribe of Zenátah; Ibnu Khaldún gives him the patronymic النفزي An-nefezí; others call him Al-lakhmí, no doubt because he was a *mauli* of Músa, who himself belonged to the tribe of Lakhm.

[21] I have preserved in this, as well as in many other instances, the word مَوْلي *mauli*, because its meanings are so many and different that it is impossible to find an equivalent to it in English. A *mauli* signifies a man who attaches himself to another for the sake of protection, and who places himself under a species of bondage to him; it means also a liberated slave, who in the act of obtaining his manumission becomes comprised in that category. In the first wars of Islám it was customary for the Arabian generals to grant freedom to all those captives who embraced the Mohammedan religion; and in this manner Músa is said to have had several thousand *maulis*. See Appendix E., page lxxxiii.

[22] If the ninety-second year of the Hijra began to be counted on the 28th October, A.D. 710, the month of Sha'bán, which is the eighth of the Mohammedan or lunar year, commenced on the 23rd May, 711, and ended on the 20th June. Tárik's disembarkation, according to the writer here quoted, must therefore have taken place on the 23rd or 30th of May, or the 6th, 13th, or 20th of June, which happened to be Saturdays, and not in August, as here stated; but the writer knew that August was the eighth month of the Christian year, as Sha'bán was the eighth of the Mohammedan.

[23] اجازهم يليان الي ساحل الاندلس في مراكب التجار من حيث لا يعلم بهم اولاً اولاً
Such is the reading in all the copies; but, on fuller consideration, I do not think myself justified in translating as I have done. It might mean as well 'Ilyán made them cross in merchant vessels, *whence* (from what port) is not ascertained;' for although it has been said (p. 253) that Tárik sailed from Tangiers, the author here transcribes the words of another historian. Paulus Diaconus, an Italian writer who was

contemporary with these events, says clearly that the expedition sailed from Ceuta. See Paulus Diaconus, *De rebus gestis Longobardorum*, lib. vi. cap. 46, p. 503. The historians consulted by Conde (vol. i. p. 28) say that Tárik sailed from Tangiers to Ceuta, and thence to Spain, which accounts for the discrepancy.

Another account, which I have omitted in the translation, says that the vessels thus employed were only four, which would imply no increase of navy since the preceding year. But is it probable that the Arabs, masters of the Mediterranean from Tripoli to the Straits, and who had already made repeated incursions on the shores of Spain, could not muster more than four vessels to convey an army of twelve, or at least seven thousand men? What had become of the two hundred and seventy sail with which, according to Rodericus Toletanus (*De Reb. Hisp.* lib. iii.), they had only a few years before ravaged the coast of Spain? There is another circumstance in this account which to me is inexplicable. Why are Ilyán's vessels said to have been 'merchant vessels?' The Archbishop says (lib. iii. cap. xix.) *quos separatim duxit in Hispaniam in navibus mercatorum ne causa transitus perciperetur;* but although Ilyán, or even Taríf, with their small force, may have wished to land stealthily, it is not credible that Tárik, at the head of a numerous army, should have contemplated such an idea.

24 و ركب اميرهم طارق اخرهم This may be understood in two different ways; namely, that Tárik was the last man to embark, or that he was the last man to come on shore and mount his horse. The former, however, is more natural, and agrees better with the expressions employed.

25 راي وهو نايِمٌ 'He saw in a dream.' My copy only says that he had a vision.

26 *Muhájirin*, from *hájara*, 'to flee,' 'to migrate,' are those Arabs who accompanied the Mohammedan Prophet in his flight from Medína to Ethiopia. Another account says that what Tárik saw were angels in armour. Ibn Khallekán, in the life of Músa (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 758), says that he saw the Prophet Mohammed and the first four Khalifs.

27 See Appendix D., p. xlvii. Cardonne (*Hist. de l'Afrique*, vol. i. p. 73,) relates also this anecdote, which he no doubt borrowed from our author.

28 A spot similar to that which is here described is considered as a proof of good luck among the Eastern people.

29 Most of the Arabian writers state the forces under Tárik at twelve thousand men; for those who, like Ibnu Hayyán, make them consist at first of seven thousand only, say that they were afterwards joined by five thousand more.

30 The same date above assigned, p. 266.

31 This passage not being in the volume of Ibnu Khaldún's work preserved in the library of the British Museum, I had not the means of collating it. At first sight it would appear to invalidate the accounts of all the historians here quoted, since it purports that Taríf and Tárik invaded Spain at the same time; but, if attentively examined, it will be found not to contain sufficient evidence to impair the authority of other writers. He does not distinctly state that Taríf had not, previously to his joining Tárik,

invaded Spain alone. Taríf, leading the van of the army, might have preceded him: such indeed appears to have been the case, for it is not to be supposed that the forces that preceded Tárik landed without a general at their head.

32 See a previous note, p. 519. النجغي النجعي The author of the *Reyhánu-l-albáb* says that Tárik, after coming down from the rock, "marched to Wáda-l-'asel (Rio de la Miel), whence he moved and "pitched his tents close to Algesiras." ثم رفع قبْل به علي وادي العسل ثم خيم بقرب المدينة الخضرآء

33 It would appear from the accounts both of the Christian and Mohammedan writers, that from the time of Tárik's landing on the coast of Spain to the battle of Guadalete there was a succession of skirmishes. See Appendix D., p. xlvii.

34 I have purposely deferred until now the investigation of the precise period of Tárik's landing, that I might more easily pass in review the various dates assigned by the Mohammedan writers. About the year of the Híjra no doubt can be raised, every historian of the conquest agreeing in fixing it in the year 92; for although there are not wanting some who place that memorable event either in 91 (Idrísí, *clim.* iv. *sect.* 1) or in 93 (Appendix D., p. xlvi.), it is evident that the former allude to Taríf's invasion, and the latter to the arrival of Músa, by whom and in whose time Spain was finally conquered. As to the Christian writers themselves, Masdeu has satisfactorily proved by a series of ingenious arguments that all those of some note have referred or meant to refer it to the era 749, which corresponds to the 92nd Mohammedan year. But if this first part of my inquiry be easily settled, it is not so with the month and the day in which Tárik set his foot on the Spanish shore, since on these points there exists some discrepancy between the best writers of Mohammedan Spain.

It has been said that Ibnu Hayyán refers the landing of Tárik to a Saturday of the month of Sha'bán, that is to say, to May 23, 30, or June 6, 13, or 20; other writers place it in Ramadhán, while the generality of historians have fixed that signal event to the month of Rejeb. But if we examine these accounts with attention we shall find that the difference is neither so great nor so irreconcilable as it would at first sight appear. Between the 5th of Rejeb, the earliest date assigned, and the beginning of the month of Ramadhán, only one month and twenty-five days elapsed. It has been said elsewhere that Tárik had only four vessels to transport his army to Andalus,—that he was the last man to go on board,—and all writers, Mohammedan as well as Christian, agree in saying that a long series of skirmishes, protracted for several days, preceded the fatal engagement by which the Gothic empire was overthrown. It is therefore evident that those authors who placed that event after the month of Rejeb alluded to some incursion made by Tárik as soon as his men had all been put on shore, or to his starting from the rock where he first landed. The month of Rejeb being once fixed upon, it will not be difficult to ascertain the precise day. Ibnu-l-khattíb says on the 25th, an anonymous writer on the 24th, Adh-dhobí on the 8th, Conde and Casiri, or their authorities, on the 5th. But, first of all, Ibnu-l-khattíb never said (as stated p. 268) that Tárik landed on the 25th Rejeb, for, in the two historical works which we have by him, he gives different dates. In his chronology of the Khalifs (*apud* Casiri, vol. ii. p. 182,) he clearly asserts that Tárik set his foot on the rock of Calpe on a Thursday, the 5th of Rejeb, A.H. 92. In his history of Granada the same author states و كان دخول طارق بن زياد الاندلس يوم الاثنين لخمس [ليالي] خلون من رجب سنة ٩٢ و قيل في شعبان و قيل في رمضان موافق شهر اغشت من شهور العجمية "and the entrance of Tárik into Andalus happened on a Monday, five days being elapsed of the month

" of Rejeb of the year 92; others say in Sha'bán, others in Ramadhán (beginning July 21), answering to " the month of August of the Christians." It is evident from what precedes, that instead of لخمس خلون " five nights being elapsed," the copy of Ibnu-l-khattíb consulted by Al-makkarí read لخمس بقين " five nights remaining,"—a mistake of frequent occurrence in Mohammedan books. The same observation is applicable to the date of the 24th Rejeb, since the Mohammedans counting by nights, not by days, the author who read " five nights remaining " (Rejeb having thirty days) might think that the event was fixed to the 24th. It now remains for us to ascertain which of the two dates, the 5th or the 8th, is the right one. We have in favour of the first, Abú-l-fedá, Ibn Khallekán, Ibnu-l-khattíb himself, besides the writers translated or consulted by Rodericus Toletanus and Conde. The second is defended only by Ibnu-l-abbár and Adh-dhobí, but in my opinion it is the right one, and my reasons for thus believing are these. It is clear that Ibnu-l-khattíb was guilty of a contradiction, since the 5th of Rejeb could not be a Monday and a Thursday at once. By looking at the chronological tables of the Mohammedan or lunar year drawn up by the indefatigable Masdeu, I find that the fifth of Rejeb was a Monday, and therefore the Thursday immediately following it was the 8th. I may therefore advance, without fear of contradiction, that the landing of Tárik on the rock of Gibraltar took place on Thursday, the 8th of Rejeb, A. H. 92, answering to the 30th of April, A.D. 711.

[35] The same obscurity is observed respecting this as the other actors in this interesting drama. Most of the ancient chroniclers call this general Sancho, others Enecus (Eneco or Iñigo), both names which are not Gothic but Basque. Isidorus calls him *Theodomir*, and adds that he was the same general who, on a previous occasion, (during the reign of Egica,) had inflicted defeat on the Mohammedans, while the Arabs say that the general who came to the assistance of the besieged at Ceuta was named Alfonso. How are these accounts to be reconciled?

[36] See Appendix D., p. xlvi., where the landing of Tárik is given more in detail.

[37] All the historians of Spain, Mohammedan as well as Christian, agree in placing Roderic away from his capital, engaged in war, when the news of Tárik's invasion reached him; none, however, has specified the cause or occasion of it. It is probable that he was employed in quelling some rebellion excited by the partisans of the sons of Wittiza.

[38] See p. 208, and Note 25, p. 487. This was a palace which Theodofred, Duke of Cordova, who is supposed to have been Roderic's father, had built during his exile to that city. The ruins of it were still visible in the time of Morales. *Antig. de España*, fo. 197.

[39] باكناف شقندة بعدوة نهرها قبلة القصر Thus in the text, but I suspect that قبالة ought to be substituted for قبلة If so, the translation is as follows: " they encamped under shelter of Shakandah, " on the banks of the river there opposite to the palace, &c." I read in the *Cronica del Moro Rasis*, " *fasta que llegó á una aldea de Cordova que llaman Segunda y yaçe sobre Cordova tres millas.*"

The word شقندة which is not pointed in any of the copies, might also be pronounced *Shekundah*, and be meant for the *Secunda* of Rodericus Toletanus (*De Reb. Hisp.* lib. iii. cap. xx). If such be the case, the patronymic of the historian whose epistle is given at p. 32, *et seq.*, ought to be written *Ash-shekundí*, as he was a native of that town.

40 Rodericus says the same. But his authority is of little or no value in corroborating the statements made by the Mohammedan authors whose works he read and translated.

41 That the Arabs, who believed without criticism the accounts of the Christians, should make Roderic a descendant from اشبان Hispan, which word they transformed into اصبهان—may easily be understood; but that the royal author of the *Cronica General,* who pretended to be issued from the same stock, should a few centuries after assert the same, passes all belief.

42 In the number of men under the orders of Tárik I find the Arabian writers generally agree, although some make them amount to twelve thousand at the time of his landing. It is evident, however, that those authors are more correct who reduce them to seven thousand in the first instance, since, owing to the scanty number of their vessels, they could not all be conveyed at once to the Spanish shore; and since, as the author rightly observes, Tárik received reinforcements from Africa between the time of his landing and the battle that ensued, an interval of nearly three months.

43 اهل الملة النصرانية—literally 'the people or the ministers of the Christian sect.'

44 ابن الخبيثة An expression of contempt, meaning 'the son of a low female.'

45 قد غلب علي سلطاننا و ليس من اهله و انما كان من اتباعنا Tárik's followers are here called الطارقون At-tárikún.

46 I have given elsewhere (Note 23, p. 512,) the names of the sons of Wittiza after the historian Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, who claimed descent from one of them. I find, however, that the anonymous author of a work on the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, entitled اخبار مجموعة في فتح الاندلس 'collection of records relating to the conquest of Andalus,' an English version of which, together with some extracts, has been kindly lent to me by the Earl of Munster, calls one of them شثيبرت Shithibert, (Sigisbert?) But as fuller mention of these princes will be made by the author, I leave the investigation of this obscure point for the present.

47 تابعًا و خادمًا 'a follower and a servant.' Another account calls him كلبًا من كلاب ابينا 'a dog, from among the dogs of our father.'

48 صفاياء الملوك It is said by the Arabian writers that the sons of Wittiza demanded and obtained as the price of their treason all the private domains which had belonged to their father. This would show that Wittiza was not dead when Roderic usurped the crown, but lived for some time in exile, as Isidorus Pacensis, a contemporary writer, tells us; and that the states claimed by the sons had been allotted to him by the usurper. There is, however, one word in this sentence which renders this conjecture improbable. صفايا الملوك *Safáyá-l-molúk,* literally translated, means 'the portion of the spoil allotted to the princes;' and it cannot be supposed that their father's inheritance should be so called by the Arabs.

[49] There can be no doubt that the river now called *Guadalete* is the Chrysos of the ancients, but how it came by its modern name it is by no means easy to determine; for in no Arabian writer which I have consulted have I found the river called "Guadalete." Ibnu-l-khattíb (*apud* Casiri, vol. ii. p. 183,) calls it وادي لد, *Wáda Led* and وادي لكة, *Wáda Lekeh;* Rodericus Toletanus, *Vadilac, Vadaleke,* and *Vadalak;* Conde, *Guadalede;* Ar-rází, *Leke.* Cardonne (vol. i. p. 74) is the only writer who calls it *Léthé;* but in this, as well as in many other instances, the French translator substituted his own conjectures for the readings which the manuscripts afforded him: knowing that some of the Spanish antiquaries, misled by the similarity of the names, had advanced that the river Guadalete was the same as the Lethe of the ancients, he translated *Wádu Lek* by 'Léthé.' As to the opinion entertained by some writers, (see Florez, *Esp. Sag.* vol. ix. p. 53,) that Guadalete is a compound of two words, meaning 'river of joy,' and that the Chrysos was so named from the great satisfaction which the Arabs experienced on its banks when they had defeated Roderic, it is not to be admitted, unless the name of the river be found written thus, وادي لذّة, *Wáda-ledhdhah,* and the cause of its being so called be satisfactorily stated.

[50] Most of the Arabian historians compute Roderic's army at ninety thousand; a few at seventy thousand; Ibnu Khaldún is the only writer whose estimation is so low as forty thousand.

[51] "He himself came in a litter." The word سرير *serír* means a 'throne,' a 'couch to recline on,' a 'chariot,' a 'litter.' It was probably the latter. The author of *Cartas para ilustrar la historia de España,* Mad. 1796, translates the word *serír* by 'couch,' and quotes a passage of Adh-dhobí, by which it would appear that the Gothic monarch, then in his eighty-fifth year, was prostrated by sickness. هو بن خمس و ثمانين سنة و كان مريض يومئذٍ The circumstance of the chariot being drawn by two, others say three white mules, instead of the spirited horses best suited to a warrior, is very much in favour of the statement; but when the principal events of that momentous period remain enveloped in darkness and confusion, how can we expect to dissipate the shades that cover the minor details? Thomas Newton, the author of a history of the Saracens, quoted by Mr. Southey (*Don Roderic,* XVIII.), says that "Roderike was ryding in a horse-litter of ivorie, drawne by two goodly horses." The word which I have translated by 'awning' is ظُلّ *dhollo,* whence the Spaniards have made *toldo.*

[52] This address of Tárik to his soldiers will be found entire in the Appendix E., p. lxx. Both Conde (vol. i. p. 31) and Cardonne (*Hist. de l'Afr.* vol. i. p. 76) give the beginning and the substance of it. Were we to draw any inference from the language used by Tárik on this occasion, we might say that the Berbers under his command had been put to flight by the Christians. Otherwise, *cui bono* those words, "Whither can you fly?" If the contest lasted a whole week of continual skirmishing, as all the Arabian historians assert, the invaders might easily have been defeated in some partial engagement.

[53] غريق في الحديد—a very fine metaphor, of frequent occurrence in 'Antar and other Arabian romances.

[54] The word used is ملوك—which I have already observed (see Note 11, p. 415,) means 'princes' or 'feudal lords.'

55 The historians of Mohammedan Spain designate all the Christian monarchs, who at various times were opposed to them, under the generic appellation of طاغية *Tághiyah*, a word apparently not Arabic, and which conveys a meaning similar to that of *τύραννος*.

56 This answer made by the Moslems to their general is not in all the copies of this work. The address itself is not in Mr. Shakespear's manuscript, or, if it is, that gentleman omitted the translation of it.

57 The word here used is قبة *kubbah*, which is the origin of the Spanish *alcoba, cupula, alcubilla*, &c.

58 The light bow formerly used by the Arabs, and which they called *kausu-l-'arab*, was different from the cross-bow of the Christians.

59 My copy adds—"Look at him, reclining on yonder soft couch." See above, Note 51.

60 There are some writers, like the author here mentioned, who would have Roderic to have fallen by Tárik's hand; but, as I shall observe hereafter, there is every reason to suppose that the Gothic king died an obscure death.

61 Instead of 'the middle of Ramadhán,' في منتصف I think that منسلخ—that is, at the end of Ramadhán,—is to be substituted; such is the reading in my copy, and it agrees better with the account of another historian lower down, who places the battle on the 28th day of that month. The month of Ramadhán, which is the ninth in the Mohammedan or lunar year, began to be counted on the 21st of June, and ended on the 20th of July, 711.

62 One of the copies reads وادي لك—the Rich MS. وادي لكة—I have already observed elsewhere that this word is differently written by the Arabian writers. All, however, agree in making the second letter a ك not a ط—Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah says that the battle was fought on the banks of the Wáda Bekkah or Bekkeh (now *Rio de Vejer* or *Vadalmedina*), close to Medina-Sidonia.

63 It is generally believed that the battle which decided the fate of the Gothic monarchy was fought in the plain of Xerez, on the southern bank of the Guadalete; but I shall be able to show in the course of these notes that the engagement took place much nearer the seashore, and not far from the town of Medina-Sidonia.

Leaving, however, for another place the investigation of this important fact, I shall merely discuss now what the author means in this passage by ناحية شيذونة—or, as may be read elsewhere, كورة شيذونة (the district or province of Shidúnah), as the settling of this point,—one of considerable difficulty,—will help us on to a knowledge of the other. When the Arabs invaded Spain, the city of Assido (now Medina-Sidonia) was the capital of an extensive district, and the see of a bishop. *Assido*, or rather *Assidone* in the ablative case, was corrupted by the Arabs into *Shidone*, or *Shidoniah*, and the district or province over which that city extended its jurisdiction was consequently called *Kúrah Shidúnah*, the territory of Sidonia. This, according to Abú-l-fedá (Geog. fo. 43) and Idrísí (*clim.* iv. *sect.* 1), comprised the cities of Arcos, Xerez, Algesiras, Tarifa, Cadiz, and Bejer; that is,

from the spot where the Guadalquivir discharges its waters into the ocean down to the Straits of Gibraltar. In the course of time, however, the city of Xerez received also the name of Shidonia: according to Ar-rází, because it was built with the ruins of Assido, but, in my opinion, from its having become the spot where the Arabs from Shidúniah (Sidon) in Palestine were ordered to settle during the government of Hosám Ibn Dhirár; for the former conjecture is hardly probable, the distance between the two cities being too great. Be this as it may, certain it is that soon after the conquest Xerez was also called *Shidoniah*. It is so asserted by all the historians and geographers of Mohammedan Spain; and Florez (*Esp. Sag.* vol. x. p. 21) has given, besides, deeds of the thirteenth century, corroborating that statement, and calling that city Xerez-Sadunia. It is therefore quite demonstrated, that by the province of Shidúniah the Arabian geographers meant all that country extending between the mouth of the Guadalquivir and the Straits of Gibraltar; that *Medínah-Shidúniah* (or the capital of the district of Assido) is the present town of Medina-Sidonia; lastly, that Xerez was likewise called *Sidonia*, either from one of the causes above specified, or from some other not yet ascertained.

[64] This account is to be found in Rodericus Toletanus, the *Cronica General*, and the work of San Pedro Pascual.

[65] Tárik, like Cortés, is reported to have set fire to his fleet in order to take away from his followers all possibility of escape, and induce them to fight strenuously. I read in the *Reyhánu-l-albáb*, "Tárik said to "his men, 'You are placed between two enemies, the spears of the infidels and the sea. Let then those "among you who expect the favours of the Almighty behave well on this occasion.' He then gave orders "to set fire to all the vessels in which they had crossed." The fact, however, though asserted by Idrísí (*clim.* iv. *sect.* 1), and by the author of the fragment translated in the Appendix D. (p. xlvii.), may reasonably be questioned.

[66] This is a strong proof in favour of my conjecture (see above, Note 63, p. 525,) that the battle was fought nearer Medina-Sidonia than Xerez. M. Marlés, the author of a species of *rifaccimento* of Conde's *Hist. de la Dom.*, asserts, on what authority it is not stated, that the battle took place "à deux lieues de "Cadiz et près de la place où s'élève aujourd'hui Xerez de la frontera." But the statements of this writer, whose numerous blunders I shall often have occasion to expose, are very seldom to be relied upon. In one page only of his book (vol. i. p. 68) I find the following glaring mistakes. He says that *Ben Chaledún* (Ibnu Khaldún) wrote a life of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, confounding, no doubt, the African historian with the Arabian biographer Ibn Khallekán; and that *Bab-Alzakák* (*Bábu-z-zakkák*) means 'la porte du chemin' instead of 'the mouth of the Strait of Gibraltar.' He says that the port of Algesiras was so called by the Arabs because there *were once* two islands opposite to it. He invariably writes *Guarda* instead of *Guada* (Wáda), and seriously informs us that *Guard-alete*, *Guard-iana*, &c. are Arabic words. I should never end were I to point out the innumerable errors into which this writer has fallen whilst pretending to correct the work of Conde.

[67] و التقت الجيشان بالبحيرة—"and the two armies met near the lake or gulph,"—for the word *buheyrah*, whence the Spanish *albuhera*, partakes of either meaning. In this instance, however, the lake of la Janda, near Medina-Sidonia, is intended. The writer here quoted is not the only one who asserts positively that the engagement took place on the banks of the lake near Medina-Sidonia. I may, besides, adduce the testimony of many others, as the author of the *Reyhánu-l-albáb*, (Arab. MS. in my possession,) who says that the armies met on the bank of the river Barbát, وادي برباط—not far from

the lake. Now the river called Wáda Barbát by the Arabs, because it reached the sea near a town of that name, was also called وادي بكّة Wáda Bekkeh, because it passed through or close to another town called 'Bekkeh', now Bejer. (Compare Abú-l-fedá's Geography; Idrísí, *clim.* iv. *sect.* 1; and *Hist. del Moro Rasis.*) I confess that when I first learnt that *Wáda Bekkeh* was the same river as the *Wáda Barbát,* and that some authors, like Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, had placed the site of the battle on its banks, the idea struck me that the present name of the river Guadalete, for which I cannot in any other manner account, might have originated in a series of corruptions.

Every one acquainted with the peculiar character used by the Arabs of Africa and Spain in their writings, knows how easy it is to write لطّة instead of لكّة—the letters ط and ل being almost alike in their alphabet. On the other hand, the letter ب may, by a mere stroke, be transformed into ل *Wáda Bekkah,* or *Wáda Bekkeh,* might thus, by a series of corruptions, have been changed first into 'Wáda Lekke,' and thence into 'Guadalete.' Those among my readers who are unacquainted with the Arabic language, may possibly think my conjecture rather hazardous; but I appeal to the judgment of those who are conversant with the writings of the Arabian historians and geographers, in which numerous instances occur of words once ill written having retained their corrupted form, not only in writing, but even in conversation. For instance, the town of Tenzert, a word meaning 'encampment' in the language of the Berbers, is at times written *Benzert* or *Benizert* in Idrísi; in Abú-l-fedá, *Nebzert*; in Leo and Marmol, *Biserta.* Instead of بحر بنطس *Bahr Bontus,* or the Pontus Euxinus, there is not one single Arabian geographer, Idrísí himself not excepted, who does not write بحر نيطس *Bahr Nitus,* by the transposition of the points in the first two letters. I might multiply examples of this kind, but I shall merely mention another flagrant instance of a proper name thus corrupted becoming, as it were, riveted upon its bearer. The celebrated traveller, Ibn Battúttah, in treating of the Greek emperor who was reigning in Constantinople at the time he visited that city, calls him *Tekfúr,* and gives the spelling of his name thus, تَكْفُور Such is the reading in all the copies of the epitome consulted by Professor Lee, as well as in those of Paris; to which I may add, that a transcript of the original Travels in my possession, made by a learned copyist from a very ancient copy preserved in the great mosque at Fez, affords the same reading. But who does not see at once that the word تكفور *Tekfúr* having in the first instance been written for نكفور *Nekfúr* (Nicephorus Gregoras), gave rise to that singular blunder? It may be objected, that similar corruptions are not likely to take place so easily with regard to the names of towns and places; yet I believe that the words طليطلة شلوبانية اوريوالة and many more in Spanish geography, all originated in similar corrupt readings, being meant for طليطلة شلبانية اورجالة Toletana (urbs), Salambenia, Orcela, or Orcelis, the Roman names for those towns.

Even supposing the *Wáda Bekkah* and the *Wáda Lekke* to have been two distinct rivers, the former being meant for the river of Bejer, and the latter for the Guadalete, this in no manner opposes my conjecture that the memorable encounter took place near the sea, and close to Medina-Sidonia, since the battle having lasted eight days, as is unanimously agreed by Christian and Mohammedan writers, might have commenced between Bejer and Medina-Sidonia, and ended near the Guadalete, the intermediate distance being only about twenty English miles.

68 The author of the *Reyhánu-l-albáb* says, "The two children whom Roderic had deprived of the "empire were also in his camp; they agreed to give way with the right and left wing, that Roderic

"might be left alone and killed." That the sons of Wittiza were at the time in Spain, nay, that Roderic entrusted to them the command of the two wings of his army, is an assertion not only improbable, but one which may easily be refuted. Setting aside the circumstance already recorded of their being mere children when their father died and Roderic usurped the power (A. D. 709), which would incapacitate them from assuming the command of troops in 711, Adh-dhobí and the best Arabian writers say that they crossed over to Africa in order to obtain Músa's assistance in the reconquest of the throne of their father; and although, their request being granted, they might have returned to their native country, it is more natural to suppose that they joined Tárik, than that they placed themselves in the hands of their personal enemy, who must have been informed of their treason. If defection there was in the Gothic army, as the Mohammedan and Christian writers universally agree, and as is affirmed by Isidorus (*Esp. Sag.* vol. viii.), the Monk of Silos, and other Christian chroniclers, it must have been on the part of Oppas, and others of their secret partisans, whom fear, or the wish of better accomplishing their treason, still retained under Roderic's orders.

69 *Et equus qui Orelia dicebatur,* says Rodrigo (*De Reb. Hisp.* lib. iii. cap. xxiii.); on what authority it is not easy to say.

70 اثقلهُ الجراح—his wounds exhausted him—perhaps both. In the fabulous chronicle of Rodrigo (cap. ccxxxviii.), it is said that the Gothic monarch fled along the banks of the Guadalete, until his horse having stuck in the mud he was obliged to dismount and proceed on foot, leaving behind him his ornaments and royal insignia, for fear of being discovered.

71 Whether Roderic was slain by Tárik as asserted (p. 273), whether he perished in the waters of the river close to the field of battle, or contrived, as some historians assert, to fly from the field and take refuge in Portugal, where he is said to have led a life of penance and contrition, are questions which have hitherto exercised in vain the ingenuity of Spanish critics. Among the Mohammedan writers the prevailing opinion is that Roderic was killed, although his body was never found. There are, it is true, historians, like the one translated in the Appendix E. (p. lxxi.), those consulted by Conde (vol. i. p. 32), and the anonymous writer translated by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 326), who assert that Roderic's head was sent to Músa, who immediately dispatched a messenger with it to the Khalif; but is it likely that a fact of this importance, resting on good authority, should have been omitted by subsequent historians? Among the Christians, Isidorus of Beja, and the continuator of the *Chronicon Biclarense,* the only two contemporary writers, say that Roderic died on the field of battle. Sebastian of Salamanca, a writer of the tenth century, was the first who, on the faith of an epitaph said to have been discovered two hundred years after that event, advanced that Roderic escaped from the massacre, and retired to Viséo in Portugal, where he passed the remainder of his days in penitence and prayer. The story has been credited by the generality of the Spanish historians, from Rodrigo of Toledo down to Masdeu, but it is no doubt one of the many pious frauds of which the tonsured chroniclers of the middle ages were often guilty. Where was Roderic when Lusitania was overrun a year after by the Arabs? Why did he not seek for refuge in the mountains of Asturias, where the relics of the Gothic nobility had congregated for defence?

72 This 28th day of Ramadhán answers to the 19th day of July, A. D. 711, which was a Sunday. The 5th of Shawwál, therefore, fell on the 26th of the same month, likewise a Sunday.

[73] By "slaves" the author means the vassals or menials of the Gothic noblemen.

[74] This would imply a severe loss on the part of the Moslems, whose numbers before the battle are elsewhere computed at twelve thousand. Tárik's address to his soldiers, and the continual skirmishing which preceded the general engagement, prove that the Gothic monarchy fell not without a struggle. The Monk of Silos estimates Tárik's loss during the seven days at sixteen thousand men, a fourth more than he is reported to have had.

[75] It is difficult to say whether Sidonia is here meant for Medina-Sidonia or for Xerez, which some years afterwards received also the name of *Shidúniah.* (See above, Note 63, p. 525.) Had the writer given us the name of the town at the time of its reduction by Tárik, instead of that which it afterwards received, much uncertainty might have been avoided. I think, however, that Xerez is here understood.

[76] My copy reads مدرور—those in the British Museum مرور—This I believe to be the modern town of Moron, which by the ancient chroniclers is written *Moror.*

[77] Rodericus Toletanus makes Tárik proceed first to Ezija, which must be a mistake, since Carmona lay on his road to that city. The authors translated by Conde (vol. i. p. 37) say that Ezija was not taken by Tárik, but by Zeyd Ibn Kesádí, one of his lieutenants.

Instead of a 'fountain,' Rodericus says a 'river: *resedit Taric juxta fluvium Cilofontis, qui ex tunc dicitur fons Tarici,* lib. iii. cap. xxii. See also *Cron. Gen. de España,* fo. cciv. No river, however, in the neighbourhood of Carmona bears now the name of that conqueror.

[78] This anecdote is no doubt borrowed from Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, in whose work I have read it. San Pedro Pascual, who wrote towards the beginning of the fourteenth century, and who, during his captivity at Granada, had opportunity to consult the writings of the Arabs, gives it also word for word. Nearly a century before the Archbishop of Toledo had said, *audientes quod gens advenerat quæ Gothorum gloriam sua multitudine superarat et licet falso humanis vescebantur carnibus.*

CHAPTER III.

[1] This advice of Ilyán, conceived in nearly the same expressions, may be found in the Spanish translation of Ar-rází. See also Rodericus Toletanus, lib. iii. cap. xxii., and the *Cronica General,* fo. cciv.

[2] الي غرناطة مدينة [كورة] البيرة The expression is a remarkable one, as showing the meaning which the word *medínah* must have had in those ancient times. I have frequently observed that the word مدينة *medínah,* which is now generally translated by 'city,' was used by ancient writers for the capital of a district, province, or even kingdom. Al-beládhorí, in his *Kitábu-l-boldán* (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7496), furnishes me, within a few pages, with numerous instances of the word *medínah* used in that sense. He says (fo. 23), و مدينة اندلس تسمي قرطبة "and the *medínah* (capital) of Andalus

"is called Cordova;" and again, (fo. 23, *verso*,) و قيروان هي مدينة افريقية "and Cairwán is the "*medínah* (capital) of Africa proper." The historian Ibnu-l-khattíb always calls Granada مدينة كورة البيرة "the *medínah* (capital) of the district of Elvira or Illiberis." (See Note 69, p. 346.) The geographer Idrísí likewise calls Murcia the *medínah* (capital) of the land of Tudmír or Theodomir, مُرسية مدينة دلاد تُدمير To which I may add, that some of the first coins of the Bení Umeyyah of Spain contain the following inscription: بسم الله ضُرب هذا الدرهم في مدينة الاندلس "In the "name of Allah, this dirhem was coined in the *medínah* (capital) of Andalus," *i. e.* in Cordova. According to Conde (vol. i. p. 36), the division sent against Granada was under the orders of Zeyd Ibn Kesádí As-seksekí, who also took Ezija, and yet overtook Tárik before he reached Toledo.

[3] All this is very obscure. If Tárik himself took Ezija, his way to Toledo was not through Jaen, but through Cordova. On the other hand, Jaen was then too inconsiderable a town to attract the attention of the Berber general, while Ezija, the see of a bishop, a rich and wealthy city, where the relics of the Gothic army, trusting in the strength of its walls, made a gallant defence, must in the first instance have called his arms to that quarter. It is therefore probable that Jaen was taken by Zeyd, whose road to Toledo, after returning from Malaga and Granada, must necessarily have been through that town. According to Adh-dhobí and other historians, Tárik himself went to Cordova, and remained before it nine days, when, impatient of the delay, he intrusted to Mugheyth the siege of that city, and hastened on to Toledo. This appears not only probable, but at once removes the difficulty.

[4] A. says في غيضة ارز 'in a forest of pine trees.' My copy تحت شجرة ارز شامخة 'under lofty pine trees.' The word *erz*, whence the Spanish *alerze* with the article, means 'a male pine.' *Al-ghaydah*, 'a forest,' has likewise passed into the Spanish *algaida*.

[5] That is to say, on the banks of the Guadalquivir, for the Arabs often gave to the rivers of Spain names taken from the districts or towns through which they flow; so the Tagus was called "the river of "Toledo, Alcantara, Lisbon," &c. The town of Shakanda or Secunda, which, according to the authors of the *Cronica General*, fo. cciv. *verso*, stood at two miles and a-half from Cordova, was in time annexed to that capital. See above, Note 39, page 522.

[6] *Adillá*, the plural of *dalíl*, 'a guide;' in Spanish *adalid*.

[7] The text says مع ضعفآء من اهلها—which might also be translated by 'the inhabitants untrained to arms.'

[8] All this is to be found word for word in the Spanish translation of Ar-rází. It is contained likewise, with very slight verbal alteration, in the works of the Archbishop Rodrigo, and those who followed him. See *Rer. in Hisp. Gest.* lib. iii. cap. xxiii.; and the *Cron. Gen.* fo. cciv. *verso*.

[9] Ar-rází, who calls this church San Jorge, says that it stood to the west of Cordova.

[10] The Arabs brought to Spain many black slaves, the fruit of their conquests in Sús-al-aksá and other provinces bordering upon Súdán.

[11] My copy reads في جنان 'in some orchards.'

[12] The words translated by 'hard brush' are الحبل الحراشي—literally 'a rope made of the skin of a snake or any other substance having a rough surface.' I believe it is the same thing now used throughout Spain as a scouring cloth, and is made of the filaments of the *esparto* or broom plant.

[13] 'The church of the burned' would be more correct. Ar-rází calls it *la Iglesia de los Cautivos.*

[14] The text reads تطليرة or طليبرة—now Talavera de la Reina. This town, however, is at too great a distance from Cordova to lead to the supposition that Mugheyth would leave his army behind, and ride off so far in pursuit of his enemy, who, in the fabulous chronicle of King Roderic, is called Pelistes. Ar-rází says that Mugheyth overtook him at *Collera*, which he describes as a small hamlet not far from Cordova. See also Amb. Morales, *Cron. Gen. de Esp.* vol. iii. p. 205.

[15] The word اصفر (whence the Spanish words *azafran, azafranar, azafranado,* are derived) means 'yellow,' but applied to a horse it signifies 'black.' The translator of Ar-rází, not being aware of this distinction, made the Christian governor ride a yellow horse, "*un caballo amarillo.*" One proof more of the genuineness of the translation.

[16] Other accounts place the taking of Malaga after the arrival of Músa. Rodrigo, however, whose work is for the most part a literal translation from the Arabic, as it is easy to discover even from the Oriental turn of his sentences, followed the former account. He makes Malaga, as well as Murcia and Granada, fall by the hands of Tárik's lieutenants.

[17] Compare what I have said Note 69, p. 346, and Note 2, p. 529. The name of this city is here written كرناطة *Karnáttah.*

[18] The practice so universally observed by the invaders of intrusting to the Jews the defence of the cities and fortresses taken from the Christians, would, in the absence of any other fact, show that a previous understanding must long have existed between them and the Berbers under the orders of Tárik, and that the discontent or the ambition of Ilyán, the wrongs done to the sons of Wittiza, and the troubled state of the Gothic monarchy, were not the only causes of the conquest of Spain. That the Jews of the Peninsula had at different times been suspected of holding communication with those of Africa,—that in the reign of Egica they had actually been accused, and to all appearance convicted, of inviting the Arabs to make the conquest of Spain,—is sufficiently attested by the national writers. I have shown elsewhere (Note 15, p. 511), on the authority of Ibnu Khaldún, that most of the Berber tribes inhabiting the northern shores of Africa professed the Jewish religion; and although we are told that the twelve thousand men which Músa placed under the orders of Tárik had previously been converted to the Mohammedan faith, and duly instructed in all the duties of their new religion by theologians appointed for that purpose, there is every reason to suppose that their conversion was neither so sudden nor so sincere as to blot out immediately all recollection of their former habits and religious ceremonies, and that they felt great sympathy for their former brethren. Hence, on the invasion of Spain by the Berbers, the Jews, who expected to be delivered by them from the state of oppression in which they lived, every where made common cause with them.

[19] اوريوالة *Ouriwwélah,* now *Orihuela,* is supposed to be the 'Orcelis' of the ancients. It would appear from this, that Orihuela was then the capital of the kingdom, afterwards called 'the country of Theodomir.' Indeed, I read in the *Manáhiju-l-fakar,* a work on astronomy and geography (Brit. Mus., No. 7483, fo. 190), that the ancient name for Orihuela was *Tudmír,* and that the city was so called from its having been the residence of that chief. This by no means agrees with the account of Al-makkarí (p. 68, and Note 18, p. 376,) and other writers, among whom is the celebrated Wizír Ibnu-l-khattíb, who pretend that Murcia and Tudmír were one and the same town. This contradiction can only be avoided by supposing Orihuela to have been called "the city of Theodomir," either from the gallant defence of that general, or from its having really become the capital of the states which he was allowed to retain by capitulation. Murcia having in time become the capital of the extensive province called by the Arabs بلاد تدمير 'the land of Theodomir,' was probably called مدينة [بلاد] تدمير 'the capital of [the country] Tudmír.' Rodrigo (lib. iii. cap. xxiii.) says '*ad urbem quæ tunc Oreola, nunc Murtia, dicitur.*' But this could never be, Murcia and Orihuela being two distinct towns.

[20] We are not informed whether Theodomir was present or not at the battle of Guadalete. The whole of what follows is not only obscure but contradictory. If the forces dispatched against Malaga and Granada marched to Murcia after the taking of those cities,—if Theodomir made a gallant defence, and stood a siege in his capital,—how could the troops reach Toledo in time to take part in the siege?

I cannot pass in silence a very curious circumstance respecting Theodomir, which I read in the Spanish version of Ar-rází, or at least in the copy which I have always used. Theodomir, or Tudemir, as he is there called, is described as a renegade, who took the part of the Arabs, and fought under their banners. He is said to have been sent with an army against Orihuela, which he besieged and took by capitulation, after defeating its garrison in a sortie. Strange to say, the same stratagem which he is here said to have put in practice to save his capital from the invaders, or to obtain advantageous terms, is there attributed to the governor of the city besieged by Theodomir.

[21] The whole of these conquests are a few lines lower attributed to 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa, who did not arrive in Spain until one year after these events. The contradiction therefore is evident, and can only be avoided by supposing that either Theodomir or the Arabs broke the treaties by which they were mutually bound.

[22] This passage has been given in the original Arabic, with a Latin translation, by Casiri, vol. ii. p. 251. But, as usual, the learned librarian of the Escurial committed almost as many blunders as there are words in it. Instead of استجة Ezija he read سبجة—instead of مغيث الرومي he printed معينا—and so forth.

[23] No Arabian writer that I know of has given the precise date of the taking of Toledo by Tárik; it is therefore next to impossible to determine what conquests were made by his lieutenants, during the period which elapsed between the battle of Guadalete and the surrender of the Gothic capital, at which we are told they were present. Lucas Tudensis, however, in his *Chronicon Mundi* (*apud* Schottum, *Hisp. Illust.* vol. iv.), says, on what authority it would be useless to inquire, that Toledo was taken on the Palm-Sunday of A.D. 712, that is to say, on the 11th day of Jumáda II., A.H. 93; namely, eight months or thereabout after the victory on the plains of Xerez. During the interval, the forces which Tárik dispatched to the west,

while he himself proceeded to the north, might easily have overrun, without subduing, the provinces of Malaga and Granada, which were not finally conquered until the arrival of Músa.

24 The Christian chroniclers relate, that when Sindered, Bishop of Toledo, heard of the approach of the Arabs, he fled to Galicia, taking with him the ornaments and jewels of his church; most of the inhabitants followed his example.

25 Lucas Tudensis (*loco laudato*, fo. 70,) says that the Jews opened the gates of the city to the Moslems, whilst the Christians were going in a procession to the church of Santa Leocadia, outside the walls.

26 وادى الحجارة *Wáda-l-hijárah* or *Wáda-l-hajárah* is the 'amnis lapidum' of Rodrigo. The city near to which it flows was formerly called by the Arabs مدينة الفرج *Medínatu-l-farj*, (the city of the pass?) as we learn from Abú-l-fedá. The name of the river was afterwards given to the city itself. This fact is corroborated by Rodrigo, who, in his *Hist. Arab.* p. 32, says *Medina Alpharagel quæ nunc dicitur Guadalfajara.*

Shehábu-d-dín Al-fásí, in his *Kitábu-l-jumán fí akhbári-z-zamán*, attributes the conquest of Guadalájara to Mohammed Ibn Elias Al-mugheylí, one of Tárik's lieutenants.

27 The word فج *fej* means 'a defile,' a mountain pass; what the Spaniards now call *puerto.* It is however but little used in this sense, and might in time have been replaced by *bib*, which has the same meaning and is more appropriate. Bib-Tárik therefore might easily have been corrupted into *Bibtrak* or Buitrago, a town which commands the mountain pass leading from New into Old Castile.

28 Rodrigo, who derived most of his information from the Arabian writers, says, *mensam quæ habebat trecentos sexaginta quinque pedes.* I read likewise in the *Cronica General*, which is a compilation from the same sources, *e fallo una mensa luenga e molto ancha en que abia trezientos e sesenta pies*, fo. ccv. Ar-rází, however, says only, *e falló una messa que era de esmeralda messa e pies.*

29 Great obscurity prevails in the accounts of those writers who have mentioned the expedition undertaken by Tárik north of Toledo. Adh-dhobí says, that after the taking of Guadalajara, the Berber general turned to the west, and having approached the chain of mountains called *Ash-shérrát* (Sierra), crossed it by a pass to which he gave his name (*Fej-Tárik*). He then marched to the east, and took a city called "the city of the table," owing to his having found in it the table of Solomon. Thence he proceeded southwards, and entered a town called ميه *i. e.* Maya or Moya. Conde's account (vol. i. p. 45) differs materially from this; he makes Tárik first cross the mountains, and take a city to which he gave his own name, then go to Guadalajara, &c. The Archbishop Rodrigo (lib. iii. cap. xxii.) and the author of the *Cronica General* (fo. ccv.) differ still more. The former says, that after the taking of Guadalajara, Tárik went to a mountain to which he gave the name of *Jebal Suleymán* (mountain of Solomon); for, although the text of the various editions reads *ad montem qui dicitur Gebelçuleman, et imposuit ei nomem Gebeltaric*, it is evidently vitiated, and *Tarik* ought to be substituted for *Gebeltarik*: from thence to a city close to the mountain (*Jebal Suleymán*), where he found the table of Solomon, whence the place was by him called *Medinat Al-meydah* (the city of the table). After this, Tárik went to

Amaya or Moya, &c. So that while Conde, or the authors whom he followed, make Tárik cross the mountains twice, those consulted by Rodrigo, if his translation be correct, make no mention at all of his crossing that mountain range. Adh-dhobí, and most of the historians of Mohammedan Spain, place the city where the pretended table of Solomon was found on the other side of the Somosierra or chain of mountains which divide the New from Old Castile. Rodrigo and the author of the *Cronica General* put it on this side. How are these contradictory accounts to be reconciled? Could we but ascertain the real situation of the cities called *Medínat Al-meydah* and ميه Maya or اماية Amaya by the Arabian writers, we might, perhaps, hope to loose the knot of this difficulty. Rodrigo himself informs us, in his *Hist. Arab. ad calc. Erpen.* p. 9, that the city, where, according to the Arabian writers, the table of Solomon was found, stood close to Alcalá de Henares, at the foot of a mountain which in his time was called *Gebel-çuleman*, and which still retains that name, though corrupted, in *Cuesta de Zulema.* I further learn from a passage of Adh-dhobí, that "the table was found at a spot not far from a city called *Medínat En-nahr* "(the city of the river)," which, from a strong castle in after times built for its defence, might easily have changed its name into *Al-kal'ah En-nahr* or Alcalá de Henares (the castle of the river), its present name; to which may be added, that the stream which waters its walls is also called "Henares," a corruption from *Nahr* or *En-nahr* (river). This would at once show that the table was found about three miles from Alcalá de Henares, on or close to the spot now called *Cuesta de Zulema,* where a town, known to the Arabs as *Medínat Al-meydah,* must have stood, though it might have been destroyed before the age of Rodrigo. To this place Sindered, and those among the Christian prelates and noblemen who quitted Toledo on the approach of Tárik, might have fled with the ornaments and relics of the churches, and Tárik have followed them in the hope of making a good booty. Among the objects which then fell into the conqueror's hands, was a table of precious materials, which some Jewish tradition referred to the sack of Jerusalem, whence the city was called "the city of the table," and the mountain close to which it stood *Jebal Suleymán* (the mountain of Solomon). There is nothing improbable in all this,—it bears even all the appearance of truth; but how are we to reconcile it with the accounts of the Arabs, who place the city where the table was found beyond the mountains of Somosierra, which they all agree Tárik crossed on this occasion,—by a pass, too, which still retains his name? There is still another difficulty to be surmounted in Rodrigo's account. How could Tárik go first to Guadalajara and thence to Alcalá, if he must inevitably have passed through the latter on his way to the former city? On the other hand, what do the Arabs mean by Maya,—Rodrigo by *Amayera* and *Amaya,*—the *Cronica General* by *Moya,*—the city where the relics of the Gothic government are said to have fled on the approach of Tárik? There is a place called Amaya on the limits of the province of Burgos and Santander, but this is too far for my purpose. A hamlet called Amayas, in the province of Guadalajara and the bishopric of Siguenza, might be the town alluded to, were it not that it lies in an opposite direction from the route taken by Tárik, who, in crossing the Somosierra at Buitrago, went away from it. The town of Moya, long the capital of a considerable district, might well have been the place where the fugitives of Toledo fled for an asylum; it is thus stated by the author of the *Cronica General;* but there are two very strong objections to be put to the statement, namely, that Moya lies to the east, not to the west of Toledo, and that in order to penetrate thither Tárik must have crossed a different chain of mountains, namely, the *Sierra de Molina.* Secondly, that it is not probable that the people of Toledo should have fled in a direction which brought them nearer to the provinces already overrun by Tárik's lieutenants, whilst the road to Galicia or Asturias, which soon after became the bulwark of the Spanish liberties, was open to them. The author of *Cartas para ilustrar la historia de España,* p. liii., thought of remedying this difficulty by supposing the *Medínat Al-meydah* of the Arabs to have been a small castle called *Mesa,* which, at an early period of Spanish historv, stood on the banks of a river called also *Rio*

Mesa, which divides the *Señorio de Molina* from the *Ducado de Medinaceli*. But this supposition, besides being a very gratuitous one, and resting on no other foundation than the curious coincidence of the names of the castle and of the river being a translation of the Arabic word *meydah* (table), by no means removes the objection. Others, like Masdeu, have imagined that the town of Medinaceli was the place where Tárik found the table; but Medinaceli is a corruption from مدينة سالم *Medinat-Selim*, as that town was called by the Arabs from the name of its founder, and has nothing in common with the *Medinat-Al-meydah* mentioned by the Arabian writers.

There is only one way of reconciling the different statements of these authors, which is to suppose that Tárik, on his way to Amayas or Moya (either town will do for my conjecture), went first to Alcalá, where he met with a party of fugitives, and seized upon the table of Solomon, and that on his return from his expedition he crossed the mountains at Buitrago, and proceeded to Galicia,—Guadalajara being, during this interval, reduced by a party of his men under the orders of one of his lieutenants, as has elsewhere been stated (Note 26, p. 533). This is rendered probable by the fact that most of the Arabian writers, as Al-makkarí himself observes lower down, make Tárik march, without stopping, to Astorga.

[30] Various are the dates assigned by the Arabian writers for Músa's landing on the coast of Spain. All however agree that it took place in the year 93, with the exception of Cardonne (vol. i. p. 85), who by some unaccountable oversight places that event in 96. The anonymous writer translated in the Appendix E., p. lxxi., says on a Thursday of the month of Safar, A.H. 93, (that is to say, either on the 18th of November or on the 25th of the same month, or on the 2nd or 9th of December, which were Thursdays.) Ibn Habíb says in Jumáda I., 93, (February or March, 712;) while Conde (vol. i. p. 35) fixes it to the month of Rejeb, (April or June, 712.) In the fragment attributed to Ar-rází by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 319, *et seq.*) I find the date of Ramadhán, 93, (June or July, 712;) which is also that given by Rodrigo and the *Cronica General*. So that according to these various authorities the arrival of Músa happened between the 30th of November, A.D. 711, which was the first Thursday of the lunar month of Safar, and the 20th of July, which was the last day of Ramadhán, a period of about ten solar months. It is clear, however, that if Músa passed one month before Seville,—if the siege of Merida, protracted by the vigorous defence of its garrison, lasted some months,—if this latter city surrendered, as is generally asserted, on the first day of Shawwál,—the dates of Rejeb and Ramadhán cannot for a moment be thought of; since in the short interval of three months in the first instance, or of only one in the second, Músa could not have accomplished what on the testimony of all the Mohammedan and Christian writers occupied him several months. It now remains to ascertain which of the two dates, that of the anonymous writer translated in the Appendix or that of Ibn Habíb, is the correct one. Both authors are deserving of credit: the former, for the circumstantial evidence and numerous details he gives, which are not to be found elsewhere; the latter, because he flourished towards the middle of the ninth century, and because, having written a short treatise on the invasion and conquest of Spain by the Arabs, it is to be presumed that he considered his subject well before he fixed a date for an event of so much importance. We have, therefore, to choose between two authors equally well qualified, and both entitled to our consideration. Were I called upon to decide, I would pronounce in favour of Ibn Habíb; but I think that the discrepancy may be thus obviated. The anonymous writer translated in the Appendix does not say positively that Músa sailed in the month of Safar, but that he fixed the departure for a Thursday of that month: و نادي في الناس و عسكر جيشًا عظيمًا و ذلك في صفر سنة ثلاث و تسعين وكان احبّ الخروج اليه يوم الخميس اول النهار Besides, it is not

probable that in the short interval between the battle of the Gaudalete and his departure from Africa,—scarcely four months,—Músa could have collected together a sufficient number of vessels for the transport of twelve thousand horse, the lowest number at which his army has been computed. The operation might therefore have begun in Safar, and ended in Jumáda I., a period of two months; and thus the accounts of the two historians might be reconciled.

[31] The opinion that Tárik did not on this occasion go further than Amaya or Maya is the most probable, as well as that which I find more generally entertained by the Arabian writers.

[32] The number of royal diadems said to have been found in the principal church at Toledo varies from twenty-four to twenty-seven. The anonymous writer translated in the Appendix E. (p. lxxii.) gives the former number; Al-khazráji (Appendix D. p. xlviii.) and Ibn Habíb say twenty-five; Al-makkarí himself states them, as well as the padlocks, at twenty-seven, (see p. 262,) one for each king who reigned in Spain. It is evident that the latter computation is the most correct; for although it be true that including Theodomir and his son Althanagild, the number of kings of northern descent who reigned in Spain will be found to be thirty-six, as elsewhere stated (p. 27), yet if we consider that the first six ruled, properly speaking, in Gaul, not in Spain, and that neither Roderic nor his two successors are included in the list, we shall find their number reduced to twenty-seven.

[33] Rodrigo and the authors of the *Cronica General* adopted the former computation. The writers consulted by Conde (vol. i. p. 34) and Cardonne (vol. i. p. 18) say ten thousand infantry and eight thousand horse.

[34] This is the same individual mentioned at Note 3, p. 372. He was a *tábi'*, that is to say, second in rank to the *as'háb* (companions) who knew and conversed with the Prophet. Instead of البجلي *Al-bajelí*, the patronymic of the second *tábi'*, I find الجُبلي *Al-joblí* in Ibn Habíb.

[35] Perhaps ابن شمّاسة Ibn Shammásah.

[36] ابي حبلة in the Rich MS. My copy reads جبلة

[37] Several more *tábi's* (followers) and *as'háb* (companions) are reported to have accompanied Músa on this occasion. In their number were Al-munayzir, 'Alí Ibn Rabi' Al-lakhmí, and Ibn Rejá At-temímí. But of this more will be said in the second volume of this translation.

[38] Al-makkarí was here guilty of two unpardonable blunders: first, in supposing that 'Jebal Músa' (the mountain of Moses) took its name from Músa Ibn Nosseyr, instead of the Jewish legislator; secondly, in placing it in Spain instead of Africa. This glaring error, however, cannot be solely charged on Al-makkarí, since it may also be met with in Idrísí, and other writers of note. Al-bekrí (fo. 76) and other African geographers treat of a sea-port between Tangiers and Ceuta called *Mersa Músa* (the port of Moses), owing to the neighbouring seas abounding in fish of the species called by Ad-demírí and other naturalists *Hút Músa* (the fish of Moses). A mountain close to it was also called 'the mountain of Moses.' According to Abú Hámid Al-andalusí, " Moses and his servant Joshua started once on a

" journey in search of Elias: having arrived at a spot called *Majma'u-l-bahreyn* (the meeting of the two " seas) they were taken with hunger, and caught a fish, half of which they ate, throwing away the other " half into the sea, where God permitted that it should live, generate, and shape its course through the " waves as before. I once saw the fish," adds Abú Hámid; " it measured about one cubit in length, " but no more than one inch in thickness; one of its sides was provided with fins, and with large " and small bones as the other fishes; its intestines, as well as its eyes, were covered with a very " tender and delicate skin; its head was only the half of one." It is further related by the Kádí 'Iyádh in his history of Ceuta, "that Moses and his servant Joshua met with Elias (Al-khadhr) at *Jezírah* " *Al-khadhrá* (Algesiras), which spot was since denominated after that prophet." Hence the author, misled by the similarity of the names, thought that *Jebal Músa* received its name from the conqueror of Spain.

39 العلوج الادلا أصحاب يليان—literally 'the barbarians acting as guides from among the people of Ilyán.' Another account makes Músa say to them: ما كُنت لاسلك طرايق طارق و لا اقفو اثره 'I shall not take the same road which Tárik took, or follow his footsteps.' The author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb* says that it was Ilyán in person who acted as guide to Músa.

This being the last time that Ilyán is mentioned by Al-makkarí, I have purposely delayed until now the statement of my opinion on that individual, from a wish to collect together and compare the various accounts given by the Arabian writers. In the present note, therefore, I propose to investigate the following points. I. At what period, and by whom, was the name of Ilyán first introduced into Spanish history? II. Did a man so called ever exist? III. What were his country and religion? IV. Was he an independent prince, or a tributary of the Gothic monarchs? V. What part did he take in the conquest of Spain by the Arabs?

I. I have already observed that Ilyán thus written يليان could never have been intended for Julian by the Arabian writers; for, although I have met with that name written in a variety of ways, owing to the mistakes of the copyists,—بلبان *Balbán*, بليان *Balyán*, البليان *Al-balyán*, and اليليان *Al-ilyán*,—I have not found it once written يوليان—the real spelling, had Julian been meant. The most common, and I believe the most correct way of writing his name, is إلْيَانْ Elyáno [Ælianus?]—Thus I find it in Al-bekrí, Shehábu-d-dín Al-fásí, and occasionally in Ibnu Khaldún; but as Al-makkarí invariably writes it Ilyán,—as both the author of the *Cronica General*, and San Pedro Pascual, (*In sectam Mahometanam*, cap. vii. p. 48,) who borrowed their narrative from Arabian sources, have Illan,—I have not hesitated in writing it as above, although, had I merely consulted my own inclination, I should undoubtedly have printed *Elian*.

The Monk of Silos, who wrote towards the beginning of the twelfth century, and who was the author of a chronicle beginning with the invasion of Spain by the Arabs, and ending with the reign of Alfonso VI., is the first Spanish author who mentions Ilyán, whom he calls *Julianus*. Neither Isidorus Pacensis, nor the continuator of the *Chronicon Biclarense*, two contemporary writers, nor Sebastianus Salmanticensis, who flourished towards the middle of the ninth century, nor the Monk of Albelda, who wrote in A.D. 883, make the least mention of him. From this fact, Masdeu and most of the modern Spanish critics have concluded that the character of Ilyán or Julian was altogether one of that chronicler's invention, and that no such person ever existed. Others, like the author of *Cartas para ilustrar la historia de España*, who, though an Arabic scholar, was not much of a critic, being unable to deny the

fact of the name of Ilyán occurring in the writings of the Arabs long before the age of the Monk of Silos, have imagined that Julian was a corruption for *Khulán*, the name of a Berber general who entered Spain at the same time with Tárik, and who, having afterwards revolted with the troops under his command, was taken prisoner and executed in A.H. 101. But I shall be able to prove that the assumption of the latter author is as unfounded as the charge brought by the former against the Christian chronicler.

The mere inspection of this part of the *Chronicon Silense* (Florez, *Esp. Sag.* vol. xvii. p. 278) is sufficient to impress one with the conviction that the account there given of Count Julian could not have originated in the head of its author, but must have been either read in the work of some Arabian writer, or communicated to him by some Christian well versed in the writings of the Moslems; and no one who peruses with attention the extracts printed in the Appendix D., and compares them with the eighteenth chapter in Rodrigo's work, will for a moment hesitate to say that the whole of the latter is a literal translation from some Arabian writer. But were this not sufficient to repel the imputation cast upon the author of the *Chronicon Silense*, and to convince those who believe the whole account to be a forgery of the Christians, who communicated it to the Arabs, some unanswerable proofs might be brought to bear in favour of my proposition. Besides Ibnu Hayyán, who preceded the Christian writer upwards of one century, I can adduce the testimony of Al-bekrí, a writer of the eleventh century, of Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah and Ibn Haukal, who wrote in the tenth, and of Ibn Khordádbah and Al-beládhorí, geographers of the ninth century, all of whom mention more or less explicitly the existence of a man living in Africa, and named Ilyán, who helped the Arabs to make the conquest of Spain; to which I ought to add, that the rape of Ilyán's daughter, and the circumstances attending it, may also be read in detail in the Mohammedan authors who preceded the Monk of Silos.

As to the opinion entertained by the author of *Cartas para ilustrar la historia de España*, p. xiii. *et passim*, that a Berber, named *Khulán*, (a word, he says, afterwards corrupted into *Julian* by the Arabs,) gave rise to the fabulous episode of Ilyán, it is certainly not entitled to more credit. Khaulán, (for such was his name, not Khulán,) if a Berber, must have received that name from his being adopted by the Arabian tribe of the Bení Khaulán, to which belonged many of the conquerors of Spain, and the head of which was As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khaulání, the third governor of Mohammedan Spain, after the assassination of 'Abdu-l-'azíz by the orders of the Khalif Suleymán. Some individual of that illustrious family was probably the founder of a castle which Abú-l-fedá, in his Geography, calls *Kal'ah Khaulán* (the castle of Khaulán), and which once stood close to Algesiras; the name of which suggested to Father Labat, who visited its ruins in 1731, the idea that it had been once the residence of Don Julian. See *Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, chap. vii.

Having so far proved that the episode of Ilyán was not altogether an invention, and that if fiction was mixed with it, it is to be ascribed to the Arabs, not to the Christians, I shall now proceed to examine what amount of historical evidence in its favour may be gathered in the writings of the Arabs.

II. That a man named Ilyán, whom some, like Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, call "a merchant" (see Note 23, p. 512), others "a king of the African tribe of Ghomárah," and the greater number "Lord of Ceuta and Tangiers," ruled as master from the port of Los Velez (or Ghomárah as the Arabs call it) to the Straits of Gibraltar many years before the first invasion of Spain by the Arabs, is a fact resting on too good authority to be at all brought into question. Al-bekrí, Idrísí, Ibnu Hayyán, Ibnu Khaldún, and the best writers of Mohammedan Spain, assert that "when 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' invaded Western Africa, the "Governor or Lord of Ceuta, whose name was Ilyán, the same who years afterwards led Tárik into "Spain, came out to meet him with presents, and asked for peace, which the Arabian general granted, "leaving the Christian in possession of the city and of his other estates." The first-mentioned writer (Brit. Mus., No. 7534, fo. 77), in his description of Ceuta and the surrounding districts, often speaks of

a river called *Nahr Ilyán*, which appears to be the same as the Guadaleão of Menezès, *Hist. de Tangere*, pp. 6, 92, *et passim*, as well as of a palace (*Kasr Ilyán*), and of an aqueduct (*'Ayn-Ilyán*); which that geographer observes were so called after a king who ruled in those districts when the Arabs settled in the country, and who was much beloved and respected by his subjects, on account of his justice and praiseworthy conduct.

'Okbah invaded Africa twice,—the first time in A.H. 46, under the Khalifate of Mua'wiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán; the second in A.H. 62, under that of his son Yezíd. In his first expedition 'Okbah did little else but retake the city of Cyrene, which had fallen into the hands of the Berbers; but, on his return to Africa, he traversed the whole continent from Alexandria to Tangiers, and his victorious progress was only arrested by the waves of the Atlantic, into which, finding no more land to conquer, he is reported to have madly plunged his horse. From the appearance of 'Okbah before the walls of Ceuta in A.H. 62 to the year 90, when we first hear of Ilyán on the stage of Spanish history, only twenty-eight years elapsed, which does not render it at all improbable that the Ilyán who made peace with 'Okbah, and he who led the Arabs into Spain, were, as Al-bekrí affirms, one and the same person.

III. This point once settled, it remains for me to investigate what were his country and religion. As to his country, most of the Arabian writers call him a 'Berber,' but some a 'Rúmí' (Roman). Among the Christian authors, some, like Mendez de Silva (*Poblacion de España*), say that he was born in Italy; others, as Rustant (*Hist. de los Arabes*, p. 20), that he was a Greek, and a traitor to the Emperor of Constantinople; some have gone so far as to make him a Goth, and a scion of the royal blood of Spain. It is evident, however, that those among the Arabian authors who called him a Berber, were misled by the titles of 'King of the Berbers,' 'Prince of the tribe of Ghomárah,' &c., under which the African writers generally designate him; whilst those who, like the Archbishop of Toledo, made him a connexion of Roderic, did it without the least shade of authority. In my opinion those writers who call him a *Rúmí* are nearest the truth; since, according to the meaning of this word among the African historians, (see p. 511,) it may equally mean 'a Roman' and 'a Greek.' Ilyán no doubt belonged to that mixed population,—the relics of all the nations that had empires on the coast of Africa after the fall of Carthage,—Romans, Numidians, Vandals, and Greeks,—a people in whose hands were all the ports and fortified towns at the time of the Saracen invasion, and whom the African historians invariably designate under the collective name of 'Rúm,' because they were thought to be the subjects of the Roman empire. As to his religion, all the Mohammedan writers, without one exception, agree in making him a Christian, النصراني—a fact which renders inadmissible the suggestion brought forward by some of the writers, "that Ilyán had, previously to his treason, forsaken the Christian religion and embraced that of his "allies."

IV. Was Ilyán an independent prince, or a tributary of the Gothic kings? is a question by no means so easy to answer. That the Goths claimed the supremacy over a portion of the African coast, appears to be an ascertained fact; but whether this claim arose from any real possession of that country gained at an early period, or from the want in which the Greek governors of the ports of Africa, at the time of the invasion of the Arabs, must have found themselves, of a powerful ally, is a point which is far from being settled. Rodrigo and the Monk of Silos tell us that the Goths ruled in Tingitania; but neither in the Byzantine nor in the Visigothic historians are the origin and cause of their power explained. What meagre facts we possess we have from the Arabian historians. We are told that at the time of the invasion of Africa by 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'd (A.H. 27), a Greek named Gregorius, who held his court at Subeytalah, was governing that country from Tripoli to Tangiers, in the Greek emperor's name. Gregorius having been killed at the battle of Ya'kúbah, another Greek general succeeded him, whom the African authors call *Artiyún Hawájah*. After his death, which was quickly followed by the fall of

Carthage and other important places, we no longer hear of Greek supremacy; for, although the emperors of Constantinople made some efforts to regain their African dominions, either their fleets foundered at sea, or their armies, wherever they landed, were utterly destroyed. In the confusion that ensued, such among the Greek governors as still retained possession of the cities intrusted to their care,—and in this number Ilyán as well as a certain Requila or Rixila must be counted,—seeing the tempest gathering over their heads, must naturally have looked up for assistance to the Gothic monarchs, and become tributaries to their empire. Still the ties which united them with Spain must have been so weak as to be easily loosened, according as their fear or private interest dictated. On the appearance of the conqueror 'Okbah before the walls of Ceuta, Ilyán went out to meet the Mohammedan general, and succeeded by his hasty submission in arresting the progress of the victor through his estates. Ibnu Khaldún (*loco laudato*, fo. 96, *verso*,) adds, that he led the Arabian general to the countries watered by the river Sús, and to the regions inhabited by the Al-mulaththamún, or the wearers of the veil called *latham*, the whole of which 'Okbah subdued. It is even asserted by Shehábu-d-dín Al-fásí, an African historian of note, that 'Okbah, after his entrance into Tangiers, another city under Ilyán's sway, having expressed a wish to cross over to Spain, that chief dissuaded him from the undertaking, on the plea that it would be madness to thrust himself with his army into the midst of a populous empire, unless he had previously subdued the whole of his African enemies. (See *Not. et Ext. des MSS. de la Bib. du Roi*, vol. ii. p. 157.) In the period of time which elapsed between Ilyán's treaty with 'Okbah and the arrival of Músa to take charge of the government of Africa, the Berbers, under their queen, Káhinah, defeated the Moslems in several encounters, and took from them most of their strong places. During this interval Ilyán seems to have shaken off the yoke of the Arabs, for we are told (p. 253) that Músa was obliged to send against him, to Tangiers, his freedman Tárik, whilst he himself besieged Ceuta, a city which, being relieved by troops from Spain, made a stout defence. We are also told that, after the death of Wittiza, Ilyán surrendered; and here we may surmise that, seeing the sceptre of the Goths pass into the hands of an usurper, and instigated, perhaps, by the legitimate heirs, he made his peace with the Arabs, and opened to them the gates of the Peninsula; to which may be added, that Músa, who had long been thinking of invading Spain, could not accomplish his purpose otherwise than by gaining possession of Ceuta, and thereby becoming master of a sufficient number of vessels to transport his troops to the opposite shore. On the surrender of Ceuta, the Arabian general, therefore, after taking hostages from Ilyán, imposed upon him the condition of providing him with a certain number of vessels, while he himself joined in the enterprise, as the best means of dethroning the usurper and restoring the sons of Wittiza to the throne of their father.

It is therefore natural to conclude that Ilyán or Ælianus, if at all dependent upon the Gothic monarchs, was not, properly speaking, their subject. The title of *Comes Spathariorum*, which Rodericus and other historians give him, he may have had, as it was the custom of the Visigothic kings to confer upon their vassals honorific titles. It is by no means so easy to account for the title of 'foreign merchant,' which Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, an historian of the tenth century of the Hijra, gives him, unless his having a fleet, and his being the means of transmitting to Spain the several productions of Africa, suggested that idea to the Mohammedan writer,—a suggestion which derives no small strength from the fact that the vessels furnished to Tárik by Ilyán are elsewhere said to have been 'merchant vessels.'

v. I shall not stay to consider the part taken by Ilyán in the conquest of Spain, as there is nothing in that event, as related by the Mohammedan writers, which tends in the least degree to impair the historical evidence which I have adduced in his favour. That he should be made to invade first, and merely with his own troops, the country whither he advised Músa to carry his arms, is not only probable, but highly consistent with the prudence shown on every occasion by that wary general, who, according to Ibnu

Khaldún (fo. 96), had previously received several hostages, in whose number was a son of the Christian chief. That he should accompany Taríf, and land with him at Tarifa,—that he should also make part of Tárik's expedition,—be present at the battle in which Roderic's army was defeated, and advise Tárik upon the best course to be followed,—that he should afterwards return to Africa, lead Músa to Spain, and be at the siege of Carmona,—are all facts which contain not the least shadow of improbability.

Upon Ilyán's ultimate destination and end, all the Arabian historians which I have consulted keep silence; and after the siege of Carmona, which was taken by a stratagem of his own device, we no longer hear of him. It is probable, however, that he returned to his government of Ceuta, and died in possession of it, though a tributary to the Arabs; for I read in Ibnu Khaldún, fo. 96, *verso*, the following particulars. "After the death of Ilyán, the Arabs took away Ceuta from his people [his heirs], and "settled in it. After this came the civil war kindled by the wretch Meysarah, and the propagation "of his heterodox doctrines, which numbers of Berbers of the tribe of Gomera and other tribes em- "braced; when, profiting by the dissension between the Berbers and the Arabs, the Berbers of Tangiers "attacked Ceuta, and expelled from it the Arabs, destroying the city and converting it into a desert. "In this state Ceuta continued, until مَاجكس Májikus? (Al-bekrí, fo. 76, writes his name مَاجكن "Májikan,) one of their noblest chiefs and bravest warriors, the same who built the city of مجكيسة "*Majkisah*, and gave it his own name, came and settled in the deserted city, the ancient inhabitants "returning to it from every part of the country. This Májikus, however, having listened to the voice "of the Arabian theologians and doctors, was in time converted to Islám. After his death, a son of "his, named 'Issám, succeeded him, and ruled for some time. 'Issám was succeeded by his son مجير "Mujir, (مجبر Mijbar or Mujabbir in Al-bekrí,) after whose death a brother of his, or, according to "other authorities, a son, named Ar-radhí, inherited his power."

I have now given all the evidence to be found in the writings of the Arabian authors to which I have had access. There can, however, be no doubt that much more might be collected from works now either lost to us, or lying forgotten upon the shelves of some library; and had we a copy of a history of Ceuta which 'Iyádh Ibn Músa Ibn 'Iyádh Al-yahsebí, a Granadine writer of the twelfth century, who was a judge in that city, is reported to have written under this title, الفنون الستة في اخبار سبتة 'the seven divisions on the history of Ceuta,' we might hope to see some of the obscurity which still covers the deeds of Ilyán entirely dissipated. As it is, there is nothing improbable in these events, attested as they are by the greater number of the Arabian historians; for although it may be objected that neither the Monk of Balclara, a contemporary writer, nor Isidorus Pacensis, who wrote forty-two years after these events, nor the ancient historian whose account I have given translated in the Appendix E., mention one word about Ilyán, the omission may be easily accounted for: on the part of the Arabian writer, from an unwillingness to give to an infidel any share in the glorious undertaking; and on that of the Christian chroniclers, because they either did not attach any great importance to it, or were the partisans of Wittiza,—a presumption which, with regard to Isidorus, is by no means unjustifiable, though by him Ilyán might well be included under that clause, *qui cum eo æmulanter fraudulenterque ob ambitionem regni advenerant.* No. 34, sub Æra DCCXLIX.

40 I have already shown in a preceding note (Note 63, p. 525,) that both the present town of Medina-Sidonia and the city of Xerez were called *Shidúnah* or *Sidonia* by the Arabs. It is therefore next to impossible to decide which of the two places is here meant, as it is an almost general custom of the Arabian authors to call a city by the name which it may happen to have at the time they write, without

stopping to consider whether the events they describe preceded the giving of that name or not. Some remarkable instances of this kind occur in the course of this translation, where *Calpe, Julia-Transducta,* and *Arriaca,* are always mentioned under their Arabic names, *Jebal-Tárik, Jezirah Al-khadhrá,* and *Wáda-l-hajárah.* If Músa landed at Algesiras, as it is generally believed, Medina-Sidonia lay on his way to Carmona; but he must also have passed through Xerez, especially if he went "along the sea coast." Perhaps Xerez having been already taken and plundered by Tárik, Músa would not enter it. Rodrigo and the author of the *Cronica General* say positively that the city taken by Músa was Medina-Sidonia; but in this, as in other instances, their authority cannot be of much weight, since their works are a mere compilation from the Arabian historians. *E de alli vino a un lugar fuerte que abia nonbre Sidia e de alli adelante ovo nonbre en Aravigo Medina Sidonia e esta yaze entre la mar e la villa que llamaron Xerez la que en Arabigo es dicha Assidonia,* fo. ccvi.

41 Carmona is elsewhere said to have been taken by Tárik; but this account seems the most probable. The town, however, might have been slightly garrisoned, and retaken by the Christians.

42 This is differently related by Ar-rází. He says that a body of Ilyán's retainers having gained admittance into the city, disguised as pedlars, opened at night one of the gates to the Arabs.

43 *Deinde venit Hispalin* (says Rodericus Toletanus, lib. iii. cap. xxiii.) *in quá Gothorum substiterat multitudo, quæ ante Gothorum adventum, a Silinguis, Vandalis urbs regia habebatur, sed Gothi ab ea mutaverunt curiam in Toletum.*

44 My copy reads اشهراً—that is to say, 'some months,' which is undoubtedly the true reading. The siege of Seville lasted but one month, but Merida, owing to the strength of its walls and the vigorous defence of its inhabitants, arrested for a considerable time the progress of Músa. See Casiri, vol. ii. p. 321; Rodericus Toletanus, *Rer. in Hisp. Gest.* lib. iii. cap. xxiii; Borbon, *Cartas,* p. lxii.

45 دبابة is the war engine called *musculus* by the Romans. *Dabábah* comes from *dabba,* which means 'to creep as a reptile.'

46 Compare Conde and Cardonne, who relate this with some slight difference. The words الاشة ماشة *Al-eshah méshah* offer no meaning whatever in Arabic. They are no doubt Latin, but so much corrupted as to leave no room even for conjecture.

47 فبنت عنه معاولهم و عدّتهم Ar-rází says that the Arabs were undermining a tower, when they were surprised by the Christians: *e quando los Moros cababan la torre vinieron los Cristianos de fuera de aquel lugar, &c.*; and lower down, *desde entonces pusieron a aquella torre,* "torre de la encomienda." This last passage affords me another proof in favour of the authenticity of the Spanish version; for where is the scholar who does not at first sight perceive that the translator read برج الشهادة 'the tower of testification' (martyrdom), instead of برج الشُهدآء 'the tower of the martyrs.' The word *borj* (tower) has passed into the Spanish *borge.*

[48] *'Ayd Al-fitr*, which is also called *'Aydu-s-saghír* (the lesser festivity), is the passover of the Mohammedans, which begins immediately after the expiration of their solemn fast of Ramadhán, that is, on the first day of Shawwál. On such occasions it is customary for the Moslems to put on their most costly garments, to dress their beards, &c. This no doubt led to the story of Músa's beard, which is repeated by Rodrigo and the author of the *Cronica General.* On this day, A.H. 94, which answers to the 10th of July, A.D. 712, Musá is said, lower down, to have taken Merida, but this date is no doubt erroneous; for if Músa landed in Ramadhán 93, as the author asserts, how could he have spent upwards of one year in the reduction of a few towns? On the other hand, if Músa left Spain for Africa in Dhí-l-hajjah of the same year (A.H. 93), how could he, in the short space of three months, go from Merida to Toledo, have an interview with Tárik, proceed to Saragossa, which he besieged and took, invade Catalonia, conquer part of Galicia, and, lastly, return to Algesiras, to embark for Africa?

Both Rodrigo and the author of the *Cronica General* have adopted the date of 94, but the authors consulted by Conde (vol. i. p. 44) and Casiri (vol. ii. p. 322), Ibn Habíb, the author of the *Reyhánu-l-lebáb*, Al-homaydí, Adh-dhobí, in fact, all Arabian writers who mention the siege of Merida, refer it to the year 93. It is therefore quite clear, that either Al-makkarí or the author he quotes was mistaken, and that the date here assigned is an erroneous one; but as I make a point of never altering the text, I have suffered it to remain.

[49] *Hinna* or *henná*, whence the Spanish words *alheña*, *aliño*, *aliñar*, &c. are derived, is the shrub called *cyprus* or privet, a decoction of whose branches is used by the Arab women to dye their nails and eyelids.

[50] عرفج according to Ibnu-l-beyttar is a plant which grows in the deserts of Arabia, and has the branches of a deep red.

[51] The whole of this passage may be found in the work of Rodrigo, and in the *Cronica General*, as well as in Casiri, Conde, and Cardonne.

[52] Some writers pretend that Egilona, Roderic's widow, was in the city when it surrendered to Músa. They say also that Músa found considerable spoil, and, among other things, a string of matchless pearls. Egilona must on this occasion have become Músa's slave, since two years after she married his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz.

[53] 'Abdu-l-'azíz did not take up his residence at Seville until, by his father's departure, he was left in the supreme command of the conquered lands.

[54] The same observation which I made at Note 48 may be applied to this date. All these events happened in A.H. 93.

[55] و دخل جليقية من فج نُسِبَ الي طارق Músa could not go from Merida to Galicia, passing by Buitrago, without going first to Toledo. I think, therefore, that من فج نُسِبَ اليه is to be read instead, as in another instance which will afterwards occur.

[56] Other writers say "with a stick." Some add that he had him cast into prison, and whipped in the presence of his army.

[57] The origin here assigned to this table is far more probable than the gratuitous supposition of Gibbon, who imagined it to have been formerly in Jerusalem, to have been carried away by Titus at the sack of that city, and, lastly, to have fallen into the hands of the Goths at the taking of Rome by Alaric.

[58] كرايس in A.—B. reads كراسي the plural of كرسي 'a throne, a chair.'

[59] The word which I have translated by 'altars' is remarkable—المذابح *i.e.* 'sacrificing places.'

[60] I need not advert to the contradiction. If the table was found, as here stated, at Toledo, how could a city be called *Medínat Al-meydah* from the fact of Solomon's table being found in it? Ibnu Hayyán, however, is not the only writer who says that the precious relic was found at Toledo. Idrísi (*clim.* iv. *sect.* 1) confirms the statement, and Al-makkarí himself has elsewhere quoted the words of a writer who entertains the same opinion; but is it likely, I ask, that the Bishop Sindered, and those who accompanied him in his flight, should have left behind them so valuable an object?

[61] Said elsewhere (see Appendix E., p. lxxix.) to be a dining table, without feet. Nothing about this is to be read in the ancient writer there translated.

CHAPTER IV.

[1] It is probable that, after the taking of Saragossa, Músa penetrated further into the country. Conde, or rather the historians consulted by him, make Músa follow a route different from that of Tárik. They say that the Berber general proceeded eastwards, while Músa journeyed northwards to Salamanca and Astorga; whence, following the course of the river Douro, he joined Tárik before the walls of Saragossa. This is more probable; a man of Músa's ambition could not well consent to follow the track of his lieutenant, and enter cities already plundered by him. From Saragossa Músa is reported by the same historians to have followed the northern bank, while Tárik ravaged the cities on the opposite side.

[2] The MS. in the British Museum has صخرة البنبون—my copy ابنيون—which is undoubtedly meant for Avenione (Avignon). This applies not to Tárik himself, but to the Berbers who came with him to the conquest of Spain; for, as I shall show hereafter, no invasion of the French territory was made until nearly ten years after the battle of Guadalete.

[3] A farsang is generally computed at three miles.

[4] It has been asserted by several Arabian historians that Músa crossed the Pyrenees and penetrated into France, but as no mention whatever of this invasion occurs in the Christian writers of the age, who cannot be all accused of negligence, I am inclined to believe that the whole account originated in a mistake. When the Arabs first invaded Spain they gave the name of *Afranj* (Franks) to the people dwelling on the eastern branch of the Pyrenees, and that of *Jalalkah* (Galicians) or *Bashkans* (Basques) to those of the western. It is owing to this reason that we see writers of the twelfth and thirteenth

centuries, when the distinction must have been better understood by them, still calling Catalonia and Upper Aragon, *Ardhu-l-faranj* (the land of the Franks); Galicia and Asturias, *Ardhu-l-jalalkah* (the land of the Galicians); and Navarre and Biscay, *Ardhu-l-bashkans* (the land of the Basques). All the countries lying beyond the Pyrenees were at the same time designated by the generic appellation of *Ardhu-l-kebírah* (the great land or continent), owing, no doubt, to their calling Spain an island; and when the author chose to refer to France in particular, the words *Ardhu-l-faranj*, or in later times *Afaranjah*, were used. Catalonia having been frequently overrun, even conquered by the French in the first century after the invasion, this contributed no little to rivet upon it the name of *Ardhu-l-faranj*, which it retained, conjointly with Upper Aragon, even long after it had ceased to be a Mohammedan province. It is therefore probable, not to say certain, that the authors who assert, like the present, that Músa invaded the French territory, had no other foundation for their statement than the name of *Ardhu-l-faranj* (land of the Franks), generally given to Catalonia.

[5] One of the copies reads "sons of Israel,"—the mistake is evident.

[6] This inscription is given by the author of the *Ja'ráfiyyah*, who says that it was found at Narbonne. Cardonne, (vol. i. p. 94,) who treats of this column, but without giving the inscription, says that it was erected by Músa to fix the limit of his conquests.

[7] One of the copies reads "Granada," but it is evidently a mistake.

[8] Another account says that they were equestrian statues of massive silver. See Cardonne, vol. i. p. 105, and Conde, vol. i. p. 55; both of whom borrowed it from An-nuwayrí.

[9] The Arabs not unfrequently imagined that the names assumed by the Christian monarchs were like those of their own sovereigns, patronymics or family names. It is therefore not an uncommon thing for them to call all the kings of Asturias, *Ludherik;* those of Castile, *Adfunsh;* those of Aragon, *Jaymish;* those of France, *Károloh*, &c.

[10] بلديون *Beladiun*, 'the inhabitants of towns.' This name is given by the Arabian genealogists to certain tribes of Arabs who lived in cities, and were thereby considered less illustrious than the Nomadis.

[11] These towns are said elsewhere to have been reduced by Tárik's lieutenants, but the present account appears to be more authentic. In general it is difficult to say which cities were taken by Músa and which had surrendered to Tárik before his arrival; since the Arabian writers have often attributed to one the conquests of the other. As to the Christian authors, they are of little or no service to us: Isidorus Pacensis and the continuator of the *Chronicon Biclarense* throw no light whatever on this subject, and the loss of Spain, like all national catastrophes, is by them painted in two strokes. As to Rodrigo and the author of the *Cronica General*, they give generally more details, but their works being translations or compilations from Arabian sources, their evidence loses much of its value in settling any contested point. Were I called upon to choose between these contradictory opinions, I would follow the latter, since the difficulty might easily be removed by supposing Malaga, as well as Granada and Tudmír, to have fallen, like Beja, into the hands of the Christians during the period of time which elapsed between their reduction by Tárik's lieutenants and the arrival of Músa. It must also be borne in mind that the army commanded by Tárik, diminished as it must have been by the severe contest in the plains of Xerez, must have been insufficient

to garrison all the towns taken from the enemy, and that no occupation of the country could therefore take place. However this may be, Adh-dhobí and the writers consulted by Conde declare positively that Murcia was taken by 'Abdu-l-'azíz, (not 'Abdu-l-'ala, as in the translation,) who, after making war on Theodomir, concluded with him a treaty of peace in the month of Rejeb, A.H. ninety-four (A.D. April, 713). If the treaty which Casiri has given at full length (vol. ii. p. 105), translated from Adh-dhobí, be an authentic one, and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity, the point is at once settled.

12 دار الكفار 'the house of the infidels,' that is, the country where they were the stronger and the more numerous.

13 If Mugheyth went to Damascus after the taking of Toledo, in order to announce to the Khalif the taking of the Gothic capital, as is stated by Adh-dhobí, he could hardly be back, much less if he left Spain by the command of Músa, as Conde asserts, vol. i. p. 48.

14 There is no evidence of Galicia having been conquered on this occasion; Músa only went as far as Lugo, and Tárik did not go beyond Astorga.

15 الغفارة—my copy المغازة—I have frequently met with this word written both ways, and applied to a particular district. I believe the latter is the right reading, and means 'the enemy's land,' 'the seat of war,' from *ghaza*, 'to make war.'

16 بازر in A. I read بارو in my copy, as well as in Dr. Lembke's manuscript; I have, however, followed the former reading.

17 صخرة بلاي 'The rock of Pelayo,' probably 'la Sierra de Covadonga.' The Spanish word *sierra*, meaning 'a chain of mountains, a wild and mountainous district,' comes from *sehrah*, 'an uncultivated tract, a desert,' not from the Latin *serra*, 'a saw,' as some writers have thought. Hence 'Sierra Morena,' that chain of mountains which divides Andalusia from Castile, is a compound of two words, one Arabic, *Sierra* (Sehrah), the other Latin, *Morena* (Mariana). In the present case the author ought to have said, "to what was afterwards called the rock of Pelayo;" but it is seldom that the Arabian writers trouble themselves about these niceties.

I have already observed that by 'Green Sea' the geographers of that nation mean generally that part of the ocean which washes the north-western shores of the Peninsula, at times the whole Bay of Biscay. Treating of this sea, Ibnu Khaldún, in his historical Prolegomena, fo. 43, says that it was called 'Green Sea' owing to the tinge of its waters. The remainder of it, towards the north, was called 'Sea of Darkness.' If this account be true, it would prove a strong argument against the natives of the north-western provinces of Spain, who believe their country never to have been subdued by the Moslems.

18 I have nowhere met with the name of this messenger, for Abú Nasr is what the Arabs call *kunyah*, (in Spanish, *alcurnia* and *alcuño*,) an appellative. I suspect that Mugheyth and Abú Nasr are one and the same person, as that general might well have received, on his return to the East, the honorific surname of 'father of victory,' which is the meaning of those words.

What mountain this is which Músa is said to have crossed by a pass named after him, I have been unable to ascertain. I believe the author means that Músa crossed the mountain by the pass of Tárik (Buitrago). فقطع الجبل من فج المنسوب اليه [طارق] See Note 55, p. 543.

[19] 'Abdu-l-'azíz was Músa's second son; his eldest was 'Abdullah. He had besides, Merwán, 'Abdu-l-'ala, and, if Al-makkarí be right, a younger one named 'Abdu-l-malek. It would also appear, to judge from his appellative (Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán), that Músa must have had a sixth son, named ''Abdu-r-rahmán.'

[20] I find that Adh-dhobí, and the author translated in the Appendix E., p. lxxviii., agree in this date; but it seems improbable that Músa should have stayed so long on the road from Spain to Damascus, since he did not arrive in that capital until nearly eighteen months after.

[21] If Tárik landed on the rock to which he gave his name in Rejeb, A.H. 92, it is evident that this date is mistaken; for, in order to make up three years and four months, which he is reported to have staid in Spain, it would be necessary to place his invasion in Ramadhán 91, that is, one year earlier. The author whose words are here transcribed undoubtedly mistook Taríf for Tárik.

[22] See Appendix E., p. lxviii.

[23] This seems to have been another of Músa's sons, but I have not met with his name elsewhere. See above, Note 19.

[24] The text says لما قفل "when he was travelling in company with Mugheyth," for the word *káfelah*, whence the Spanish word *cáfela* is derived, means 'a caravan, a troop of people journeying together for convenience or protection.' The prisoner here alluded to is no doubt the same elsewhere called Ludherik, and who is said to have been presented to the Khalif by Merwán, son of Músa. See Appendix E., p. lxxxiv.

[25] According to the most authentic accounts, Suleymán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek succeeded his brother Al-walíd on the fifteenth day of Jumáda II. of the year ninety-six, namely, on the 25th of February, A.D. 715. See Al-makín, *Hist. Sar.* p. 73, and Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 435.

[26] Yezíd Ibnu-l-muhlib was a general, who, during the reign of Suleymán, obtained great victories over the Persians, and conquered the provinces of Tabaristán and Georgia. He was the son of Muhlib Ibn Abí Sofrah, another Arab general, who, in A.H. 67, under the Khalifate of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, had made war on the Azrakis, or followers of Náfi' Ibnu-l-azrak. See Al-makín, *apud* Erpen. pp. 60, 63, 74, *et passim;* Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 437; and the Appendix E.

[27] This anecdote is undoubtedly borrowed from the author of the *Ahádithu-l-imámati wa-l-siyásati*, a fragment from which is given at the end of this volume. See Appendix E.

[28] واستهلكت رجالاً لايعرفون غير خيرك وشرك—that is, 'people who know not how to appreciate thy merits towards thy country, but who judge thee merely from thy behaviour to them.'

[29] The word غلام *ghalam*, which I have translated by 'slave,' means, properly speaking, 'a page, a genteel and comely youth.' It is the origin of the Spanish words *galan* and *galantear*, which have passed into almost every language of Europe.

30 By Greeks (Rúm) the author means that mixed population, Greeks, Romans, and Vandals, whom the Arabs found in possession of the fortresses along the northern coast of Africa. See Note 16, p. 511.

31 Compare the Appendix E., p. lxxxviii., and Conde (vol. i. p. 59), who likewise translated this passage from other sources. The learned Spaniard however was in this, as in most of his versions, any thing but faithful; he rendered مراكب 'vessels' by bodies of infantry (*escuadrones de á pié*), a meaning which that word never had.

32 Wáda-l-korá (the valley of the hamlets) is the name of a town and district in Arabia. The word *wáda*, in the dialect of the Eastern Arabs, means 'a valley,' the bed of a dry torrent. Among the Western Arabs, however, it was, and is still, always used to designate a river.

33 This is not exact, for if the historians consulted by Al-makkarí place the death of Músa in 97, there are many more who refer it to the year 98. (See Conde, vol. i. p. 68.) Others, like Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 758), and Adh-dhobí, *apud* Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 139), say 97 or 99.

34 See above, Note 19.

35 The word *mauli* signifies here, that Músa was adopted by the tribe of Lakhm.

36 Bekr Ibn وايل Wayil was the seventh descendant in a straight line from Rabi'ah, son of Nezar, son of Ma'd, son of 'Adwán, &c. Owing to this, some historians have given to Músa the patronymic Al-bekrí.

37 That is, *Sáhibu-sh-shortah.* See Appendix D., and Note 30, p. 398.

38 *Ummu-l-baneyn* (the mother of the two sons) was, according to Ad-diyárbekrí, in his *Kitábu-l-khamín*, the surname of Al-walíd's wife.

39 Temím Ad-dárí is one of the traditionists who enjoy most reputation among the Mohammedans.

40 According to Adh-dhobí, *apud* Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 139), *Mo'arek Ben Maron*, a grandson of Músa, is reported to have left a history of his father's exploits.

41 I have shown elsewhere (see Note 38, p. 536) the unsoundness of this statement.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

The Lives of Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Zohr, Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr, Ibn Bájeh, Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd, and Ibn Joljol; translated from the work of Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, No. 7340 in the British Museum.

Ibn Abí 'Ossaybi'ah and his work being sufficiently known to Oriental scholars through the extracts published by De Sacy at the end of his *Relation de l'Egypte, par Abdallatif, Médecin Arabe de Baghdád,* Paris, 1810,[1] I shall only prefix here a few preliminary observations on the copy of that work preserved in the library of the British Museum.

The MS., which once formed part of the Rich collection, is a quarto volume containing two hundred and seven folios, written in a clear but rather small Eastern hand upon thin glazed paper. From a note at the end of the volume it appears that the transcript was made at Isfahán, and finished on Monday the 20th of Rejeb of the year one thousand and seventeen (Nov. A. D. 1608), by a certain Ibn Mohammed, who was a Shiite,[2] not a follower of the sect of Sháfe'í, as stated in the manuscript catalogue of the Rich MSS.

The volume is written with tolerable correctness, and enriched with marginal notes, which add very much to the value of the work. These are generally explanatory of the subjects treated, or refer to facts which escaped the author's attention, the copyist having in most instances given the sources whence he derived his information, as the historical works of Abú-l-faraj, Al-makrízí, As-soyúttí, and others.

I. *The Life of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Zohr,* fo. 143, *verso.*

Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Abí-l-'ala Zohr Ibn Abí Merwán 'Abdi-l-malek[3] Ibn Mohammed Ibn Merwán Ibn Zohr learnt medicine under his father; he excelled in the

[1] See also D'Herbelot, *Bib. Or.* voc. *O'ioun; Abdollatiphi Historiæ Egypti Compendium,* à T. White, Oxon. 1800; *Biographie Universelle,* voc. *Abi Ossaiba;* Reiske, *Miscellanea medica ex Arabum monimentis,* in the collection entitled *Opuscula med. ex monim. Ar. et Ebræor.,* published by Gruner, p. 56; Rossi, *Dizionario Storico degli autori Arabi.* There is, however, a fact which Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah himself states, and which has been overlooked by all the above-mentioned writers; namely, that Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah was a pupil of the celebrated Spanish physician and naturalist Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah, surnamed Ibnu-l-beyttar, a native of Malaga, whom he knew at Cairo in six hundred and thirty-seven (A. D. 1239-40).

[2] في يد الحقير الفكير ابن محمد الشفيع ملا زين العابدين

[3] The MS. reads 'Abdu-l-hakem, but it is a mistake. See a preceding note, with the genealogical tree of the Beni Zohr (p. 336, No. 36).

knowledge of medicaments simple and compound, and in the treatment of diseases, gaining great reputation in and out of Andalus by the wonderful cures he performed. Physicians studied medicine by his works, and there was no one in his time who could rival him in any of the branches of that science. Many anecdotes are related of him, and of his sagacity in detecting diseases and applying the proper remedies,—qualities which none of the physicians who preceded him ever possessed in a higher degree.

Abú Merwán entered the service of the Sultáns called *Al-mulaththamún* (the wearers of the veil), from whom he obtained at once honours, distinction, and great riches; he was in their service when the Mahdi, who is the same person as Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Túmart,[4] entered Andalus in company with 'Abdu-l-múmen,[5] and began to spread his creed, and to level for himself the road to the empire, until, at last, his words spread about, and his power was extended by the conquest of various countries and the subjection of their inhabitants, who all came to swear obedience to him. The Madhi, in fine, went on conquering and subduing until the supreme power fell into his hands, and he became thus the ruler of an extensive and well-known empire.

However, when 'Abdu-l-múmen had thus strengthened himself in power, and assumed the title of *Amíru-l-múmenín* (commander of the faithful), when he had taken possession of the treasures of the West, he began to distribute them with the utmost prodigality, to show justice, and to honour science, surrounding his court with the learned. One of those whom he distinguished above the rest was Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Zohr, whom he appointed to be his chief physician, trusting his person entirely in his hands, and bestowing on him honours and gifts even far beyond his expectations. Indeed Ibn Zohr was very much esteemed by 'Abdu-l-múmen, with whom he always enjoyed great favour, being preferred by him, and distinguished above all the other eminent men of his time. It was for the use of this Sultán that Abú Merwán composed his celebrated antidote of the seventy simples (*Teryáku-s-sabáyiní*),[6] which he afterwards reduced to ten, and lastly to seven only, which last composition is known by the name of *Teryáku-l-antolah*.[7]

I was told by Abú-l-kásim Al-mu'ájeyni[8] Al-andalusí that upon a certain occasion the Khalif 'Abdu-l-múmen was in want of a slight purgative, but being unwilling to take any of the draughts used for that effect, he consulted Ibn Zohr on the subject. Ibn Zohr went to a vine

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[4] I read in the text يومرت *Yúmart*, but it is decidedly an error. However, I find the name of this conqueror differently spelt in the various works consulted by me. Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 399) writes it thus, تومرت *Túmurt*; Ibn Khaldún تُومَرت *Túmarta*; the author of the history of Morocco تيومرت *Tiumart*; the Karttás *Túmart*; Moura, Conde, and De Sacy, *Tomrut*.

[5] The author is mistaken. Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Túmart, the founder of the religious sect and dynasty of the Almohades, was never in Spain, but lived and died in Africa. It was not until the time of his successor, 'Abdu-l-múmen, that Spain was subdued. Perhaps the word دخل (entered) is here intended for the moral rather than the material idea.

[6] ترياق السبعيني

[7] ترياق الانتلة The word *antolah*, quasi *anthora*, is a corruption from ἀντιφθορά.

[8] المعاجيني

in his orchard and dug a deep hole round it, he then irrigated it with water in which he had previously diluted a strong purgative, by which means the stump and branches of the vine imbibed that substance, and the fruit became equally impregnated with it. By that time 'Abdu-l-múmen was attacked by fever, and Ibn Zohr brought him a bunch of those grapes, prescribing to him to eat of them. 'Abdu-l-múmen, who had the greatest confidence in his physician, did not hesitate to eat of the grapes as he was told; Ibn Zohr then said to him, "That is sufficient, O Commander of the Faithful! thou hast eaten ten grapes that will "purge thee so many times."[9] He then told him of his contrivance, and 'Abdu-l-múmen, finding the remedy as efficacious as Ibn Zohr had predicted to him,[10] soon after recovered,—a cure which very much increased the Khalif's affection and regard for Ibn Zohr.

I was likewise told by Muhiyyu-d-dín Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Mohammed Ibnu-l-'arabí At-táyí Al-hátemí, an inhabitant of Murcia,[11] that as Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Zohr was one day going from his house to the palace of the Commander of the Faithful in Seville, he met on his way, close to the baths of Abú-l-kheyr, and not far from the house of Ibn Maumel, a patient who was suffering from dropsy;[12] his belly was very much swollen, his face had turned yellow, and he was in continual agony. Ibn Zohr asked him to take him into his house, that he might examine him and see what was to be done. Having observed attentively the symptoms of the disease, Ibn Zohr was going to give his opinion, when he perceived over the bed and close to the patient's head an old pitcher, out of which the sick man generally drank his water. This Ibn Zohr desired to be brought down, and said to the patient, "I must needs have that pitcher broken, that I may see what it contains." When the patient heard this, he exclaimed, "By Allah! I have no other, but it shall be broken:" he then ordered one of his servants to dash it against the wall, when, to the astonishment of all the by-standers, a large toad was discovered lying at the bottom of it, having for a considerable length of time lived and grown in the pitcher. Ibn Zohr then said to him, "Thou art cured, O man! I need not prescribe for thee, thou hast been all this time "drinking poisoned water." The man, of course, recovered.

And I was told by the Kádí Abú Merwán Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Al-lakhmí Al-bájí[13] the following anecdote, which he held from a trustworthy friend. There

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9 هي تخدمك عشرة المجالس   10 قام عبد المومن علي عدد ما ذكره

11 Some volumes of poems, and a work on monastic life, by this author, are preserved in the Escurial Library. (See Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. pp. 122, 222, *et alibi.*) Ibnu-l-'arabí died in six hundred and thirty-eight of the Hijra (beginning 22nd July, A. D. 1240).

12 سوقنية

13 The life of this individual, from whom Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah seems to have derived most of his information respecting the Bení Zohr, occurs in Al-makkarí (part I. book vi. fo. 171); the author being there counted in the number of the illustrious Andalusians who left their native country to travel in the East. His entire name was the Kádí Abú Merwán Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Alí Ibn Sharí'ah Ibn Refá'h Ibn Sakhar Ibn Semá'h Al-lakhmí. He used the patronymic *Ishbíli* and Al-bájí; the former denoting that he was a native or resident of Seville, the latter that he belonged to an illustrious family long domiciliated in Spain, and known as the Bení Al-bájí. Al-makkarí observes that the Bení Al-bájí were a noble stock, whence issued several learned theologians and authors renowned for their writings; but that it is important not to confound them with another family,

lived at Seville, in Ibn Zohr's time, an eminent practitioner named Al-fár,[14] who had written a very excellent work, in two volumes, on the simples used as medicaments. Abú Merwán Ibn Zohr was exceedingly fond of green figs, and used to eat immoderately of them; Al-fár, on the contrary, never ate any, or if he did it was only once a year: he used often to say to Abú Merwán Ibn Zohr, whenever he saw him eating that fruit, "if thou persist in eating "green figs thou wilt soon be attacked with a very bad *na'lah*,"[15] a word meaning 'an abscess' in the language of the Western people. In reply to this, Abú Merwán used to say to him, "if thou do not eat figs thou wilt be often subject to fever, and wilt at last die from "a constipation in the bowels."[16] Ibn Zohr's words were prophetic; Al-fár died of the disease which Ibn Zohr had announced to him. But the most extraordinary thing was that Ibn Zohr himself died from an abscess in one of his sides. This is, no doubt, the most remarkable instance of prophetic sagacity ever known of two physicians.

They say that on the first appearance of the disease which caused his death, Ibn Zohr began to take medicine, and apply plasters to it, but, seeing that the medicaments produced no effect, and the disease did not abate, his son, Abú Bekr, said one day to him, "O father! "if instead of such medicament thou wert to use so and so, and then add such a drug, and, "mixing it, thou didst prepare such a medicament, thou mightst, perhaps, recover;" and Ibn Zohr answered him, "O my son! if God has decreed that what is manifest should be altered, "I need not prepare medicines, since whatever remedies I may employ, his decrees must be "fulfilled, and his will finally executed."

Among the disciples of Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Abí-l-'ala Ibn Zohr in the practice of medicine, the most eminent was Abú-l-huseyn Ibn Asdún,[17] better known by the name of Al-masdúm,[18] and Abú Bekr, son of the celebrated theologian and Kádí Abú-l-hasan, who

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called also the Bení Al-bájí, to whom belonged the celebrated writer and theologian, Abú-l-walíd Al-bájí, for these were originally from Bájah (Beja), a town of Africa, not far from Cairwán, while the former took their patronymic from a town of a similar name in the west of Spain.

Abú Merwán left Spain for Syria, and landed at 'Akka (St. John of Acre) on the sixth day of Ramadhán, A. H. six hundred and thirty-four (3rd May, A. D. 1237), taking up his abode at the college of 'A'del. He then made his pilgrimage to Mekka, and settled on his return at Cairo, where he met with Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah. Although not a physician himself, Abú Merwán must have known many particulars respecting the family of the Bení Zohr, some members of which he must have known in his youth; and on this account the information which he communicated to their biographer is exceedingly valuable. Abú Merwán died in six hundred and thirty-five (A. D. 1237-8), on his return from his second pilgrimage.

14 الفار

15 نعلة This must be one of the many words introduced by the western Arabs. It was in all probability borrowed from some of the native dialects of Africa, which, according to the testimony of various historians, were spoken in all their purity in many districts of Spain where the Berbers had settlements. Ibn Khallekán says that Zohr, one of the ancestors of this physician, died of a similar disease.

16 الشناج

17 اسدون

18 المصدوم means a man attacked with a certain disease called *sodám* or *sidám*, which asses and horses have on the head. Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah has also given (fo. 148) the life of this physician, who was a native of Seville, and died in five hundred and eighty-eight (A. D. 1192-3).

was Kádí of Seville; Abú Mohammed Ash-shidhúní (of Sidonia or Xerez), and the austere theologian Abú 'Amrán Ibn Abí 'Amrán. Abú Merwán 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Abí-l-'ala Ibn Zohr died at Seville, in five hundred and fifty-seven[19] (A.D. 1161-2), and was buried out of the gate called *Bábu-l-fatah* (gate of victory).

Abú Merwán Ibn Abí-l-'ala Ibn Zohr wrote,—I. *Kitábu-t-teysír fí madáwáti wa tadbíri*[20] (the leveller of the difficulties in the art of applying medicaments and preserving health), which he dedicated to the Kádí Abú-l-walíd Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Murashshid.[21]—II. *Kitábu-l-aghdiyati* (the book of aliments),[22] which he wrote for Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-múmen Ibn 'Alí.—III. *Kitábu-z-zínah*[23] (the book of ornament), which he wrote for the use and instruction of his son Abú Bekr, and which treats of remedies used as purgatives, and how and in what quantity they ought to be taken. Ibn Zohr wrote this work for his son, who was then very young, and about to undertake his first tour through the country, releasing his father from the fatigues of his profession.—IV. An essay on diseases in general.—V. An epistle which he addressed to a physician of Seville, treating of the leprosy and the morphew.[24]—VI. *Kitábu-t-tadhkirah* (the book of warnings), in which he reminds his son Abú Bekr of the first things to be attended to in the cure of diseases.

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19 The copy in the Brit. Mus. says only five hundred, the remainder of the date being left out; but that in the Bodleian Library gives that of five hundred and fifty-seven, which agrees well with the date fixed by Ibnu-l-abbár, *apud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 132, c. 2. The same writer makes Abú Merwán Ibn Zohr a native of Seville; but other historians fix his birth at Hisnu-z-zahar, or Peñaflor, a town in the district of that capital.

20 كتاب التيسير في مداواة و تدبير which, more freely translated, means 'a manual of medicine and the art of preserving health.' (See p. 198 of this translation, and Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Teysír.*) This is the same work which Doctor Paravici, assisted by a Jewish physician named Jacob, translated into Latin (A.D. 1281) from an intermediate Hebrew version, for the use of John Dandolo, Doge of Venice. It was first printed in that city by the brothers Joannes and Gregorius de Forlivio in 1490, in folio, under the following title, *Liber Theicrifi dahalmodana vahaltadabar, cujus est interpretatio rectificatio medicationis et regiminis: editus in arabico a perfecto viro Abumaruan Avenzohar, et translatus de hebraico in latinum Venetiis a magistro Paravicio, ipso sibi vulgarizante, magistro Jacobo Hebreo, Anno Domini Jesu Xti.* 1281. In the subsequent editions the title of the work is more correctly printed *Theyzir*, but the author's name is variously disfigured "Abimeron Abynzoahar, Abhymeron Abinzohar, and Abynmeron Abyçohar." It was reprinted in 1496 and 1497, with the colliget of Averroes; and there are, besides, several other editions of the sixteenth century: Lugd. Bat. 1531; Venice, 1514, 1542, and 1553. It was republished, with a commentary by J. Colle, in Venice, 1628, in quarto, under the following title, *De cognitu difficilibus ex libro Abenzoharis commentatione.* Another work, attributed to this Ibn Zohr (*De curâ calculi*), was printed at Venice in 1497, as well as one entitled *De regimine sanitatis*, Basilea, 1618, in 12mo.; but I am inclined to think that the former was not composed by Abú Merwán, but by his father, Abú-l-'ala Ibn Zohr, while the latter is evidently that of his son Abú Bekr.

21 ابن مرشد

22 كتاب الاغذية

23 كتاب الزينة This work is not mentioned by Hájí Khalfah.

24 بهق *bahak* means, properly speaking, 'any white spots that come out in the skin.' It comes from the Hebrew בהק which means 'a freckle,' &c.

II. *Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr*, fo. 144.

Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr Al-hafíd,[1] or the celebrated and illustrious Sheikh, physician, and Wizír, Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Abí Merwán Ibn Abí-l-'ala Ibn Zohr. He was born and educated at Seville under the eye of his father, from whom he learnt medicine and other sciences, which he considerably contributed to advance by his works. He was a middle-sized man, well made, muscular, and strong, and had a clear complexion; he lived to a great age, preserving, to the very last, his strong frame and firm step, although some time before his death he became deaf. He was deeply versed in traditions, and knew the Korán by heart: he also gave his attention to the study of literature and the Arabic language, and so great were his attainments in this branch that there was scarcely a man in his days who could compete with him in the knowledge of his own language, and people used to say of him that he had reached perfection both in medicine and in literature. He likewise studied poetry, and excelled in it, as can easily be proved by some of his *muwashshahát*,[2] which are sufficiently known, and are remarkable, above all things, for the beauty of the conceptions, than which none finer ever entered the mind of a poet. To the above-mentioned accomplishments Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr united that of being very strict in the fulfilment of his religious duties, sound in his doctrines, magnanimous in his actions, and a lover of virtue; he had likewise the gift of eloquence, and could speak very fluently. As long as he lived he knew of no rival in the science of medicine; he became known, and his fame spread, all over Andalus, and even out of that country.

I was told by the Kádí Abú Merwán Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Al-bájí, an inhabitant of Seville, what follows. "I was told by the Sheikh, physician, and Wizír, Abú "Bekr Ibn Zohr, that, when young, he took lessons and worked for seven years with my "grandfather, 'Abdu-l-malek Al-bájí, reading with him the book entitled *Al-madúnah*,[3] "treating of the sect of Málik Ibn Ans, the composition of Sahnún, and that he likewise "read with him the book entitled *Musnad*, by Ibn Abí Sheybah."

I was also told by the same person (Abú Merwán Al-bájí), who held it from Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr himself, that he was exceedingly muscular and strong, so much so that he could draw a bow weighing one hundred and fifty Sevillean pounds, which have sixteen ounces, and each ounce ten drachms; that he could play very well at the game of chess; and, lastly, that there was no physician in his days who could equal him in the knowledge and practice of his art; that he was the servant of two different dynasties, having first, together with his father, served the Almoravide Sultáns towards the end of their empire, and having afterwards entered that of the Almohades, or the sons of 'Abdu-l-múmen, as they are otherwise called. His father having died in 'Abdu-l-múmen's lifetime, Abú Bekr succeeded him in his appointment,

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[1] الحفيد He was called *Al-hafíd*, to distinguish him from his great grandfather, who bore the same name and surname. See Note 36, p. 337, where the word Al-hafíd has been printed *Al-hafídh* by mistake.

[2] On the meaning of this word see Note 19, p. 367.

[3] See p. 213. This work was much used in Spain by law students.

and after the demise of that Sultán passed into the service of his son, Abú Ya'kúb Yúsuf, and then into that of his grandson, Abú Yúsuf Ya'kúb, surnamed Al-mansúr. After the death of the latter Ibn Zohr entered the household of his son, 'Abdullah Mohammed An-nássir, but he did not serve him long, for he died soon after.

The death of Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr (whom may God forgive!) took place in the year five hundred and ninety-six at Morocco, whither he [the Sultán?] had gone on a visit. He was buried at the spot called "the cemeteries of the Sheikhs." Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr was nearly ninety years old when he died.[4]

The same author says "Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr was extremely sagacious in the discovery of "diseases, cautious and expert in the application of medicine, an excellent regulator of "health,—qualities which he evinced when still young: for instance, one day his father Abú "Merwán Ibn Zohr happened to write a prescription for the Khalif 'Abdu-l-múmen for a "purgative which he stood in need of; his son, Abú Bekr, having by chance perused it, said, "'This simple must be replaced by another, as this remedy would not suit 'Abdu-l-múmen's "constitution.' This remark having been communicated to his father, he said, 'O Com-"mander of the Faithful! Abú Bekr is right;' upon which he effaced from his prescription "the name of the simple objected to by his son, and the medicine, when prepared agreeably "to Abú Bekr's instructions, proved most beneficial to the Khalif. Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr "composed the *Teryáku-l-khamseyní* (the antidote of the fifty simples), for the use of Abú "Yúsuf Ya'kúb Al-mansúr."

The author continues. "And I was told by a trustworthy friend that Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr "had an intimate friend belonging to the tribe of Al-yanákí,[5] in whose company he used "to sit for many an hour playing at chess. This man was one day at Abú Bekr's "house playing a game with him, when Abú Bekr, observing that his friend was rather "thoughtful, and not in his usual good humour, said to him, 'What is the matter with thee? "Thou lookest anxious and distressed, as if something was preying on thy mind; let us hear "the cause.' 'Willingly,' answered this friend. 'I have a daughter who has been wedded "to a youth, who is shortly coming to fetch her; I want three hundred dinárs for her "marriage portion.' 'Very well,' replied Abú Bekr, 'go on playing and never mind that, for "I have with me three hundred dinárs all but five, and they are at thy service.' The friend "went on playing for a while, and when, after some time, he begged leave to retire, Abú Bekr "gave him the sum as agreed. Shortly after, however, he returned, bringing back the three "hundred dinárs all but five, which he gave to Abú Bekr. 'What is the meaning of this?' "said the latter to him. 'I have sold an olive plantation of mine for seven hundred dinárs, "and I now come to pay thee the sum which thou wast generous enough to lend me, as I "have still four hundred remaining.' Ibn Zohr then said to his friend, 'Keep that sum and "spend it for thy use; for when I gave it thee I never intended to have it back again: keep

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[4] The author of the *Karttás*, who refers the death of Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr to the twenty-first day of Dhí-l-hajjah, A. H. five hundred and ninety-six (2nd October, A.D. 1200), says that he was ninety-four years old when he died.

[5] من بني اليناقي

"it, I say.' The friend remonstrated, and would not accept of the gift, saying, 'Thank God, "I am not in want of money, and have enough to live upon; and it is my maxim never to "accept of a favour which I cannot return.' 'Art thou my friend or my enemy?' inquired "Ibn Zohr. 'I am thy friend, and thou art dearer to me than any other man,' answered the "friend. 'Well, then,' retorted Ibn Zohr, 'two friends ought to have only one common "purse, and when one of them wants money he ought to ask the other for it.' Still his "friend persisted in returning him the sum, when Ibn Zohr, growing impatient, said to him, "—'By Allah! unless thou take it back we shall quarrel for ever, and I shall never speak to "thee as long as I live.' The man then put up his money, and thanked his friend Abú "Bekr for his generous action."

The Kádí Abú Merwán Al-bájí says, "It is well known how Al-mansúr conceived the idea "of destroying every work treating on logic[6] and philosophy in his dominions, ordering "such as could be found to be publicly burnt, and how he laboured to abolish the study of "those sciences by persecuting all those who were addicted to them, and causing all those "who were convicted of reading such works, or keeping them in their libraries, to be severely "punished. When he first thought of this he commissioned Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr Al-hafíd "to this effect, and intrusted him with the execution of his orders, for, although he well "knew that Ibn Zohr himself was seriously devoted to the study of logic and philosophy, "and had in his library many works on those sciences, yet he feigned not to be aware of it, "not choosing to prosecute him on account of it. Abú Bekr, however, executed faithfully "the task intrusted to his care; he searched the booksellers' shops all over Seville, taking "care that there should not remain one single work treating on the above subjects, to the "great mortification of the lovers of those sciences. There happened to be at Seville a man "of rank who hated Ibn Zohr, whose favour at court he envied. This man, who had much "malice in him, drew up an accusation, purporting that he was certain that Ibn Zohr, "notwithstanding the Khalif's injunctions to the contrary, persisted in giving his attention "to the study of the prohibited works, a large number of which he was known actually to "possess. This declaration, confirmed by several witnesses, who signed their names to it, "was then sent for the perusal of Al-mansúr to Hisnu-l-faraj, a castle not far from Seville, "where that Khalif was then residing. Hisnu-l-faraj[7] was a fortress built by Al-mansúr, "two miles from Seville, on a spot where the air is so salubrious that wheat is stored and "kept for a space of eighty years without being spoilt: it was Abú Bekr who selected the "spot, recommending Al-mansúr to build on it, and retire thither in certain seasons of the "year. However, while Al-mansúr was staying with his court at this place the written accu- "sation was brought to him. Having perused it, he instantly ordered the author of it to be "seized and cast into prison, which was done: all the witnesses who had signed it then took "the alarm and fled. On this occasion Al-mansúr is said to have exclaimed,—'By Allah!

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6 علم المنطق is logic, sometimes dialectics.

7 It is now called San Juan de Alfarache, from a church consecrated to St. John, built on the site of the old mosque. In the division of the lands about Seville, made after the conquest of that city by St. Ferdinand, this village was still called *Hesnalfarache*. See *Repartimiento de Sevilla, Bib. Egerton*, in the Brit. Mus., No. 478.

" when I intrusted Ibn Zohr with this commission I did it in order that people should not " speak of him and accuse him; and, by Allah! were all my subjects to sign this declaration, " and bear witness that Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr does what he is accused of in this paper, I " would still say that it was not true, so well do I know Ibn Zohr's soundness of mind and " strict religious principles.'"

The following anecdote I hold from Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed of Seville. " Ibn Zohr had two pupils to whom he used to teach medicine; they went to and " from his house, receiving his lessons for some length of time, and reading before him works " on that science. One day, as the students came up to him at the usual hour, Ibn Zohr, " who was then engaged in conversation with Abú-l-huseyn, better known under the by- " name of Al-masdúm, observed in the hands of one of them a small book, treating of logic, " which they, no doubt, meant to study. No sooner did Ibn Zohr cast his eyes on the book " than he exclaimed, 'What is that?' and, taking the book from the student's hands, began to " peruse it. Finding that the book treated on the prohibited science, Ibn Zohr first threw " the volume into a corner of the apartment, and then went up to the delinquents, intending " to beat them. The students fled, but Ibn Zohr, without stopping to put on his shoes, " followed them into the street, they running as fast as they could, he following them, until, " seeing he could not overtake them, and that he had gone to a considerable distance from " his house, he left off the pursuit and returned. The students, dreading his anger, were " some days without coming to Ibn Zohr for their lessons; but at last they took courage and " presented themselves to him, apologizing for having brought to his house the obnoxious " book, which, they said, did not belong to them, nor had they ever entertained the least " idea of reading its contents, but that, as they were coming to him that day, they happened " to see it on their way in the hands of a story-teller,[8]—that a broil ensued among the " audience,—and they, profiting by it, rushed among the crowd and possessed themselves by " force of the book in question, which they had brought to his house, ignorant of its contents. " Ibn Zohr feigned to admit their excuse, and proceeded to give them lectures on medicine " as usual, with this difference, that after some time spent in that occupation, Ibn Zohr " generally bade them repeat a part of the Korán, enjoining them to read when at home " commentaries upon that divine work, as well as traditional stories respecting the Prophet, " and other works on theological subjects, but, above all things, to be very strict in the " fulfilment of their religious duties, and not to forget any of the instructions he had given " them. The youths complied with their master's instructions, and when, some time after- " wards, Ibn Zohr perceived that their minds were properly trained, he one day brought out " to them a copy of the very work on logic which he saw in their hands, saying, 'Now that " you are prepared for the perusal of that work I have no objection to read it with you,' " and he immediately began to expound it to them, which filled the youths with amaze- " ment." I have mentioned this anecdote in order to show the soundness of Ibn Zohr's mind, and the strictness of his religious principles.

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[8] رآوه مع محدث في الطريق وهم قاصدون اليه فهزوا بصاحبه و عبثوا به و اخذوا منه الكتاب admits, I believe, of no other translation.

I was told by the Kádí Abú Merwán Al-bájí—" Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Bújánˌ[9] " who was Wizír of Al-mansúr, had conceived an enmity towards Abú Bekr Ibn Zohr " Al-hafíd, whom he envied and hated on account of the great favour he enjoyed with " Al-mansúr, and the great regard which that Sultán entertained for him on account of his " learning. Not knowing how to hurt him he decided upon administering poison to him, and " this he effected by bribing a man who lived with Ibn Zohr, and who gave it him in an egg. " There lived also with Ibn Zohr a sister of his, who, together with her daughter, was well " practised in medicine and pharmacy, and very expert in curing the diseases peculiar to their " sex, owing to which they had admittance into the harem of Al-mansúr, so that no child of " that monarch, or of his relations, ever was born within its walls that did not come through " the hands of Ibn Zohr's sister, or, after her death, of her daughter. This sister was present " when Ibn Zohr ate the egg, and she also tasted it, when all their science combined did not " save them from its effects. Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Búján died a violent death, " having been killed by one of his kinsmen." [10]

Among the best disciples of Abú Bekr Al-hafíd is counted Abú Ja'far Ibnu-l-ghazzál.

[Here follow several quotations from Ibn Zohr's poems which I have not translated.]

III. *Ibn Bájeh* (vulgo *Avempace*), fo. 142.

Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibn Yahya, surnamed Ibnu-s-sáyegh[1] (the son of the goldsmith), better known under the surname of Ibn Bájeh, the Andalusian.[2] He was the banner of his age and the phœnix of his time in the philosophical sciences, a reason why he was very much exposed to the shafts of malice, and became an object of hatred and envy to most of the people of his profession, who repeatedly attempted his life, although God always saved him from them. Ibn Bájeh was also versed in literature and in the Arabic language; he knew the Korán by heart, and was one of the most eminent physicians that ever lived. He was, likewise, an excellent musician, and could play very well on the lute.

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[9] بوجان Thus in the text, but, lower down, I find it written thus, بوجان

[10] Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah does not give a list of Abú Bekr's writings, but he was probably the author of a medical work printed at Basle, 1618, 12mo., under the title of *De Regimine sanitatis*, and which Haller (see Bib. Medicinæ, vol. i. p. 397) attributes wrongly to his father.

[1] ابن الصايغ.

[2] The text of the two copies I have consulted reads distinctly ابن باجة الاندلس 'the son of (born at) Bájeh in Andalus,' an expression not at all misplaced if we consider that there were two cities of that name, one in Spain (now Beja, in Estremadura), the other in Africa. See Al-bekrí, *loco laudato*, fo. 50, and Marmol, *Descripcion de Africa*, vol. ii. fo. 285, *verso*. But as no Arabian writer that I know of says that Ibn Bájeh was a native of that town, some, like Ibnu-l-khattíb (*apud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 77), saying that he was born at Cordova, others, like Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 681), at Saragossa, I am inclined to believe that the above is a blunder of the copyist, who wrote الاندلس instead of الاندلسي—an easy mistake.

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Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Ibnu-l-imám, in the preface to his work entitled "a collection of the sayings[3] of Abú Bekr Mohammed Ibnu-s-sáyegh Ibn Bájeh," expresses himself as follows: "The present is a collection of all the sayings of Abú Bekr (may God show him "mercy!) on the philosophical sciences, since such were his witticism and the elegance of his "expressions on those abstruse and subtle topics that he was reckoned, while he lived, the "wonder of his age, and the phenomenon of the world. Works on philosophical topics were "then very common in Andalus since the days of the Sultán Al-hakem,[4] who caused them to "be bought for him in the East, together with other curious and valuable works, and to be "brought to his dominions, where they soon spread among the studious. Al-hakem was, "indeed, the first sovereign who caused the works of the ancient philosophers to be "introduced into Andalus, (may God remunerate him amply for it!) for, before his time, no "book of this kind ever gladdened the eyes of the studious, and if it did, it was to lead "them astray, and to guide them into error, as happened in the case of Ibn Hazm, of "Seville.

"Ibn Bájeh," continues Ibnu-l-imám, "was the man of his time who worked most "seriously and with the greatest attention at this sort of studies, surpassing all his pre-"decessors, as well as Ibn Hazm, in the soundness of all his propositions, extensive reading, "and clearness of judgment. The paths of knowledge in the aforesaid sciences became thus "ornamented by this master (Ibn Bájeh), and by another doctor, named Mélik Ibn Wahíb,[5] a "native of Seville, and a contemporary of Ibn Bájeh, who contributed likewise greatly to the "advancement of science, only that he (Ibn Wahíb) taught little else than the first elements "of psychology.[6] After this, Ibn Wahíb began to abstain from the study of philosophy, as "well as from public conversation on the subject, owing to the great dangers which sur-"rounded him and all those who followed those pursuits, and the risk of losing his life on "account of it, for so elevated was the view which he took of the said sciences that he "would, no doubt, have rendered himself obnoxious had he persevered in the study of "them. He therefore now gave all his attention to the lawful[7] sciences, in which he soon "became the prince, or nearly so; although, owing to the reasons above specified, the light "of philosophy did not shine upon his writings, neither was there found in them, as in the "works of others, any thing hidden to be explained after his death.

"But to return to Abú Bekr. His natural inclination having early carried him away into "the above difficult paths, he never ceased working with the greatest assiduity, travelling in

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[3] The word اقوايل a plural of قول has often the meaning of 'speech, discourse, essay.'

[4] Al-hakem II., surnamed *Al-mustanser-billah*, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., occupied the throne of Cordova from A. H. 350 to 366.

[5] Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 216) mentions a distinguished theologian, named *Abu Abdala Melik ben Wahib*, who was living in A. H. 514. He is, no doubt, the same individual here alluded to.

[6] في اول صناعة الذهنية literally 'on the beginning of the fabric of intellect.'

[7] العلوم الشريعة By lawful sciences the Arabs understand theology, law civil and canonical, and all those studies which are in some manner relating to the Korán.

" search of knowledge, and bestowing his serious investigation upon all those propositions of " the truth of which he was once convinced, (according as his circumstances allowed him, and " the changes of his fortunes would permit,) until he strengthened himself in psychology, and " in that branch of physics which, he thought, would lead him to the knowledge of those two " faculties in his individual person[8]—one reasoning, the other discriminating and comparing, " according to the limits assigned to it by the Omnipotent. Ibn Bájeh consecrated, likewise, " his time to geometry and astronomy, leaving behind him works which sufficiently testify his " proficiency in those sciences. Respecting metaphysics, if truth be said, Ibn Bájeh did not " establish any new doctrine, nor is there any thing remarkable in his writings if we except a " few loose observations in that epistle of his entitled *Al-wadá'*, and in his essay 'on human " reason,[9] besides a few separate hints in two more of his philosophical tracts. Yet these are " exceedingly vigorous, and go very far to prove his proficiency in that illustrious science " (metaphysics) which is the complement and the end of every other science. It was to his " constant application to the above studies that Ibn Bájeh owed all his attainments and his " superiority in all the other branches of knowledge. But what will appear almost incredible " is that Ibn Bájeh should have strained every nerve to become possessed of those sciences " which had been known and cultivated before him, and in which the paths of invention were " entirely closed[10] to him, and that he should have fallen short in his endeavours to ameliorate " that science which is the complement of every science, and an object of desire to all those " endowed with a brilliant disposition, or to whom God imparted his divine gifts. How- " ever, with all this, Ibn Bájeh was, of all his contemporaries, the most successful in pro- " moting the study of metaphysics, redeeming it from the shadows which enveloped it, and " bringing it to light, (may God show him mercy!) [11]

" We shall begin this collection by an essay of his, written in a most compendious form, " 'on the extent of human nature,'[12] by way of proving what we have already advanced,

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[8] It is with great uncertainty that I have given the translation of this passage. The sentence is both obscure, and deficient in its grammatical construction. يدلّ الي حصول هاتين الصناعتين في نفسه صورة ينطق عنها و يفصل و [صورة] يركب فيهما [؟قضي] المستولي علي امدها

[9] اتصال الانسان بالعقل الفعّال 'Conjunctio hominis cum intelligentiâ agente' is the title of a philosophical essay by Ibn Bájeh.

[10] I here produce the text of this passage, which is rather ambiguous: و من المستحيل ان ينزع في المتوطيات و ينفصل له انواع الوجود علي كمالها و يكون مقصراً في العلم الّذي الخ ∴

I am not certain of having seized the real meaning of the words العلوم الموطيات or المتوطيات which so often occur in this extract; the dictionaries being but of slight assistance when translating works on philosophical subjects.

[11] و عسي انّه قد علق فيه ما لم يعثر عليه All this is very obscure, and I regret that I had not the leisure to compare this passage with the copy in the Bodleian Library.

[12] الي نهايه من الوجازه الغاية الانسانية Thus in the text; but I read الي نِهَاية من الوجازة

"namely, his vast attainments in metaphysics and the other sciences which he cultivated. "We really think that after Abú Nasr Al-fárábí [13] there was no man like Ibn Bájeh for the "elevated [14] manner in which he wrote and spoke on those sciences; for if we establish a "comparison between his essays and those of Ibn Síná,[15] or Al-ghazálí,[16] the two authors "who most promoted the study of that science in the East after Al-fárábí, we shall find "the balance inclining rather on the side of Ibn Bájeh, especially if we bear in mind "the clearness and beauty of his expressions, and his aptitude in penetrating the writings "of Aristotle. Of this, however, there can be no doubt,[17] namely, that the two above-"mentioned philosophers were, together with Ibn Bájeh, those who united in themselves all "the learning and all the talents of their predecessors, distinguishing themselves by the "clearness of their dissertations, and competing in their works with the most celebrated "philosophers of antiquity."

This Abú-l-hasan 'Alí Ibnu-l-imám was from Granada. He was an eminent writer, well versed in various sciences, and lived in great intimacy with Ibn Bájeh, whose friend and disciple he was. Abú-l-hasan travelled to the East, and died at Kúss.

Among the pupils of Ibn Bájeh the most celebrated was the Kádí Abú-l-walíd Mohammed Ibn Roshd. Ibn Bájeh died young, at the city of Fáris, where he was buried. I was told by the Kádí Abú Merwán Al-ishbílí that he saw there his tomb, and close to it that of the theologian Abú Bekr Ibnu-l-'arabí, known as the author of various works.

Among the remarkable sayings attributed to Ibn Bájeh the following is one. "There are "things the knowledge of which is beneficial to man even long after he has learnt them—"namely, good actions, because they ensure him the rewards of Almighty God."

Ibn Bájeh wrote the following works:—I. A commentary on the treatise on sound by Aristotle.[18]—II. An essay on part of the treatise on meteors by the same.[19]—III. An essay on the book of generation and corruption by the same.[20]—IV. An essay on the last

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[13] Abú Nasr Mohammed Ibn Tarkhán Ibn أوزلغ Auzlagh Al-fárábí, so called because he was a native of Fáráb, in Turkey, is reckoned to be the prince of Mohammedan philosophers. He wrote many excellent treatises on rhetoric, dialectics, music, and other branches of philosophy. See Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 716); Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 497; and *Philosophus auctodictatus*, by Pococke, *passim.*

[14] الـغـلـون in the text; I have substituted قـنـون

[15] Ibn Síná (*vulgo* Avicenna) is the surname of the celebrated Mohammedan philosopher and physician, Abú 'Ala' Al-huseyn Ibn 'Abdillah ابن سينا Ibn Síná, born at Bokhárá in three hundred and seventy (A. D. 980-1). His life may be read in great detail in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, *loco laudato*, fo. 121, and Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 193). See also Abú-l-faraj, *Historia Dynastiarum*, *apud* Pococke, ed. nov. p. 64; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 93; and the tract *de Viris illustribus apud Arabes*, wrongly attributed to Leo Africanus.

[16] الغزالي Al-ghazálí is the patronymic of Abú Hámid Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Ahmed At-túsí, a famous philosopher and divine, born in four hundred and fifty (A. D. 1058-9), or, according to other authorities, in four hundred and fifty-one. See Ibn Khallekán, who has given his life at full length; and Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. iii. p. 375.

[17] و الثلاثة اية دون ريب [18] شرح كتاب السماع الطبيعي لارسطوطاليس

[19] قول علي بعض كتاب الاثر العلوية لارسطوطاليس [20] الكون و الفساد

chapters of the book of the animals by the same.[21]—v. An essay on part of the book of plants by the same.[22]—vi. An essay on natural propensities and their signs, beginning thus:[23] "If the causes and proofs of syllogisms are given—"—vii. An epistle entitled "Fare thee well."[24]—viii. A short essay in continuation of the same subject.—ix. A treatise on human reason.[25]—x. An essay on the resisting power, divided into several books, some of which contain the above essay on human reason.[26]—xi. A treatise on the regulation of the individual.[27]—xii. A treatise on the soul, intended as a study on the book of the fabric of intellect (or psychology) by Abú Nasr.[28]—xiii. A few chapters on the public regulations and arrangements of a city, and the state of the individual, in which he introduced some excellent remarks on geometry and astronomy.[29]—xiv. An epistle addressed by him to his friend Abú Ja'far Yúsuf Ibn Ahmed Ibn Hasdáy after his arrival in Misr (Cairo).—xv. Philosophical lucubrations, intended as answers to the questions proposed on the science of geometry by Ibn Seyid, the geometrician, which are generally found separate.—xvi. A discourse upon part of the treatise on the properties of simples used as medicaments by Galenus.—xvii. The book of the two experiments[30] upon the medicaments of Ibn Wáfid, in the composition of which Ibn Bájeh was assisted by Abú-l-hasan Sufyán.—xviii. An epitome of the book of the intestines,[31] a work by Ar-rází.—xix. A discourse on the extent of human nature.[32]—xx. A discourse on those things in which there resides a power against the acting mind.[33]—xxi. A discourse on the noun and the named.[34]—xxii. A discourse on demonstrations.[35]—xxxiii. The book of elements.[36]—xxiv. An inquiry into the powers of resistance

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[21] كتاب الحيوان

[22] كلم علي بعض كتاب النبات لارسطوطاليس

[23] قول ذكر فيه التشوق الطبيعي و ما هيته وابتداء ان يعطي اسباب البرهان وحقيقته

[24] رسالة الوداع

[25] في اتصال العقل بالانسان literally 'on the union of the reasoning powers with man.'

[26] قول علي قوة النزوعنية

[27] تدبير المتوحد

[28] كتاب النفس تعاليق علي كتاب ابي نصر في الصناعة الذهنية I believe it to be the same which is preserved in the Library of the Escurial, No. 909, with this title شرح الايسغوجي

[29] فصول قليلة في السياسة المدينة و كيفية المدن وحال المتوحد

[30] كتاب التجربتين علي ادوية ابن وافد This work is often quoted by Ibnu-l-beyttar.

[31] اختصار الحاوي للرازي

[32] كلم في الغاية الانسانية

[33] كلم في الامور التي بها يمكني الوقوف علي العقل الفعال

[34] كلم قي الاسم والمسمي

[35] كلم في البرهان

[36] كلم في الإسْطُقِسَات

inherent to our mind,—what are they, to what end are they exercised, and how?[37]—xxv. The book of the temperaments and habits.[38]

IV. *Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd* (vulgo *Averroes*), fo. 146, *verso*.

Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd,[1] that is, the Kádí Abú-l-walíd Mohammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Roshd, was a native of Cordova, where he passed the first years of his life. He became eminent for his brilliant qualities, and distinguished for his ardour in the acquisition of learning. He attained the utmost limit of perfection in jurisprudence and in the science of controversy, which he learnt from the Faquih and Háfedh Abú Mohammed Ibn Razek. He was likewise greatly versed in medicine, and left behind him several excellent works remarkable for their contents; such as the *Kitábu-l-kulliyyát* (the book of the whole),[2] in the composition of which he surpassed himself. Abú-l-walíd had contracted an intimate friendship with Abú Merwán Ibn Zohr, so that when he wrote the above work 'on the whole,' he desired his friend to write another 'on the parts,'[3] that might be a sort of complement to his, and form a complete treatise on the science of medicine.[4]

I was told by the Kádí Abú Merwán Al-bájí that the Kádí Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd was endowed with a powerful reason, a clear understanding, and an acute mind.[5] He learnt

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37 كلم الفحص عن النفس النزوعنية وكيف هي و لم ينزع و بما ذا ينزع

38 كلم في المزاج بما هو طبّي

Besides the works here enumerated, there are in the Escurial Library (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc. Cat.* vol. i. p. 178) five tracts, all in one volume, said to be the composition of Ibn Bájeh. They are all written in the same hand, and, if we are to believe Casiri, by Ibn Bájeh himself, in A. H. five hundred and twelve. But if such be the case there must be some mistake in the date, for Ibn Bájeh having died in A. H. five hundred and thirty-three, or, according to other authorities, in five hundred and twenty-five, at the age, we are assured, of twenty-three, the book could not be written by him in five hundred and twelve, when he was, if we take the former date, ten, if the latter, only two years old. The subject, however, is worth investigation, for if the volume in question is really in the hand-writing of Ibn Bájeh, it may justly be considered as one of the greatest treasures in the Escurial Library.

1 The name of this physician being generally written thus, أبن رشد without vowel points, has often been incorrectly read by translators. Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 369) wrote *Abulwalid ben Raxid.* Casiri mistook him for another author, named Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Omar أبن رشِد Ibn Rashid, who flourished a century after.

2 كتاب الكُلّيات or كتاب في امور الكلية which is, I believe, that part of medicine appertaining to the body in general, in opposition to امور الجزءية meaning 'that science which treats of the cure of every member of man's body taken separately.'

3 كتاب في امور الجزءية Ibn Zohr did really write such a work.

4 I have omitted the translation of part of the preface placed by Ibn Roshd at the head of his *Al-kulliyyát*, and which Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah inserts here.

5 حسن الراي ذكيا رثّ البزه قوي النفس There is evidently a mistake here, which I have not the means of correcting.

medicine under Abú Ja'far Ibn Hárún,[6] whose disciple he was for a considerable length of time, and from whom he acquired, besides, much of his learning in the natural and philosophical sciences. Ibn Roshd was first Kádí of Seville, and afterwards of Cordova; he enjoyed great favour with Al-mansúr, and became one of the principal officers at his court. He was likewise very much honoured and distinguished by An-nássir, the son of that Sultán. Abú Merwán Al-bájí says: "When Al-mansúr was in Cordova, making his preparations to carry on "the war against Alfonso in the year five hundred and ninety-one (A. D. 1195), he happened "one day to send for Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd. When he appeared before him the Sultán "honoured him greatly, and made him come close to him, going even so far as to allot him "for his seat the cushion where Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wáhed,[7] son of the Sheikh Abú "Hafs Al-hentétí,[8] the companion and friend of 'Abdu-l-múmen, and the third or fourth in "rank among the Sheikhs composing the council of the Almohades, usually sat. This Abú "Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wáhed was a great favourite with Al-mansúr, who had given him in "marriage one of his daughters, by whom he had a son called 'Alí, who is at this moment the "ruler of Eastern Africa.[9] However, when Al-mansúr had thus placed Abú-l-walíd close to "his person, and made him sit by his side, he began to converse at length with him upon "different topics. After this Abú-l-walíd went out of the royal presence, seeing which the "whole of the *talbes* who had been present at the interview, and those among his friends "who had been waiting for him outside of the palace, congratulated him upon the high

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[6] This is Abú Ja'far Ibn Hárún التُرْجَالي At-turjálí, whose life is also in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, *loco laudato*, fo. 148. He was a native of Turjálah or Turricella (now Truxillo), a town which, the author observes, "was entirely peopled by "Moslems, by order of Al-mansúr (Abú 'A'mir), who found it deserted in one of his incursions."

[7] Abú Mohammed 'Abdu-l-wáhed الحضري Al-hadhrí was one of the ten (others say eight) Sheikhs who at first composed the council of the Almohades, and who assisted the Mahdi in the propagation, by the sword, of his religious tenets. (See Moura's *Karttás*, and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. p. 220.) He was the progenitor of a dynasty called by the African historians the Bení Abí Hafs. See *ibid.*, and Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 225.

[8] The MS. reads الهيثاتي which is undoubtedly a mistake.

[9] I can nowhere find an account of this prince. Both Ibnu Khaldún (Ar. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 9575, fo. 126, *verso*) and Ibnu-l-khattíb (*apud* Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 225, *et seq.*), who give the history of the African dynasty called the Bení Abí Hafs, say nothing of a Sultán of Túnis called 'Alí. What follows is a translation from the former of those writers. "'Abdu-l-wáhed Ibn Abí Hafs was appointed governor of the province of Túnis or Eastern Africa in 603 of the Hijra. "After his death, which took place in 618, his son, Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán, was raised by the people to that dignity, "but Al-mustanser, Sultán of the Almohades, whose vassal he was, not approving of his election, he was removed after "an administration of three months, and the government transferred to his cousin, Ibráhím Ibn Isma'íl Ibn Abí Mohammed. "After the removal of the latter, in 620, the government of Eastern Africa was conferred upon Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah, "son of Abú Mohammed Ibn Hafs, who held it until 625, when, profiting by the troubles which attended the reigns of "the last sovereigns of the family of 'Abdu-l-múmen, he made himself independent in his government. He was succeeded "by his brother, Abú Zakariyyá, who reigned until 647, the period of his death, when the throne devolved upon his son, Abú "'Abdillah."

'Abdu-l-wáhed, therefore, had no other sons than 'Abdu-r-rahmán, 'Abdullah, and Abú Zakariyyá: if, besides, we bear in mind that Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah quotes Abú Merwán Al-bájí in this passage, the error becomes manifest, since that writer, having died in 637, could have known only the first three princes of that dynasty. I have, nevertheless, left it as in the text.

" place which he occupied in the good graces of his sovereign, and the great distinction with " which he had been treated. But Abú-l-walíd said to them,—'I do not see why you should " congratulate me, for if the prince of the believers has bestowed his favours upon me in " this manner, he has merely made me advance one step towards what I expect of him, and " strengthened the hopes I have founded on him.'

" The rivals and enemies of Ibn Roshd, on hearing of his being called to the presence of " Al-mansúr, had given out that the prince of the believers had called him to have him " executed; so that when Ibn Roshd came out of the palace safe, he ordered one of his " servants to go to his house and tell his family to dress him a *kattá*[10] and some young " pigeons, and to have them ready when he should return, meaning to invite his enemies to " partake of his repast, and thus to win over their hearts by his forgiveness.

" Some time after this adventure Al-mansúr was really displeased with Abú-l-walíd Ibn " Roshd, whom he caused to be exiled to Al-isalah,[11] a town close to Cordova, formerly " inhabited by Jews, enjoining him not to move from it without his order. Al-mansúr " punished at the same time several other distinguished and learned men, confining them, " likewise, to different parts of his dominions; the apparent cause of his displeasure being " that they had been accused of giving their leisure hours to the cultivation of philosophy " and the studies of the ancients. Besides Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd, the sufferers on this " occasion were Abú Ja'far Adh-dhahebí,[12] the theologian; Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn " Ibráhím, Kádí of Bejáyah;[13] Abú-r-rabí' Al-kefíf, Abú-l-'abbás Al-háfedh, and the poet " Al-karábí;[14] all of whom passed some time in exile. After this, Al-mansúr having been

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[10] Ad-demírí (Arab. MS. in my possession) gives the following description of this bird. *Kattá*, قطا which forms its plural in *kattawát* and *kattayát*, and the noun of unity *kattátun*, is the name for a bird so called by the Arabs because its cry resembles the noise produced by that word thus, *kattá, kattá!* It is of two kinds, one called *kodrí*, the other *júní*. The *kodrí* is of a dusty colour, and has the body covered with black and white spots, except the tail, which is of a yellowish hue, and short. The *júní* has the stomach, the wings, and feet, black, the rest of the body is grey spotted with bright yellow. This latter kind is larger than the *kodrí*, the proportion being this, that a *júní* is generally equal in size and weight to two *kodrís*. The *júní*, however, is inferior in voice to the *kodrí*, since it utters a confused and disagreeable sound from the throat, like that of a man who is gargling; while the *kodrí*, on the contrary, utters a distinct and intelligible sound. It is owing to this circumstance that this kind of *kattá* is called *júní*. The females lay their eggs one by one, sometimes they lay two, but three at most; this being the reason why poets have called the bird *ummu-l-thaláth* (the mother of the three). Jeuharí adds a third species, which he calls *kattát*.—The habits of this bird are these: when it wants to drink it rises before day-break from its nest, and flies towards the rising sun a distance of seven days' march, then it comes down suddenly upon the water, and takes a *nahla*,—a word meaning 'the first draught of a camel or of a sheep.' When it has thus quenched its thirst, it remains for two or three hours in the neighbourhood of the water, flying about, when it returns to drink a second time. Such, at least, is the account given by Al-wáhedí in his commentary upon the poems of Abú-t-tayyeb Al-mutennabí.

[11] اليُسَّانة

[12] The life of this individual, who was also an eminent physician, is to be found in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, *loco laudato*, fo. 148, *verso*. His entire name was Abú Ja'far Ahmed Ibn جرج (Jorj?) Adh-dhahebí. He was a physician to Al-mansúr (Abú Ya'kúb), and to his son, An-nássir. He died at Telemsán in A. H. 600.

[13] بجاية This might be intended for Bejénah. See a preceding Note, p. 359.

[14] القرابي

" convinced, through the testimony of several of the most learned and influential inhabitants " of Seville, that Abú-l-walíd's literary and scientific pursuits were not such as had been " represented to him, pardoned Abú-l-walíd and his fellow sufferers, and recalled them from " their exile in the year five hundred and ninety-five [15] (A. D. 1198-9).

" Abú Ja'far Adh-dhahebí, one of the above-mentioned individuals, became after this one " of the favourites of Al-mansúr, who appointed him to the charge of watching over the " writings and the studies of the physicians and philosophers of his court. He used to " say of him,—' Abú Ja'far Adh-dhahebí is like the purest *dhaheb* (gold), which, instead " of losing, gains in quality in the melting pan.' " The Kádí Abú Merwán further says, " And to prove the great affection and esteem which Al-mansúr entertained for Abú-l-walíd " Ibn Roshd, it is only requisite to say that whenever the former summoned him to his " presence for the purpose of conversing with him, or inquiring into some particulars about " the sciences which 'Abu-l-walíd cultivated, he always used to give him the affectionate " term of brother." The same writer states that " Ibn Roshd having once composed a work " on zoology, in which he described every species of animals, giving the habits and pecu- " liarities of each, said, in treating about the giraffe, ' I have seen a quadruped of this sort at " the King of the Berbers,' thereby meaning Al-mansúr, and that when the passage was " reported to that monarch he considered the expression ' King of the Berbers ' as an " outrage, and was highly incensed on account of it. It is further said that this was the " principal cause which brought on Al-mansúr's displeasure, and his order for Abú-l-walíd's " exile; and they relate that the excuse given by Ibn Roshd was that it was a slip of the " pen, and that he had meant to write *Málek al-barreyn* [16] (the king of the two countries), " meaning thereby Africa and Andalus."

The Kádí Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd (whom may God forgive!) died at Morocco at the beginning of the five hundred and ninety-fifth year of the Hijra, and the first of the reign of An-nássir. Abú-l-walíd lived to a very great age, and left a son named Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah, also a physician, and who was much versed in the practical part of medicine. Abú-l-walíd left also other sons, who applied themselves to the study of theology and the law, and became Kádís of towns and districts. Of the remarkable sayings attributed to Ibn Roshd the following is one. " Whoever studies anatomy, his merits with the Almighty are " increased by it."

The following are the works written by Abú-l-walíd Ibn Roshd :—I. *Kitábu-l-tahssíl*, or an exposition of the various opinions entertained by the companions of the Prophet, the tábi's and the second tábi's, as well as of the arguments advanced in favour of or against their respective sects or schools, and a declaration of the principal passages, forming, as it were, the cream of contradictory opinions.[17]—II. A book entitled "Prolegomena on the religious law." [18]—III. The book of maturity for the law student.[19]—IV. The book of the whole, being

[15] I suspect this date to be mistaken, since it is stated lower down that Ibn Roshd died at the beginning of that very year.

[16] The word بربر may be easily changed into برين

[17] كتاب التحصيل This work, as most of the following, was unknown to Hájí Khalfah.

[18] كتاب المقدمات في الفقه

[19] كتاب نهاية المجتهد في الفقه

a commentary upon a poem written on the science of medicine by the Sheikh and Reys Ibn Síná, and known as the *Arjúzah* of Ibn Síná.[20]—v. The book of the animals, compiled from the treatises on physics and metaphysics by Aristotle.[21]—vi. The book of necessity on logic, following as a model the "Exposition of metaphysics" by Nicolaus.[22]—vii. Exposition of the metaphysics of Aristotle.[23]—viii. An exposition of the book of ethics by the same.[24]—ix. An exposition of the book of the posterior analytics by the same.[25]—x. A commentary on the book of physical auscultation by the same.[26]—xi. A commentary upon the treatise on the heavens and the world by the same.[27]—xii. An exposition of the treatise on the soul by the same.[28]—xiii. An exposition of the book of the *estokisát* (elements) by Galenus.[29]—xiv. An exposition of the treatise on the temperament of bodies by the same.[30]—xv. An exposition of the treatise on the physical powers by the same.[31]—xvi. An exposition of the treatise on the causes and symptoms of diseases by the same.[32]—xvii. An exposition of the treatise on bleeding by the same.[33]—xviii. An exposition of the first book on fevers by the same.[34]—xix. An exposition of the first part of his work on the simples used as medicaments.[35]—xx. An exposition of the second half of his work on the forms of creation.[36]—xxi. A book entitled "Destruction of the *Teháfet*," being a critique on the *Teháfet* by Al-ghazálí.[37]—xxii. A book entitled "Open roads of

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20 كتاب الكليات See Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Arjúzah*. Copies of this work may be found in the Escurial Library. See Catal., Nos. 798, 826, 858.

21 كتلب الحيوان جوامع كتب ارسطوطالس في الطبيعيات والالهيات

22 كتاب الضروري في المنطق ملحق به كتاب تلخيص الالهيات لنقولاوس

23 تلخيص كتاب ما بعد الطبيعة لارسطوطاليس

24 تلخيص كتاب الاخلاق لارسطوطاليس

25 تلخيص كتاب البرهان لارسطوطاليس

26 تلخيص كتاب السّماع الطبيعي لارسطوطاليس

27 شرح كتاب السماء و العالم لارسطوطاليس

28 شرح كتاب النفس لارسطوطاليس

29 تلخيص كتاب الاسطقسات لجالينوس

30 تلخيص كتاب المزاج

31 كتاب القوي الطبيعية

32 تلخيص كتاب علل و امراض

33 تلخيص كتاب تعرق

34 تلخيص كتاب الحميات

35 تلخيص اول كتاب الاودية المفردة

36 تلخيص النصف الثاني من كتاب حيلة البرو

37 كتاب تهافت التهافت ردّ فيه علي كتاب التهافت للغزالي Abú Hámid Al-ghazálí At-túsí is the same Mohammedan divine mentioned above, p. xv. His life is in Ibn Khallekán (*Tyd. Ind.*) He wrote, among other things, a work entitled تهافت الفلاسفة (ruin or destruction of the philosophers), in which he refuted the opinions of Mohammedan philosophers, and accused them of impiety. Hájí Khalfah, who mentions alike the treatise of Al-ghazálí and the critique that Ibn Roshd wrote on it, has given us part of the prefaces to both works. (See *Kashfu-dh-dhanún*, voc. *Teháfet.*) This work of Al-ghazálí, which was afterwards translated into Hebrew by a Spanish Jew, named Rabbí Moses, is preserved in the Escur. Lib. (No. 628), together with many other of his philosophical and metaphysical treatises. See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. pp. 184, 202, 377, 462, *et passim.*

direction on the science of elementary jurisprudence."[38]—XXIII. A short treatise entitled "A review of the different opinions entertained by people respecting the harmony that exists between philosophy and religion."[39]—XXIV. Serious questions on the book of the posterior analytics by Aristotle.[40]—XXV. A commentary on the book of analogy by Aristotle.[41]—XXVI. An essay on the mind.[42]—XXVII. Another on analogy.[43]—XXVIII. An inquiry whether the intelligence that resides in us has or has not the power of comprehending an object independently of another; this being the problem which Aristotle undertook to resolve in his treatise on the soul, and which we likewise discussed in our exposition of the said treatise.[44]—XXIX. An essay to prove that what is believed by the dissenters and the theologians of our sect on the existence of the world is nearly the same thing.[45]—XXX. An essay entitled "A review of the opinions entertained by Abú Nasr in his treatises on the science of logic," which are in the hands of every scholar, and of those of Aristotle on the same subject, together with an estimate of the remarks on that science to be found scattered in the books of Aristotle, and a calculation of the improvements which science may have received from their contrary opinions.[46]—XXXI. A discourse on the union of separate intellect with man.[47] XXXII. Another discourse upon the union of intellect with man.[48]—XXXIII. Answers and inquiries between Abú Bekr Ibn Tofayl and Ibn Roshd on the classification of simple medi-

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[38] كتاب منهاج الادلة في علم الاصول

[39] فصل المقال فيما بين الحكمة و الشريعة من الاتصال

[40] المسايل المهمة علي كتاب البرهان لارسطوطاليس This title, and the preceding, form only one in the text; but I think they ought to be separated as above.

[41] شرح كتاب القياس لارسطوطاليس

[42] مقالة في العقل

[43] مقالة في القياس

[44] كتاب في الفحص هل يمكني العقل الذي فينا و هو المسمي بالهيولاني ان يعقل الصورة المفارقة باخرة او لا يمكن ذلك و هو المطلوب الذي كان ارسطوطالس وعدنا بالفحص عنه في كتاب النفس

[45] مقالة في ان ما يعتقده المشاوون و ما يعتقده المتكلمون من اهل ملّتنا في كيفية وجود العالم متقارب في المعاني I am not sure of having seized the right meaning of the words المشاوون and المتكلمون in this title.

[46] The title of this work is written very incorrectly in the text; it reads thus: مقالة في التعريف بجهة نظر ابي نصر في كتابه الموضوعه في صناعة المنطق التي بايدي الناس و بجهة نظر ارسطوطاليس فيها و مقدار ما في الكتاب كتاب من اجزا الصناعة [المنطق؟] الموجودة في كتاب ارسطوطاليس و مقدار ما زاد لاختلاف النظر يعني بهما

[47] مقالة في اتصال العقل المفارق بالانسان

[48] مقالة ايضاً له في اتصال العقل بالانسان

caments made by the latter in his work entitled *Al-kulliyyát*.[49]—xxxiv. An inquiry into the various metaphysical questions which occur in the work entitled *Ash-shefá*, by Ibn Síná.[50]—xxxv. An inquiry on time.[51]—xxxvi. A discourse on the stupidity of those who oppose philosophy, and the proofs it affords in favour of the existence of matter, together with a discourse showing that what Aristotle said on the subject was a manifest truth.[52]—xxxvii. A discourse, being a critique upon Abú 'Alí Ibn Síná because he divided beings into powerful absolutely and powerful by their essence, necessary independently and necessary by their essence.[53]—xxxviii. A discourse on the temperament of bodies, being questions on the intermittent fever.[54]—xxxix. A discourse on putrid fevers, being a series of questions on science.[55]—xl. A discourse on the motions of the sphere.[56]—xli. A work on those passages of the posterior analytics by Aristotle with which Abú Nasr found fault when he opposed the order and the rules of the demonstrations and definitions.[57]—xlii. A discourse on the antidote.[58]

V. *The Life of Ibn Joljol*, fo. 137.

Abú Dáúd Suleymán Ibn Hossán, known by the surname of Ibn Joljol,[1] was an eminent physician, well versed in the knowledge of diseases and the medicaments required for

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49 مراجعات و مباحث بين ابي بكر بن طفيل و بين ابن رشد في رسمه الدّوا في كتاب الموسوم بالكليّات

50 كتاب في الفحص عن مسايل وقعت في العلم الالهي في كتاب الشفاء لابن سينا

51 مسئلة في الزمان

52 مقالة في فسخ شبهه من اعترض علي الحكم و برهانه في وجود المادّة الاولي و تبيين ان برهان ارسطوطاليس هو الحق المبين

53 مقالة في الردّ علي ابي علي ابن سينا في تقسيمه الموجودات الي ممكن علي الاطلاق و ممكن بذاته واجب بغيره و الي واجب بذاته

54 مقالة في المزاج مسالة في نوايب الحمي

55 مقالة في حمّيات العفن مسايل في الحكمة

56 مقالة في حركات الفلك

57 كتاب فيما خالف ابو نصر لارسطوطاليس في كتاب البرهان من ترتيبه و قوانين البراهين و الحدود

58 مقالة في الترياق

1 ابن جلجل The word *joljol* in Arabic means a sort of bell. See Note 109, p. 443. Casiri has frequently treated of Ibn Joljol, whom he calls *Ebn Giolgol*, making him at times a native of Valencia, at others of Cordova. (See *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. i. p. 437, and vol. ii. pp. 101, 137.) Conde (*Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 543) mentions him under the name of *Ben Golghal*. I find also that the late De Sacy has given his life in the Appendix to his *Relation de l'Egypte par Abdallatif, Medecin Arabe de Baghdád*, Paris, 1810.

their cure. He lived in the times of Hishám Al-muyad-billah, whose physician he was. He also paid great attention to the analysis of simples, and the discovery of their several properties. He wrote a commentary on the books of Dioscorides Anazarbæus,[2] wherein he described every one of the simples of which the Greek physician had given the names, explaining at the same time, with much clearness and precision, their qualities and their use as medicaments, tearing the veil and dissipating the obscurity in which most of them were formerly enveloped. In the preface to his work, Ibn Joljol says as follows:

"The books of Dioscorides were first translated from the Greek into Arabic by Estefan, "son of Basil[3] the interpreter, who completed his task at Baghdád during the reign of "the 'Abbasí Khalif Ja'far Al-mutewakkel.[4] Honeyn, son of Is'hák,[5] then corrected the "version made by Estefan, and purged it from the errors it contained. Having afterwards "substituted Arabic for such of the Greek names as had been suffered to remain for "want of the translator knowing their equivalent in Arabic, he gave his work to the public. "Such names of simples, however, as Honeyn found without an equivalent in Arabic he left in "the Greek language, trusting that God would send after him people acquainted with their "properties, and who would give them names, since it is an ascertained fact that simples "receive only their nomenclature either through the common consent of the people of a "country, who have observed their properties and the effects they produce, or by derivation, "or otherwise, but always by a sort of mutual consent. Estefan,[6] therefore, trusted that "there would come after him other naturalists, who, being acquainted with the properties of "medicaments, the names of which in Arabic were unknown in his time, would denominate "them according to the custom of their days, and that by these means what was before "unknown would become known.

"This version of Estefan," continues Ibn Joljol, "such as it was, with some of the "simples having equivalent names in Arabic and others not, was brought to Andalus; the "learned of this country, as well as those of the East, studying by it until the reign of "'Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir, son of Mohammed, Sultán of Andalus, when an ambassador "from Armánius,[7] Emperor of Constantinople, came to Cordova with letters and pre- "sents from his master. This event took place, if I am not mistaken, in the year three "hundred and thirty-seven of the Hijra (A.D. 948-9). There was, among other valuable "things sent by Armánius, a copy of Dioscorides' work, beautifully written in the old Greek "language, the same that the ancient Ionians wrote and spoke, and having besides drawings "of plants beautifully executed and illuminated with the most vivid colours. The Emperor of

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2 ديوسقريدوس العين زربي

3 أصطفن بن بسيل The life of this physician is also in Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, fo. 68.

4 The tenth Khalif of the family of 'Abbás. He reigned from two hundred and thirty-one to two hundred and forty-seven (A. D. 845-861).

5 On this Honeyn or Honayn the reader may consult the *Arabica Philosophorum Bibliotheca*, apud Casiri, vol. i. p. 251, as well as Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, fo. 80, *verso*.

6 Instead of Estefan the sense requires Honeyn.

7 This أرمانيوس Armánius, or Arménius, as his name must have been pronounced by the Spanish Arabs, can be no other than Romanus, son of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, who reigned from A. D. 948 to 963.

" Constantinople sent at the same time a copy of the work of the historian Orosius,[8] an " excellent history of the Romans, in which were described the events of ancient times " and the actions of former kings, and many other curious and important events. In a letter " accompanying the presents, the Emperor Armánius, alluding to this copy of Dioscorides, " observed to An-nássir, ' the books of Dioscorides ought to be translated into Arabic by a " man well versed in the Greek language, and acquainted also with the properties of simples; " without this requisite the merits of this wonderful composition will never be duly " appreciated and brought to light.' He added, ' Unless thou find, O king! in thy states a " man properly qualified to undertake this version, the advantages and merits of these books " will for ever remain in obscurity. As to the books of Orosius, being written in Latin, I " have no doubt but that thou wilt find in thy states a man who can read that language, " and translate the work into Arabic for thy own use.'[9]

" It happened, however," continues Ibn Joljol, " that there was no Christian among those " who resided in Cordova at the time who could read and understand the language of the " ancient Greeks, so that the work of Dioscorides remained untranslated in An-nássir's library. " In the meanwhile the learned of this country made use of Estefan's translation, which, as I " have remarked elsewhere, was brought from Baghdád. At last, when An-nássir, some " years after this event, returned the embassy of Armánius, he desired that monarch to send " him a man well learned in the language and literature of the ancient Greeks, who should " teach them in Cordova to some of An-nássir's slaves, and thereby enable them to make a " suitable Arabic version. This request was readily granted by Armánius, who dispatched to " Cordova a monk named Nicolaus,[10] who arrived in Cordova in the year three hundred and " forty of the Hijra (A.D. 951-2). There were at that time in the capital several eminent " physicians, men of the greatest learning, who burned with desire to acquire a perfect " knowledge of the books of Dioscorides, and dive into the sense of the passages that " remained still obscure and unexplained in the translation, as well as to find the equivalent " names of the plants in Arabic. Among those who most eagerly desired an opportunity " to gain a sight of that precious work, and who, owing to the esteem in which they were held " by the Khalif, could at any time go to the palace and enter the library, was Hasdáy Ibn " Bashrút,[11] the Israelite. With this man the monk Nicolaus formed an intimate acquaintance,

[8] هروسيس صاحب القصص

[9] The history of Orosius was certainly translated into Arabic. I find it often mentioned by Ibnu Hayyán (Bodl. Lib., No. 137), Al-bekrí (Arab. MS. in my possession), and by Makrízí (Brit. Mus., 7317). These authors, however, do not agree as to its title. The former calls it اخبار الروم لهروشيش الاندلسي—Al-bekrí, in his description of Egypt, تاريخ الروم و وصف دولهم و حروبهم—while the latter, who undoubtedly borrowed his information from Al-bekrí, whom I find he copied in most instances, with a very slight verbal alteration, calls it ترجمة كتاب هروسيش الاندلسي في وصف الدول و الحروب

[10] نقولا

[11] No doubt the same individual called Rabbi Hasdai ben Isaac Sprot by Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, tom. i. pp. 29, 239. Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah, who gives his life, fo. 138, *verso*, says that he enjoyed great favour with 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., of Cordova, whose physician he was.

" and, in the course of time, explained to him all the obscure passages in the books of Dios- " corides. Hasdáy was likewise the first physician who made in Cordova the antidote called " *al-fárúk*,[12] and determined the proper plants that ought to enter into its composition.[13] Nor " was Hasdáy the only physician who worked on the books of Dioscorides; other eminent " men laboured sedulously to re-establish the right reading of the names of plants, and to find " their equivalents in Arabic. Of this number were Mohammed, known by the surname of " Ash-shajjár,[14] another man called Al-busábisí,[15] Abú 'Othmán Al-jezzár,[16] known by the " surname of Al-yábisah,[17] Mohammed Ibn Sa'íd, the physician, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Is'hák " Ibn Haytham,[18] and Abú 'Abdillah As-sakílí (of Sicily), who knew and spoke Greek well, " and was besides an eminent physician and botanist. All the above-mentioned individuals " were contemporaries of the monk Nicolaus, and lived, in the days of the Khalif Al-mus- " tanser,[19] in Cordova, where I knew them in my youth, and profited by their lessons and " experience. I also saw and knew the monk Nicolaus, who died in the first year of the " reign of Al-mustanser-billah Al-hakem. However, through the united efforts of those illus- " trious physicians, the translation of the books of Dioscorides was purged of the manifold " errors with which it swarmed, the obscure passages were made clear, all the names of plants " and simples were satisfactorily explained, with the exception of a few, which did not " exceed ten in number, and the people of Cordova, the capital of Andalus, could at last " read the very words of the Greek naturalist translated into their own language, and know " the equivalent terms for all and every one of the simples described in his works."

Ibn Joljol adds: " Having from my earliest youth shown the greatest inclination to " become well acquainted with the *materia medica* (by Dioscorides), which is the foundation " of the knowledge of compound medicaments, I was led to investigate the subject with the " utmost care and attention. This I did until God, in his infinite bounty, was pleased to " grant me the means of attaining the object of my wishes and accomplishing my purpose, " which was to preserve the names and description of many medicaments which I feared " would be forgotten, and the advantages resulting from them lost to mankind, since God " has created the means of restoring health to the body of man by disseminating them in the " plants which cover the surface of the earth, in the quadrupeds that move on it, in the fishes " that swim in the water, in the birds that fly through the air, and in the mineral substances

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12 تـريـاق الـفـاروق

13 My translation here differs from that of De Sacy; the text says علي تصحيح الشجارية التي فيه

14 الشجّار from *shajar*, a tree or plant, means 'the botanist.'

15 البسابسي The copy in the Bodl. Lib. reads البسبايسي

16 Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (fo. 133, *verso*,) gives the life of a physician named Ahmed Ibnu-l-jezzár, but his surname was Abú Ja'far, not Abú 'Othmán.

17 اليابسة Perhaps ابن Ibn is wanting.

18 See Ibn Abí Ossaybi'ah (*loco laudato*, fo. 137). Ibn Haytham, who was a native of Cordova, and gained much fame in his profession, left several works.

19 I believe the author means here An-nássir instead of Al-mustanser.

" that lie hidden in the bowels of the earth; and by permitting that all these things should " be appropriated to the cure of diseases, as a proof of his extreme mercy and kindness."

Ibn Joljol left the following works:—I. A commentary on the names of the simples used in medicine which occur in the books of Dioscorides; written at Cordova, in the month of Rabi'-l-akhar of the year three hundred and seventy-two (Sept. or Oct. A.D. 982), under the Khalifate of Hishám Ibn Al-hakem.—II. Another work treating of those simples which may be used in medicine, but are not mentioned in the books of Dioscorides.—III. A *risáleh* (epistle) entitled " Declaration of the errors committed by physicians in the cure of diseases." —IV. A bibliographical work, dedicated to the Khalif Hishám, containing the lives of eminent physicians and philosophers born in Andalus, or who practised in that country.

APPENDIX B.

Extracts from the historical work of Waliyyu-d-dín Abú Zeyd 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Khaldún Al-hadhramí Al-ishbílí Al-málekí, entitled تَرْجُمَان العِبَر و دِيوَان المُبْتَدَاء و الخَبَر في إِيَام العَرَب و البرَبَرِ و مَنْ عاصَرَهُم من ذَوِي السُلْطَنِ الاكبَر *'The interpreter of the instructive records, and the collection of the subject and the 'predicate, on the history of the Arabs, the Berbers, and their contemporaries who had 'extensive empires.'*

Such is the title of a general history which the above-mentioned author seems to have written for Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed, surnamed Al-mutawakkel-billah, Sultán of Africa, of the dynasty of the Beni Abí Hafs, and which, if we attend to the various information it contains, to the importance of the subjects treated in it, and the philosophical spirit which reigns through the work, may well be called one of the most complete and best-written histories that ever issued from the pen of an Arabian writer.[1]

Two volumes, out of the many which compose this invaluable production, are in the Library of the British Museum. No. 9574 contains the *mukaddamát* or prolegomena. It is a large quarto, containing one hundred and ninety-nine folios, written in the Maghrebí or Western hand, upon thick brown paper. The age of the MS. is nowhere stated, but, if I am to judge from its general appearance, I do not hesitate to say that it was written before the sixteenth century of our era. The transcript is executed in a large, plain, legible hand, such as that of a professional copyist would be; the titles

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[1] The reader may consult the *Journal Asiatique*, vol. i. p. 268, vol. v. p. 148, and vol. viii. p. 226; De Sacy, *Chrest. Ar.* vol. ii. pp. 387, 393, 401, and *Relat. de l'Egypte*, p. 509; *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xxi. p. 153, *et seq.* Volumes of Ibnu Khaldún's work are to be found in Oxford, Cambridge, Leyden, Paris, and the principal Libraries of the Continent. Nowhere, however, is the work to be found complete in Arabic, although copies of a Turkish translation are not uncommon.

of all the chapters are written in blue, red, or green ink, and the first leaf, part of which has been torn, is richly ornamented with gold. The text also is pointed throughout,—a circumstance of no little value in a work like the present, which is written in a highly figurative style, full of metaphorical expressions and idioms borrowed from the African dialects,—and the transcript seems not only to be faithful, but is undoubtedly the work of one well versed in the grammar of his own language. The margins of the manuscript are filled with the scribblings of a late possessor, but these are in most instances of little or no importance. The volume is defective at the end, wanting one, or at the most two leaves, the last one being also very much damaged. I find, likewise, that the volume has since been bound and paged wrong, and that in order to follow the narrative it is necessary to shift continually from one end of the volume to another. In the short extracts that I am now going to give I had to follow these numbers, 125, 120, 119, 117, 118, 116, 141, &c. However, with all its imperfections, I consider it to be one of the most valuable Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum. It is bound together with a fragment of Al-júzí's history described elsewhere. See Preface, and Note 2, p. 403.

No. 9575 is a volume in folio of two hundred and four leaves. To judge from the title-page, it would contain the sixth and seventh part of Ibnu Khaldún's work. But, upon close examination, I find that its contents are the end of the second book and the greater part of the third. It begins with the fourth *tabakah* or division (the last in the second book), treating of the tribes of Arabian origin which settled in Africa; and, at fo. 40, proceeds to the third book on the history of the Berbers, which occupies all the rest of the volume. The transcript,—which from the note at the end appears to have been executed by a certain 'Abdu-l-wahháb Ibn Mohammed Abí-s-sa'ádát Ibn Mohammed Hejází, of the sect of Sháf'í, who terminated it on Friday the twenty-first of the month of Rejeb, A.H. one thousand and ninety-four (June, A.D. 1683),—is written in the Egyptian hand upon thick glazed paper. The titles of the chapters are written in red, and the genealogical trees of the respective tribes are drawn with tolerable accuracy. Proper and geographical names are occasionally pointed, and the هنا بلغ المقابلة ('thus far reaches the collating'), which now and then appear on the margins of the volume, show that some care was taken in its transcription. Nevertheless, faults both in the text and in the spelling of proper names are frequent, a circumstance which renders this volume much less valuable than the preceding.

The following extracts on the civil and military offices of the Arabs are taken from the first of the above-described volumes, out of a long chapter of the third *mukaddamah*, which Ibnu Khaldún consecrated exclusively to that object, entitled فصل في مراتب الملك و السلطان و القابه 'chapter treating of the charges of the kingdom, and those of the Sultán, and their names.' This I had translated entire with the view of including it in this Appendix, as the information we possess on the civil and military offices and the general system of administration of the Arabs is exceedingly scanty; but the fear of swelling this volume beyond its proper limits makes me abstain from it, and merely extract such passages as are most calculated to throw light upon the present narrative.

Fo. 125, *verso*.—The charge of Wizír (*wizárah*) among the Bení Umeyyah of Andalus was at first preserved in its primitive state, and in the very acceptation of that word.[2] It was, however, divided afterwards into several separate offices, each of which was intrusted to the

[2] The word وَزَارَة means 'the act of supporting a weight.' A Wizír (or Wazír, as it ought to be written and pronounced,) is, therefore, a man who relieves his sovereign from the cares of government.

care of a Wizír. For instance, the financial department was given to one Wizír; the writing of the correspondence to another; the inspection of memorials from people who considered themselves wronged or oppressed to another; the defence of the frontiers, and the provision and equipment of the troops stationed on them, was placed under the superintendence of another. These Wizírs had a room allotted to them, where they sat in council on cushions prepared for them, and from which they issued orders in the Sultán's name, each in his own department. They were presided over by one chosen out of their number, who sat also on a cushion higher than his colleagues, and was distinguished by the appellation of Hájib. It was the duty of this latter functionary to act as messenger from the council to the Sultán, going to and from, and communicating to the assembled body the intentions or the wishes of, the sovereign. Things continued in this state until the empire of the Bení Umeyyah was overthrown, when the office of the Hájib rose so much in dignity and importance as to become superior to any other office in the state. So much was this the case that the petty rulers (who shared among themselves the dominions of the Khalifs) not unfrequently assumed the title of Hájib, as we shall have further occasion to observe.

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The Almohades at first being rather inclined to the nomadic life, neglected this as well as other offices of the dynasties that preceded them; but when in the course of time they acquired a taste for the life in cities, they began to assume different titles, and to give the name of Wizír to the holder of a charge, which at first was preserved in all its purity. After this they took for a model the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah, and imitated their conduct in all the affairs of government, giving the title of Wizír to that officer who had under his care the curtain or screen in the royal chamber, or who stood by it in order to announce to the Sultán the visitors, and those who entered his presence for the confirmation of a sentence, or to address him, as well as the poets and literary men who frequently attended their court. In this manner they exalted the charge of Hájib as much as they wished; things having since continued in the same state until our present time. God is the supreme ruler!

Fo. 120, *verso.*—*Al-hajábah* (the charge of the Hájib). We have already stated that the title of Hájib was exclusively given under the empire of the Bení 'Abbás to that officer who screened the Sultán from the eyes of his subjects, and who shut his door or opened it to them according to the will of the sovereign, and at the hours appointed by him. The office then was not only one of great distinction, but even superior in authority to all others, since the Wizír himself had to apply to its holder in order to obtain an interview with the Sultán. It continued to be such during the reign of the succeeding Khalifs, and is still so at the moment we write. In Egypt, however, it is subordinate to the highest office of the state, which is that of the Náyib. Among the Egyptians the Hájib is that officer who moves before the Sultán, and who stands behind him on state occasions, or when he gives audiences to his subjects.

During the government of the Bení Umeyyah in Andalus, the name of Hájib was given to that officer whose duty was to screen or veil the Sultán from the eyes of his subjects, and to be a sort of intermediary between his sovereign and the Wizírs, or their inferiors, as we have

observed elsewhere. As long as the dynasty of the Benî Umeyyah lasted, the office of the Hájib was one of the highest importance in the state, as thou mayest read in the histories of Ibn Hadíd and other Hájibs. So great were the honours attached to that post, that when the attacks upon that dynasty commenced, the usurpers assumed the title of Hájib, as did Al-mansúr and his two sons after him. Even the rulers of petty kingdoms who came afterwards, and who, not content with usurping the titles, assumed also all the power of royalty, far from relinquishing the title of Hájib when they possessed it, assumed it upon every occasion, regarding it as an honourable distinction. So much was this the case, that the most powerful among them by the extent and the nature of his dominions would not hesitate, after assuming all the titles of royalty, to add to his other titles those of Hájib[3] and *Dhú-l-wizárateyn*, or the holder of the two offices, that of the sword and that of the pen,—meaning by Hájib 'he who screens the Sultán from the eyes of his subjects,' and by *Dhú-l-wizárateyn* 'he that unites in himself the two powers, the civil and the military.'

The dynasties that swayed over Western and Eastern Africa had, at first, no office of this name, owing to the nomadic habits which prevailed among their rulers. It is true that instances may be pointed out among the Fátimites of Egypt at the time of their greatest splendour, and when they became accustomed to the life in cities, but these are of very rare occurrence. When the Almohades came afterwards, all their pretensions to civilisation were not sufficient to make them assume for themselves the proper titles, nor to make the necessary distinction between the charges of the state, nor to suit the names of these to their functions. They had no other office at their court but that of the Wizír, which title they at first gave to the Kátib or secretary, who transacted business with the Sultán, or who accompanied him, as Ibn 'Attiyyah and 'Abdu-s-salám Al-kúmí. The inspection of accounts, and all other branches of the financial department, were also committed to him. After this they gave the title of Wizír to all those who composed the government of the Almohades, as Ibn Jámi' and others, but they never had either the name or the charge of Hájib among them. When the Beni Abí Hafs took possession of the empire, the principal offices of the state remained in the hands of the Almohades; no material change was therefore made in the institutions, and the highest post in the state was that of the Wizír, who was at the same time a counsellor; this functionary was called by them 'Sheikh of the Almohades,' and his duties consisted in the appointment and removal of governors, the provision and maintenance of armies, and all other military affairs. The keeping of public accounts was intrusted to an officer called *Sáhibu-l-ashghál* (the master of the occupations), because he attended to the receipt and payment of funds, to the counting of all sums that came through his hands, and to the imposition of taxes, as well as to the chastisement of the excesses committed in the levying of the same. Such were the functions of the *Sáhibu-l-ashghál.* During the empire of the Almohades the office was made exclusive to people of their sect, and was seldom conferred upon any other. The office of the pen was then committed to a Kátib, who had under his care the writing

[3] The author is mistaken. Those governors who, like Kheyrán, Zohayr, and 'Abdu-l-'azíz, rose in the provinces of the Cordovan empire after the overthrow of the Umeyyah dynasty, did not assume the title of Hájib merely because they considered it an honorific one, but because, though all-powerful in their states, they pretended to derive, and to hold their authority, only from the Beni Umeyyah, whose cause they upheld against the intruders of the house of Idrís.

of the correspondence, and to whom the secrets of the state were intrusted; but as the office of the Kátib was not one of their assumption, and the correspondence was not written in their own native language, it was always given without any restriction of family or sect. The Sultán, moreover, when his empire extended, and his palace became full of applicants, saw the want of a *Kaharmán*,[4] chosen from among the servants of his household, to put order into his family, to superintend the giving of alms and gifts, to guard his treasures, to take care of his stables, and to issue the proper orders to the revenue collectors whenever money was required for the expenses of his household. To these duties an officer was appointed whom they called Hájib. Sometimes, even, if this functionary had a handsome hand-writing, the Sultán would intrust him with the writing of the royal cipher upon dispatches; if not, he would give that charge to another.[5] Things continued in this state, (the Sultán all the while screening or veiling himself from his subjects, and the Hájib being a sort of intermediary between the Sultán and all the people holding posts under his government,) until, in the course of time, the direction of military affairs was intrusted to him as well as the presidency of the council, and the office became thus gradually the highest in the state, and that which united the most extensive and varied powers. * * * *

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As to the Andalusians of our days, they give the name of Wakíl to that functionary who is intrusted with the keeping of the accounts, the private expenses of the Sultán, and other pecuniary concerns; their Wizír exercises the same functions as in former times, with this difference, that the department of the correspondence is also intrusted to him. The Sultán, moreover, generally affixes his own cipher to the diplomas and dispatches, so that there is no office for this purpose, as in other dynasties.

Fo. 141, *verso*.—*Khottatu-l-ashghál*. This is the office of the keeping of the accounts and the collection of the taxes. In former times it was customary for the Sultáns of the family of Umeyyah (as we have stated elsewhere) to confer it upon liberated slaves, and upon Christians or Jews,[6] but when the Bení 'Abbás succeeded them it was made one of the duties of the Wizír, as happened in the case of the Bení Barmek, and of the Bení Sahl.[7] After this the Sultáns of the family of Umeyyah, in Andalus, and the 'Obeydites, in Africa, made it again a distinct and separate office. The Almohades, moreover, seldom appointed to it any other than people belonging to their sect, and the holder of the office was by them intrusted with

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[4] قهرمان is the name of a fabulous Persian hero. It means likewise an infuriated lion, and is used metaphorically for treasurer, or confidential servant, a steward or *major domûs*.

[5] Ibnu Khaldún seems to have filled a similar post under Mohammed Ibn تافراكين Táferákín, governor of Túnis.

[6] The text says اهل الذمة—that is, the Christians or Jews living under the Moslems in the exercise of their religion. See Note 27, p. 398.

[7] Individuals of the former family filled the charge of Wizír under Hárún Ar-rashíd, and of the latter, under Al-mámún.

the superintendence of the imposition and levying of taxes, the entrance of these upon the books, the revision of the accounts kept by the treasurers and collectors, and the expenditure of the sums thus raised according to their amount and at the proper time. The functionary invested with this authority was called among them *Sáhibu-l-ashghál*. However, the office was not always exclusively held by Almohades, for in some districts of their empire one might meet with such functionaries who had never belonged to their sect, and who fulfilled, nevertheless, their duties to the satisfaction of their employers. For instance, when the Bení Abí Hafs came to power, and the events took place which led to the emigration of great numbers of the people of Andalus, there came to this country (Africa proper) many individuals of the best families in the land, some of whom had exercised similar functions in Andalus. Of this number were the Bení Sa'íd, Lords of Al-kal'ah, near Granada, who were also known by the appellative of Bení Abí-l-huseyn.[8] On their arrival in this country they were intrusted with the same offices they had held in Andalus, filling them in turn with the principal men among the Almohades. In this manner they held the above-mentioned office, until, in the course of time, its duties were committed to clerks and Kátibs, and the office went altogether out of the hands of the Almohades. After this, the Hájib having risen in authority and importance, and his orders being obeyed in every department of the administration, the attributes and powers of the *Sáhibu-l-ashghál* were gradually obliterated; the holder of that office became subordinate to the Hájib, he was reduced to the station of a mere tax-collector, and all that power and authority which he formerly enjoyed disappeared at once. Under the present ruling dynasty of the Bení Merín[9] the title of *Sáhibu-l-ashghál* is given to that functionary who has to verify the accounts, to enter the sums upon his books, and to put his signature to all accounts as a proof of his having revised them and their being correct; his revision, however, being subject to that of the Sultán or his Wizír.

Fo. 142, *verso.*—By *Shortah* we now understand the office of the Hákem, whom the people of Andalus call *Sáhibu-l-medínah*. The functions of this officer, which originated in the dynasty of the Bení 'Abbás, consisted in trying criminal offences in the first stage, issuing sentences after the trial, and seeing these executed; for those trials where more than one criminal were implicated, and where the offence could not be satisfactorily and promptly charged to one, were not of his inspection; there being some formalities to perform, to which he (the Hákem), invested as he was with almost exclusive powers, and stimulated by his friends to attend to the welfare of the people, scorned to submit. That officer, therefore, who tried criminal offences in a summary manner, and issued sentences upon them whenever the Kádí would not interfere, was the *Sáhibu-sh-shortah*. The Bení 'Abbás exalted the office, and granted considerable powers to its holder, investing with it their *maulis* and favourites, although their jurisdiction never extended over the people in general, but merely over the

[8] It is said by Ibnu Khaldún, in another part of his work, that the Bení Sa'íd (the same family to which I have so often alluded in the course of my notes, see pp. 416, 440,) were for upwards of two centuries in possession of the office of tax-collectors in the provinces of Granada and Malaga.

[9] The Bení Merín began to rule in Africa towards the beginning of the thirteenth century of our era.

rabble, or those who gave scandal. During the reign of the Bení Umeyyah in Andalus its power and dignity having increased, the office was divided into *Shortatu-l-kobra* (great Shortah) and *Shortatu-s-soghra* (small Shortah); the powers of the former being made to extend not only to the rabble, but to the higher classes also, and even to persons holding places under government, so much so that the *Sáhib* (holder) of the great *Shortah* could at any time visit an offence committed by any prince of the blood, his most intimate *maulis*, or his nearest relations: such were the powers and authority with which the office was gradually invested. The *Sáhib* of the small *Shortah* enjoyed no such powers, and his jurisdiction merely extended to the lower classes of the people. It was customary for the *Sáhib* of the great *Shortah* to issue his judgments from the top of a throne or seat erected for him at the gate of the Sultán's palace, round which all those who applied to him for justice sat on the spot allotted to them by the guards, not one being allowed to stir from it without previous leave from the *Sáhib*. The office moreover was usually conferred on the most noble and wealthy citizens, and became a sort of school for Wizírs and Hájibs. However, at the court of the Almohades, who were very lucky in some of their gubernative regulations, the office was not conferred on men of the higher classes indiscriminately, (as happened during the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah;) it was given only to men professing their religious sect, and following their party, and generally to the most eminent among them; neither was the holder of the office invested with authority to issue judgments in cases wherein people holding situations under government were concerned. In our times the powers of this officer have fallen very much into disuse, the office itself has gone out of the hands of the Almohades, and passed into those of the people who raised their power upon the ruins of that dynasty. God is the inverter of night and day!

(Fo. 143).—*Kiyádatu-l-asátíl* (the commandership of the fleet) was and is still one of the high offices of the state in the governments of Eastern and Western Africa. The holder of it is called *Al-meland*,[10] originally a Frank word, meaning, in the language of that nation, 'the commander of the fleet.' The office existed always in Eastern and Western Africa, where it deserved particular attention from the respective sovereigns of those countries, owing to the geographical position of their dominions, placed as they are on the southern coast of the Sea of Rúm; since [it is well known that] on the southern side of this sea is the country of the Berbers, extending from Ceuta to Alexandria and Syria, while on the opposite side, to the north, are the countries of Andalus, Afranj, Sclavonia, and Greece, joining also Syria. This sea is called 'Sea of Rúm,' and 'Sea of Shám' also, after the nations who inhabit its coasts,

[10] This word, which the author says is to be pronounced بتفخيم الام opening the mouth about the *l*, is written thus الملند in the text, but الملند is no doubt intended; it is a corruption of the Spanish *Almirant* or *Almirante*, (which passed early into French,) by the change of *r* into *l* and *t* into *d*. But is it not reasonable also to suppose that the word *Almirant* itself is a corruption of the Arabic امير الماء *Amír-al-má* (the general of the sea), the title under which that officer is generally designated by the early historians of Mohammedan Spain? Ibnu Khaldún, being a late writer, might not have been aware of this.

or who live close to its shores, and who, owing to this circumstance, have always been exposed to naval incursions, and the evils dependent thereon, in a degree that no other maritime power has ever been exposed. For, as we have already stated, most of the wars which the Greeks, the Franks, and the Goths who inhabit the northern shores of the Sea of Rúm had to sustain against one another, as likewise most of the traffic in which they were engaged, were carried on by sea and in vessels, owing to which they early became expert and accomplished navigators, and kept fleets well manned and stored to wage war on their enemies or to defend their possessions. Thus, whenever any of those nations inhabiting the northern shores of the Mediterranean quarrelled with those living on the southern coast, they would send their fleets against them, (as happened in the case of the Franks against the people of Eastern Africa, and of the Goths against those of Maghreb,) conquer the country, subdue the Berbers, take the empire out of their hands, and gain possession of their principal and best populated cities, as Carthage, Subeytalah, Jelaula, Marnák, Sharshál, Tangiers, &c. On the other hand, the people of this country would also retaliate upon their enemies, as did the King of Carthage, who in ancient times made war on the King of Rome, sending numerous and well-appointed fleets, filled with men and stored with arms and provisions, to invade his dominions. This was, indeed, a common practice among the people who then inhabited the shores of Africa, and who became thereby famous in ancient history, and gained much renown.

When the Moslems achieved the conquest of Egypt, the Khalif 'Omar Ibnu-l-khattáb, who then commanded, wrote to his lieutenant, 'Amru Ibnu-l-'áss, asking him for a description of the sea. The answer sent him by 'Amru was as follows: "The sea is a great pool, which some inconsiderate people furrow, looking like worms on logs of wood."[11] On the receipt of this answer, the Khalif 'Omar forbade the Moslems to navigate the sea, and so it was that, as long as that Khalif lived, no Arab dared go on board a vessel unless he had his previous leave, without which requisite the transgression was severely punished, as happened in the case of *Harthamah*[12] *Ibn 'Arfajah Al-azdí,* Lord of Bajílah,[13] who, having been sent with an expedition to 'Omán, is reported to have attacked that country by sea against his express orders. This prohibition lasted until the reign of Mu'awiyah, the first Khalif who allowed the Moslems to embark, and who sent maritime expeditions against the enemies of his empire. But the real cause [of the prohibition] was, that when the Arabs began their conquests they were entirely unaccustomed to that element, and unfit for navigation; while, on the contrary, the Romans and the Franks, through their almost continual practice, and their education in the midst of the waves, were enabled to navigate the seas, and, by dint of experience and successive enterprise, to become almost congenial to that element.

But when the empire of the Arabs was consolidated, and its forces had increased,—when

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11 أنّ البحر خلق عظيم يركبه خلق ضعيف دود علي عود

12 هرثمة بن عرفجة

13 سيد بجيلة

all the barbarous nations who did not profess Islám became either the subjects or the slaves of the Moslems,—all those who were in possession of any art or branch of industry whatsoever hastened to communicate and impart it to them; and the Moslems, anxious to profit by the learning of the vanquished, did not remain inactive. They at first solicited the services of expert navigators, and employed foreign pilots[14] in all their maritime concerns; little by little their knowledge increased; their voyages and expeditions became more frequent; they improved even the science of navigation, and became exceedingly fond of naval expeditions. To accomplish this they built every where ships and galleys,[15] and, having provided them with crews and stores, they put to sea and subdued several of the infidel nations lying beyond the waters, especially those inhabiting countries nearest to this sea (the Mediterranean) or living on its shores, as Syria, Eastern and Western Africa, and Andalus. In the time of the Bení Aghlab there were already in Africa several fleets manned by Moslems. The Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek was the first who gave Hassán, son of An-no'mán, then his lieutenant in Africa, instructions to possess himself of the arsenal in Túnis, to build vessels, and to collect all kinds of maritime stores, so as to enable the Arabs to continue by sea their conquests and incursions. It was with these vessels that Sicily was conquered by Asad, son of Al-forát, the chief eunuch and commander of the armies of Ziyádatullah I., son of Ibráhím Ibn Al-aghlab. In the same manner the island of Corsica[16] was taken during the reign of this monarch, and in former times Mu'awiyah, son of Khodeyj,[17] had made a maritime incursion against Sicily during the Khalifate of Mu'awiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán. After this the fleets of Africa proper, under the dynasty of the 'Obeydites, and those of Andalus under that of the Bení Umeyyah, became hostile to each other, and, during the civil dissensions that divided the Moslems of these two countries, the armed fleets of both powers were continually employed backwards and forwards, visiting the ports, the shores, and the creeks, and other accessible places on the coast, with plunder and destruction.

The maritime forces of Andalus were at one time very considerable. Under 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir the number of vessels composing the royal fleet amounted to nearly two hundred. Those of Africa proper were nearly equal in number. The commander-in-chief of the naval forces of Andalus was a certain Ibn Romáhis;[18] the ports where the ships were put in to be careened or fitted with sails were Bejénah and Almeria. The fleet of the Andalusian sovereigns was generally composed of vessels from all their states, each port or city sending out a proportionate number. Each vessel was put under the command of a chief experienced in maritime affairs, and whose duty it was to direct the forces and to take care of the arms and other warlike stores, while the direction of the vessel was intrusted to the *Reis*, whose duty consisted in regulating the course of the ship, and seeing whether she was to sail or to go with oars. When the ships were all assembled together for a naval expedition, and the object and intention of the Sultán were made known, the fleet always went to a port and there cast anchor; the Sultán then manned it with his best and bravest soldiers, or with his own freedmen and clients, and the whole was put

[14] The word which the author here uses for pilots is نواتية from the Latin *nauta*.

[15] الشواني

[16] قوصرة

[17] معوية بن خديج

[18] ابن رماحس

under the orders of an *Admiral*, who was always one of the principal noblemen of his court. This commander, who was obeyed by the whole fleet, then presented himself before the crews, and addressed them, putting before their minds victory and spoil. During the reign of the various Mohammedan dynasties the Moslems were victorious in all the corners of this sea, and their power and supremacy increased. None of the Christian nations had the least chance with their fleets in these waters, and our countrymen accustomed the sea for the rest of their days to bear the weight of their victories. Their maritime expeditions were crowned with success, and attended with victory and plunder. In this manner they conquered many islands standing far into the sea, as Mallorca, Menorca, Iviza, Sicily, Corsica, Malta, and Crete; they even made incursions upon the shores of Genoa, Sardinia, and other maritime districts belonging to the Franks. Abú-l-kásim Ash-shi'áy, and his two sons, sailing from the port of Mahdiyyah, invaded several times the island of Genoa, and returned victorious and laden with spoils. In four hundred and five (A. D. 1014-5) Mujáhid Al-'ámirí, governor of Denia, and one of those who, during the civil war in Andalus, broke all allegiance to the Khalifate of Cordova, and declared themselves independent, effected a landing on the island of Sardinia and conquered it; and although the Christians again gained possession of it, the Moslems were not the least disheartened by the reverse, for, being the masters of most of the harbours in this sea, their fleets scoured it in all directions. Those of Sicily, especially, so much annoyed the inhabitants of the shores of the Mediterranean, and of all that country lying opposite us to the north, that they were obliged to seek refuge in distant lands, and retire with their vessels to the north-east on the shores of France, Sclavonia, and the islands of the Greek Archipelago (where the Moslem fleets never reached); for if ever a Moslem vessel came upon a Christian one in these seas, the latter was sure of meeting with the same fate as the wild animal of the woods with the lion. Most of the harbours in these seas were then filled with men and military stores, and their waters were furrowed by innumerable Moslem vessels,[19] in time of peace as well as in time of war, in such manner that no Christian vessel ever dared show itself at any time. This state of things continued until the 'Obeydites and the Bení Umeyyah decayed, and their governments becoming weak and corrupt, they were seized by cowardice and imbecility, when the Christians, profiting by it, extended their hands, and laid them upon the islands of this sea, such as Sicily, Crete, Malta, and others, which they invaded and took. They then directed their forces against the coast of Syria, and took possession of a great part of it, making themselves the masters of Jerusalem, where they built a church for their worship and religion. After this the Bení Khazrún[20] possessed themselves of Tripoli, Kábis,

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[19] The word here used for vessels is الواح the plural of لوح *lauh*, which I believe to be the origin of the Spanish word *laud*. Many are the maritime terms now used in Spain which are borrowed from the Arabic: *kófas* (the masts' tops) comes from كُف *koff*, which means 'the hollow of the hands;' *saetia* (a boat) from شاطية *shátiyyah; xabeque* and *xabega* (a species of small craft) from شباكة which means 'a fishing-net,' and also a boat provided with one; *al-madia* (a raft and a ferry-boat) from المعدية *al-ma'diyyah*, &c.

[20] بني خزرون The Bení Khazrún were a branch of the Maghráwah, who during the fifth century of the Hijra

and Safákis, making the inhabitants of those countries pay them a tribute. Soon after this they took possession of *Mahdiyyah*, the court of the 'Obeydite Sultáns, which they conquered from the Bení Balkín Ben Zeyrí, a family who had known prosperous times in the fifth century of the Hijra.

In the meanwhile the western sides of this sea not only were well guarded against any sudden attack, and provided with numerous vessels, but there was not the least chance for the enemy in that quarter; for, during the reign of the Lamtumnite Sultáns, their fleets were commanded by the Bení Maymún, who were independent governors of Cadiz. When after this 'Abdu-l-múmen, Sultán of the Almohades, established his empire in Andalus, and took Cadiz from the Bení Maymún, these chiefs, seeing that all resistance was useless, surrendered and swore allegiance to him, continuing all the time to serve in his fleets. Their vessels, which at one time amounted to one hundred, the Almohades drew from their states on the Andalusian and African shore. But when that dynasty became stronger by extending its sway over both Andalus and Africa, the command of the fleet was made by them a post of the greatest importance, and they bestowed upon this branch of their government more care and attention than had ever been bestowed by their predecessors. The command of their fleets was therefore given to a certain Ahmed Al-sakilí (the Sicilian), who drew his origin from the tribe of Sadúkush,[21] a branch of the great family of the Sadghiyár, inhabiting the island of Jerbah. This man had, when young, been taken prisoner by the Christians, who, having landed on the island (Jerbah), took him with others into captivity, and carried him to their country (Sicily), where he lived and grew among them. In the course of time, however, he was liberated by the governor of Sicily, who, being satisfied with his services, was exceedingly kind to him. This governor having died, and being succeeded in command by his son, Ahmed was ill used by him in a dispute, when, not considering himself safe in Sicily, he made his escape, repaired to Túnis, and presented himself to the governor. From thence he went to Morocco, where he was honourably and kindly treated by the Khalif Yúsuf Al-'asrí,[22] who made him a plentiful allowance, and appointed him to the command of his fleet. No sooner did Ahmed As-sakílí see himself at the head of the Moslem fleet, than he began to undertake expeditions against the Christians, gaining over them more than one signal victory, by which means the naval power of the Moslems attained in his time, and under the dynasty of the Almohades, a degree of splendour and strength which it was never known to possess either before or afterwards.

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founded a powerful, but ephemeral, empire in Eastern Africa, having been soon after dispossessed by the Christians; since according to Ibnu Khaldún in his history of the Berbers, (No. 9575, fo. 72, *verso*,) Roger, first King of Sicily, having dispatched in A.H. five hundred and sixteen (A.D. 1122-3) a fleet under the command of Jorge (George), son of Michael, of Antiochia, جرجي بن ميخايل to ravage the coast of Africa, the Christian Admiral was completely successful: he took the cities of Mahdiyyah, Safákis, Trípoli, and Súsah.

21 صدغيار — سدويكش Ibnu Khaldún says in another part of his work (No. 9575, fo. 179) that the Sadghiyár (or as there written Sadghiyán) and the Sadúkush were two branches of the tribe of Kota'mah, by whom the island of Jerbah was principally peopled.

22 Abú Ya'kúb Yúsuf, the second Sultán of the Almohades.

When Saláhu-d-dín (Saladin) Ibn Ayúb, Sultán of Egypt and Syria, stirred himself to snatch from the hands of the Christians such fortresses and cities as they had taken on the frontiers of Syria, and to cleanse Jerusalem and its buildings from the filth of the infidels, the fleets and expeditions of the idolaters increased on every side, and innumerable vessels furrowed the seas from all the ports near Jerusalem, in order to convey supplies and reinforcements to those among their countrymen who held that city. At that time the naval forces of Alexandria could by no means compete with those of the Christians, owing to the repeated victories which the latter had gained in the eastern part of this sea, their numerous forces, and the weakness of the Moslems, who had been for a long time previous in a state of decadence, and without sufficient forces to oppose their undertakings. In this conflict Saladin addressed himself to Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, Sultán of Al-maghreb, and one of the Almohades, and asked him, through his ambassador 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn Munkadh, the assistance of his navy in order to prevent the fleets of the idolaters from taking provisions and reinforcements to their brethren in Syria. Saladin's letter, which, according to Al-'ommád Al-asfahání, in his work entitled 'the signal victories,' was the composition of the illustrious writer Al-bísání, bore these words on the outside, "May God open for the majesty of our lord the gates of happiness and security!" But Al-mansúr having observed that he was not addressed in the letter as *Amír al-múmenín* (prince of the believers), was exceedingly annoyed by it, although he kept it a secret and did not communicate his displeasure to any one; so though he treated the ambassador with justice and generosity, he dismissed him from his court without granting his demand. We have mentioned this merely to let the reader form an idea of the maritime power of the Sultáns of Maghreb at this time, and sketch what happened to them with the Christians in the eastern quarters, and how these acquired a superiority in those seas.

However, after the death of Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, and the decadence which ensued of his empire, the Galicians having made themselves the masters of almost all the kingdoms which the Moslems possessed in Andalus, the true believers were obliged to fly for shelter to those provinces situate on the sea shore. The infidels, in the course of time, conquered all the islands in the west of the Mediterranean; their power increasing on those waters, and their fleets becoming very numerous: so that the forces of the Moslems were soon on a level with those of the Christians, as became manifest during the reign of the Sultán Abú-l-hasan, King of the Zenátah, in Al-maghreb, whose fleets, whenever they put to sea and met the enemy, had to contend against an equal number of vessels. This evil went on increasing until the Mohammedan power fell gradually into decay, and the science and practice of navigation were almost forgotten, owing to the inclinations of the Sultáns of that dynasty, who, being Beydawis or Bedouins, did not much relish the sea. This contributed to interrupt the traffic and the communication with Andalus by sea, and allowed the Christians to resume their old habits, and recommence their adventurous enterprises, thus becoming again by their experience and their continual sailing the masters of the seas. The Moslems, on the contrary, became quite strangers to navigation, if we except a few of the people inhabiting the coast, who seemed still to possess some inclination to that element, and who, through the help and assistance of all kinds bestowed on them by the African powers, have hitherto been enabled to maintain the holy war by sea. In this state has the navy continued until our days,

when, through the care and attention of the different sovereigns of the present reigning dynasty, who all have considered this as one of their principal and most important duties, it is fast rising from its decay, and the wind has again sprung up favourably for the Moslems. Nay, if we are to believe a prophecy current among the people of this country, the Moslems shall recover in the end their naval superiority over the Christians, and conquer all those countries lying across the sea where their religion is predominant; this being accomplished by means of their fleets. May Allah favour the Moslems!

APPENDIX C.

An account of Al-hakem's Library and its destruction, extracted from the work of Sá'id, of Toledo.

The volume from which the following extract is taken is a thin octavo, containing 146 pages; it is written incorrectly, and in a sort of hand approaching the *ta'lik*. The title reads thus: تعليقات من كتاب التعريف بطبقات الامم تاليف القاضي ابي القاسم صاعد بن احمد بن صاعد الاندلسي الطليطلي 'Hasty notes or extracts taken from the work (entitled) the book of information on the classes of nations,' by the Kádí Abu-l-kásim Sá'id Ibn Ahmed Ibn Sá'id, of Toledo. But although, immediately after the title, there follow in the MS. extracts from the work of that historian, the contents of the volume, which is written in different hands, are various. The first twenty-two pages only of the MS. are extracts from the work of Sá'id. After this come two chapters from the Korán. Then follow other extracts from Ibnu Sa'íd Al-maghrebí and Abú-l-fedá; and, lastly, the volume ends with an historical work, in Turkish, entitled, if I am not mistaken, نظم التواريخ 'the necklace of the annals.'

The first part of the volume (*i. e.* the extracts from Sá'id, of Toledo,) is exceedingly interesting, being the only fragment preserved in any Library of Europe from the work of an historian who enjoys great reputation among his countrymen; a work which, were we to judge of its contents by the short extracts in this volume, must have been one of the greatest value.

Sá'id begins by giving a concise history of mankind, divided into various races or nations,—Ancient Persians, Chaldæans, Greeks, Copts, Turks, Hindús, and Chinese. He then divides mankind into nations who laboured for the attainment of science, and nations who did not do so; he counts among the former the Hindús, Persians, Chaldæans, Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Arabs, and Hebrews, including the remainder in the number of those who did not cultivate the sciences. He then begins with a short account of each of them, and, after giving a concise history of those nations who exhibited a taste for learning, proceeds with a sketch of their improvements in the sciences, and the eminent men they produced. The account he gives of the Greeks and Romans is well worthy of attention, and, considering that it is the work of an Arabian writer, is sufficiently accurate. It is from the chapter treating of the Arabs that the following extract is taken.

The author is Sá'id Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn Sá'id, Kádí of Toledo, of the

sect of Málik. He was a native of Almeria, but his family were originally from Cordova. He died, according to Ibnu Bashkúwál, quoted by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 142, c. 2), on the 4th day of Shawwál, A. H. 462, and not as Hájí Khalfah (voc. *Ta'ríf*) states, in 250. I cannot imagine what made that accurate bibliographer commit such a mistake, since there can be no doubt that the work was written during the reign of Yahya Ibn Isma'íl, who filled the throne of Toledo until 469, and who appointed Sá'id to the charge of Kádí of the principal mosque in the capital of his dominions. He himself says so, and alludes in several places of his work to his being occupied in its composition in the year 460. Besides, in the note at the end of these extracts, it is also stated that Sá'id completed his work in that year.

But to return to our account of the Andalusian philosophers. Towards the middle of the third century of the Hijra, and in the days of the Amír Mohammed, Sultán of Cordova, and the fifth in the line of the Bení Umeyyah, the learned of Andalus exerted themselves in the cultivation of science, and laboured in it with assiduity, giving evident proofs of their acquisitions in all manner of learning. This continued until towards the middle of the fourth century, when the Sultán Al-hakem, son of the Sultán 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir lidíni-llah, having ascended the throne, the cultivation of letters received a new impulse, and by his encouragement of all sorts of studies, by his unwonted liberality towards the learned, whom he invited to his capital from Baghdád, Cairo, and other distant countries, and, above all, by his exquisite taste for literature, which he had cultivated with success during his father's life-time, the torch of science shone brighter than ever. Indeed, this illustrious monarch spared neither trouble nor expense to propagate learning in his states by all the means in his power. He caused all sorts of rare and curious books to be purchased by his agents in Cairo, Baghdád, Damascus, Alexandria, and other great cities in the East; and no work on ancient or modern science was discovered that was not immediately procured at any cost and sent to him. By these means he collected a richer and more extensive library than the Khalifs of the 'Abbaside dynasty ever did during the whole period of their reign, and the learned of Andalus devoted their attention to the study of the sciences contained in the books of the ancients, and, encouraged by the example of the monarch, made rapid progress in the most abstruse and exquisite learning. This lasted until the death of the Khalif Al-hakem, which happened in the month of Safar of the year three hundred and sixty-six (Oct. A. D. 976), when he was succeeded by his son, Hishám Al-muyad-billah, who was still very young. However, when the Wizír Abú 'A'mir Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Abí 'A'mir Mohammed Ibni-l-walíd Ibn Yezíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'A'mir Al-mu'áferí Al-kahttání usurped the empire, as is well known, and took the direction of public affairs entirely into his hands, he followed a different course, and in order to conciliate the favour of theologians, and other austere men who were averse to the cultivation of the philosophical sciences, commanded a search to be made in Al-hakem's library, and all works on philosophy and astronomy and other similar subjects treated by the ancients, with the exception of books on medicine and arithmetic, were by his orders removed, and either burnt in the squares of the city, or thrown into the wells and cisterns of the palace, where they were soon destroyed by the heaps of dust, stones, and other rubbish cast over them. The only books which were suffered to remain in Al-hakem's library were works treating of rhetoric, grammar, poetry, history,

medicine, law, traditions, and other sciences generally cultivated by the people of Andalus; and all others treating either of natural philosophy, astronomy, or the doctrines of the ancients, were, with the exception of a few which escaped the eyes of the searchers, destroyed for ever. This act of Al-mansúr has been attributed by the historians of the time to his desire of gaining popularity with the multitude, and thereby finding less opposition to his ambitious views, and casting a sort of stain upon the memory of the Khalif Al-hakem, whose throne he sought to usurp; for, although the study of those sciences had been forbidden by his ancestors, Al-hakem encouraged them in his dominions, and countenanced and protected all those who cultivated them. Al-mansúr, however, having publicly shown his disapprobation of these studies, all those who were found indulging in them were declared impious men by the heads of the law, so that the learned had carefully to conceal their knowledge of these matters for fear of coming into contact with the judges, and being condemned as heretics and people who wanted to introduce new practices and opinions on the received religion. Whoever, therefore, had formerly studied and taught the philosophical sciences publicly, had now to conceal his learning from his most intimate friends, for fear of being denounced; and if he still persevered in his studies he would do it with the greatest secrecy, taking care not to raise the least suspicion by his words or by his writings, which he would publicly confine to medicine, arithmetic, moral philosophy, and so forth.

This state of things lasted until the overthrow of the Bení Umeyyah dynasty, when the dominions of that powerful family fell to the share of the rebels who rose against them at the beginning of the fifth century of the Hijra, and who divided among themselves the inheritance of the Khalifs. These petty sovereigns, it is true, encouraged literature, but their efforts were principally directed towards poetry, grammar, history, and other common arts; and the proscribed sciences remained as before in complete disgrace. In the meanwhile the city of Cordova was occupied sometimes by one, sometimes by another, of these rebel princes; and the temporary masters of the capital claiming, as was natural, a supremacy over the rest of Andalus, the fire of discord was kindled, and its consuming flames spread rapidly through this country, destroying every where the monuments of the arts and the sciences. In one of these civil dissensions Cordova was invaded and sacked, the palace of the Khalifs was levelled with the ground, and the costly furniture, the rich tapestry, the splendid collection of books formed by Al-hakem, were plundered, and sold in distant countries at the lowest prices. However, most of the literary treasures which the royal library contained were scattered through this country; some were taken to Seville, some to Granada, some to Almeria and other principal cities; I myself met with many in this city (Toledo) that were saved from the general ruin, and in the number there were a few which escaped the search and destruction made in the days of Al-mansúr, and whose contents might, if detected, have brought upon them a similar fate.

With these precious relics the study of the works of the ancient philosophers revived, the learned of this country began again to graze and feed upon the pasturages of philosophy, the studious acquired little by little a taste for the natural sciences; the petty sovereigns of Andalus bestowing some encouragement upon their professors until the present day, being the year

460 of the Hijra,[1] when it may be confidently asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the above-mentioned studies are more flourishing than ever they were in this country, and more extensively cultivated than the most easy and common branches of learning. God be praised for it! Their progress, however, might be still quicker, were it not impeded by the austerity and devotion of some of our kings, who, like their predecessors, have a dislike for them; were it not that the learned of our times are year after year obliged to lay down the pen, and, grasping the sword, to repair to the defence of our frontiers attacked by the infidels, whose continual invasions they could not otherwise resist; this being the reason why the study of science is not so universal as it ought to be, and that the learned are but few.

APPENDIX D.

A narrative of the principal events attending the conquest of Spain by the Moslems, translated from the كتاب الاكتفاء في اخبار الخلفاء *Kitábu-l-iktifá fí akhbári-l-kholafá, or 'the book of sufficiency on the history of the Khalifs,' by Abú Ja'far Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk Al-khazráji Al-kortobí (Ar. MS. in the translator's collection).*

The MS. to which I allude is a folio volume of about 480 pages, written in a clear African hand, strongly resembling the old Kúfí, upon brown cotton paper. The first four leaves and the last eight are supplied by a modern hand, upon white paper, manufactured in Europe. Owing to this circumstance, it is impossible for me to fix with certainty the age of the MS., but, were I to judge from the sort of hand-writing used in it, and other signs which I shall presently specify, I should not hesitate in declaring it an autograph written at Seville towards the year five hundred and seventy of the Hijra (A. D. 1174-5). My reasons for deeming it such are as follow: 1st. The hand-writing is the same as that of many Arabic MSS. of the same period in the Escurial, which are executed in a hand peculiar to Seville, and to which Ibnu-l-khattíb frequently alludes in his history of Granada, called الخط الاشبيلي 'the Sevillian hand-writing.' 2nd. Nowhere are the words *kála-l-muwallif* ('the author says'), *kála-l-muwarrikh* ('the historian relates'), and other similar expressions, which are generally met with in transcripts of Arabic works, to be found in this. 3rd. The MS. abounds with many corrections and marginal references, which could not be the work of a transcriber, since, in most instances, the meaning would be incomplete without them.

The name of the author is nowhere stated in the MS.; for although, according to the general custom, a blank was left in the first page by the copyist who supplied the leaves, for the purpose of inserting it in gold letters, this requisite is wanting. On the other hand, Hájí Khalfah, whose work is particularly deficient in the literature of the Spanish Moslems, knew not the book. But as Ibnu Sa'íd, in his addition to Ibn Hazm's epistle (see p. 194 of this translation), has spoken of an historical work whose title and description answer exactly to those of the present, and which he there attributes to Abú Ja'far

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[1] Sá'id survived the composition of this work only two years.

Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk Al-khazráji Al-kortobí, we may reasonably conclude, for want of a better proof, that he was the author of the present.

The contents of the work are a very detailed and circumstantial history of the Khalifs. After a short introduction, in which the principal events in the life of the Prophet are graphically portrayed, the author proceeds to Abú Bekr, and the Khalifs, his successors. In the chapter treating on Al-walíd, under whose empire Spain was subdued, the author introduces a sort of episodical chapter, entitled "An account of the conquest of Andalus by the Moslems," the same which is here translated; he then goes on to his successor Suleymán, and the remaining Khalifs of the house of Umeyyah; after which he describes, although rapidly, the foundation of the throne of Cordova by 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., and the principal events of the reigns of his successors, until the extinction of the Umeyyah dynasty in Spain, and the breaking up of their once powerful and compact empire into sundry ephemeral and precarious principalities. He then relates in great detail the taking of Toledo by Alfonso VII., the subjection of Spain to the Almoravides, the expulsion of these by the Almohades, &c., up to the time of Abú Yúsuf Ya'kúb, surnamed Al-mansúr, who reigned from A. H. five hundred and fifty-eight to five hundred and ninety-five (A. D. 1162-98); and this he does in so elegant a style, with so much order and criticism, and apparently with such correct information, that few Arabic chronicles have passed through my hands which can compete with it in point of utility and merit. The book ends with a history of the eastern Khalifs of the house of 'Abbás, up to the reign of Al-mámún Mohammed, son of Al-muktafí bi-amri-llah, who began his reign in 560 of the Hijra.

The passage which I here translate is of no great importance in itself, as several sentences from it will be found already translated in the text, (Al-makkarí having either possessed a copy of this very work, or derived his information from writers who literally transcribed this author's words;) but it is highly interesting, as giving a continuous narrative of the events attending the conquest, as they were current in the author's time, and as affording a proof that as early as the twelfth century of our era the fabulous accounts and the extraordinary events coupled by the Spanish chroniclers with the Saracen invasion were no invention of theirs, but are met with in the works of the Arabs.

An account of the conquest of Andalus.

At the time of the conquest of Africa by the Arabs, Maghreb and Andalus were in the hands of the Rúm[1] and Berbers. The former were in possession of Andalus and all the opposite coast of Africa; the latter held all the interior and the deserts. Among the Berbers there were some who listened to the voice of their preachers, and embraced Islám; others shut their ears to it, and remained in ignorance and idolatry.

There was in Tangiers a Rúmí, named Ilyán, who was *Al-mukaddam*[2] of Ludherik, King of Andalus, who held his court at Toledo. This monarch is the same under whose reign Andalus was invaded and subdued by the Arabs. One of the causes which is said to have contributed most efficaciously to that event is the following. There was at Toledo a palace

[1] By Rúm the African authors designate not only the Romans, the original meaning of that word, but also all those nations who held portions of the old Roman empire, and professed Christianity. See Ibnu Khaldún's History of the Berbers, No. 9575, fo. 40, *et seq.*, and the note 16 to chap. i. book iv. of this translation, where the meaning of this word is satisfactorily explained.

[2] The word المقدّم *Al-mukaddam* means literally 'he who goes forward, a captain of the van, the commander of a body of troops on the enemy's frontier.' It is the origin of the Spanish word *Almocaden*, which has precisely the same meaning.

the gate of which was secured with many locks,[3] for every king who ruled over that country added a lock to the gate, and none ever dared to open it; nor did any one know what it contained. The number of the locks had already reached to twenty, one for each of the kings who had governed that country when the said Ludherik ascended the throne of Andalus. He then said, "I must have the gate of this palace opened, that I may see what "is inside;" but his counts and bishops said to him, "Do no such thing, O King! Do not "innovate upon a custom which thy predecessors have hitherto kept most religiously." But Ludherik replied, "No, you shall not persuade me, I must have it opened, and see what "it contains." He then caused the gate to be thrown open, but he found nothing inside save a large roll of parchment, on which were portrayed figures of turbaned men mounted on generous steeds, having swords in their hands, and spears with fluttering pennons at the end. The roll contained besides an inscription, purporting, "The men represented in this picture "are the Arabs, the same who, whenever the locks of this palace are broken, will invade this "island and subdue it entirely." When Ludherik saw this, he repented of what he had done, and ordered the gate to be shut.

It was then the custom among the Rúm for all the people of rank to send their daughters to the royal palace, to be brought up with the daughters of their sovereign. There they were all educated together, and taught the same accomplishments, and, when grown up, the king would marry them to the most distinguished people of his dominions, and grant them marriage portions, by which means he secured the affections of the husbands, the wives, and their children. It happened that in compliance with this usage, Ilyán,[4] the governor of Tangiers and Ceuta, who was one of Ludherik's favourites, and one of the most powerful lords of his kingdom, sent his daughter to Toledo, where she was accordingly lodged in the king's palace. Ilyán used to visit Ludherik once a year, in the month of August, when he always brought with him presents for his master, such as hawks for the chase, and other productions of Africa. Ilyán's daughter being extremely handsome, the eye of Ludherik rested on her, and he became deeply enamoured, but, failing in persuasion, he obtained by force the gratification of his wishes. However, he afterwards repented of what he had done, and ordered that his act should be kept a secret, and that the girl should be hindered from speaking to any one, lest she should write to her father and acquaint him with what had occurred. But notwithstanding all these precautions, the girl soon contrived to acquaint her father with her situation by sending him a splendid present, and among the articles composing it a rotten egg. No sooner did Ilyán see this than he understood the message, and saw that his daughter had been dishonoured; he immediately crossed over to Andalus, and repaired to Toledo, although contrary to orders, and out of the time fixed for his presentation, it being then the month of January. When Ludherik saw Ilyán come so unexpectedly, he said to him, "O Ilyán! what ails thee, to come to me at this season of the year, in the depth of

[3] In one of the old editions of the *Cronica de Don Rodrigo* (Toledo, 1549,) there is a large wood-cut which represents the Gothic monarch in front of a strong tower, the massive door of which is secured by seven ponderous padlocks. A bishop and some noblemen are at his side, entreating him not to violate the sacred precincts.

[4] يليان is not pointed here, nor is it in other MSS., but I have already stated my reasons for pronouncing Ilyán, not Julian.

" winter?" and Ilyán answered, " I come to fetch my daughter, for her mother is very ill, and " I fear her death, and she has expressed a strong desire to see our daughter, that she may " console her in her last moments." Then Ludherik observed, " Hast thou procured us the " hawks we told thee of?" " Yes, I have," answered Ilyán, " I have found thee such as thou " never sawest the like of in thy life; I shall soon return with them, and bring them to thee, if " God be pleased." Ilyán was all the time meaning the Arabs. He then took his daughter, and returned without loss of time to the seat of his government, where no sooner had he arrived than he went to Ifrikiyyah (Eastern Africa), and entered Cairwán, where the Amír Músa Ibn Nosseyr was residing at the time. This Músa was the son of Nosseyr, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Zeyd Al-bekrí; he was born in the year nineteen of the Hijra, under the Khalifate of 'Omar Ibnu-l-khattáb, (may God show him his favours!) Músa's father had been captain of the guard to Mu'awiyah[5] Ibn Abí Sufyán, and when that Khalif made war against 'Alí, (may God show him his favours!) he would not accompany him, and refused to take part in the expedition. " What prevented thee," said Mu'awiyah to him afterwards, " from accompanying me in this expedition against 'Alí, when my hand has never ceased " pouring favours upon thee?" " It was not in my power," replied Nosseyr, " to take part in " an impious act against him to whom I am more indebted than I am to thee." " And who " is he?" inquired Mu'awiyah. " God Almighty, may his name be exalted!" said Músa. " What!" said the Khalif, " hast thou no gratitude for thy benefactors?" " And have I not " shown it on several occasions?" replied Nosseyr. He then kept silence and went away, when Mu'awiyah remained silent and thoughtful for a while, and then said, " I implore " God's pardon; may he show his favours to 'Alí!"

But, to return, Músa obtained the government of Eastern Africa in the year seventy-nine of the Hijra (beginning 19th March, A.D. 698), others say in seventy-eight, and was, therefore, the viceroy of all the Arabian conquests of Eastern and Western Africa during the Khalifate of 'Abdu-l-malek. After the death of this monarch he was confirmed in his post by his brother and successor, Al-wálid. To this Músa, Ilyán, governor of Tangiers, came to offer his services. He found him at Cairwán, told him what had happened to his daughter, and, anxious to revenge the outrage on his enemy, proposed to him to make the conquest of Andalus, an undertaking which he represented to him as being of very easy execution. He described Andalus as an extensive kingdom, filled with treasures of all kinds, whose inhabitants would make very handsome slaves, a country abounding in springs, gardens, rivers, and a land yielding every description of fruit and plants. Músa, who was endowed with much penetration and wit, and who had great experience in all the affairs of war, said to the Christian, " We doubt not that thou art telling us the truth, but we fear for the sake of the " Moslems, and the dangers they may encounter. Thou wishest them to invade a country with " which they are not in the least degree acquainted, and from which they are separated by an " intervening sea, while thou art bound to thy king by the common ties of the idolaters, and " united to thy countrymen by the same customs and the same religion. But return to thy

[5] The name of this Khalif is sometimes written مُعَاوِيَة but more generally مُعَوِيَة

"government, call together thy vassals and partisans, cross the Straits in person, and make "an incursion into the territory of that king. When thou hast done thus, and begun "hostilities, then will it be time for us to follow thy steps, if God be pleased."

Ilyán agreed to these conditions, and prepared for his intended expedition. Músa then wrote to Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, acquainting him with what Ilyán had proposed to him, and the Khalif's answer was as follows: "Let the country be first explored by light troops, that "thou mayest judge of the real strength of the enemy, and be sure not to be the victim of "treason." Ilyán in the meanwhile returned to his government, called together his men, and, crossing the Straits in two vessels, landed at Jezíratu-l-khadhrá, whence he made incursions into the land, burning the houses and fields, killing, taking captives, and collecting considerable spoil; after which he and his companions returned safe to Africa, their hands filled with booty. The news of this success soon spread over every district of Africa, the result being that about three thousand Berbers, collected under the orders of Abú Zar'ah Taríf Ibn Málik Al-mu'áwí,[6] crossed the sea, and landed on an island ever since called 'the island of Taríf,' from the name of their general. Like their predecessors, the Berbers with Taríf spread over the neighbouring country, making incursions, killing, and taking prisoners. They also returned safe into Africa. Ilyán then hastened to apprise Músa of this new victory, and Músa informed the Khalif of it; it is even said that the very same day on which Músa's messenger was introduced into the Khalif's presence, eleven more messengers, all bearing news of similar victories obtained by the Arabs in the various quarters of the globe, reached the court of Damascus, and that Al-walíd fell immediately on his knees and praised God. But to return.

Ilyán went a second time to Músa, and acquainted him with the success of both enterprises; he told him of what he had executed and the experiment he had tried, and he again urged him to make the conquest of Andalus. This time Músa sent for his freedman Tárik Ibn Zeyád, and gave him the command of twelve thousand men, Arabs and Berbers; he then commanded him to cross the Straits and invade Andalus, bidding Ilyán accompany also the expedition with his own troops. Before Tárik left Africa a great number of volunteers flocked under his banners; he first went to Ceuta, and, having embarked in vessels,[7] he cast anchor close to a mountain, which received his name, and was ever since called Jebal-Tárik, 'the mountain of Tárik.' This event took place in the year ninety-three of the Hijra (beginning October, A.D. 711).[8]

When Tárik was about to land he found some of the Rúm posted on a commodious part of the coast where he had intended to disembark, who made some show of resistance. But Tárik, giving up that spot, sailed off from it at night and went towards another part of the coast, which he contrived to render flat by means of the oars, and by throwing over them the

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[6] المعاوي I have said elsewhere that this word was to be read thus, Al-mugháferí.

[7] جاز في مراكب (he crossed in vessels). The sense is not complete; I believe that التجار (merchants) is wanting, as it is elsewhere stated (see p. 266) that Tárik's army was conveyed to Spain in merchant-vessels procured by Ilyán.

[8] This date must be incorrect, since the generality of the Arabian writers, supported by the authority of the Christian chroniclers themselves, have fixed this memorable event to the year 92.

saddles of the horses, and in this way he managed to effect a landing unobserved by his enemies and before they were aware of it. He then began to make incursions into the country, and fell upon the Rúm, and collected considerable spoil, penetrating as far as Cordova, after setting fire to the vessels which had conveyed him to Spain. He said to his men, "You must either fight or die." He met an old woman who addressed him thus: "I had "once a husband who was learned in divination, and who used to say that a man of thy "figure and shape, having a prominent forehead, and a black spot upon his shoulder, "with a mole covered with hair, would cross over to this island." Tárik then uncovered his shoulder and showed the spot and the mole to his men, who rejoiced at the good omen, and felt their courage very much strengthened by the fortunate circumstance.

When the news of Tárik's landing reached Ludherik, that monarch sallied out to meet him at the head of one hundred thousand cavalry, bringing his treasures as well as his wardrobe in waggons. The tyrant came on a litter borne by three mules placed in a row;[9] a vaulted canopy, sprinkled with pearls, rubies, and the richest jewels, was spread over him to screen him from the rays of the sun; he was dressed in a robe made of strings of pearls, interwoven with silk, and followed by long trains of mules whose only load was ropes to pinion the arms of the captives, for he did not doubt that he would soon make every one of the Arabs his prisoner.

Before Tárik sailed for Andalus, Músa fell on his knees, and began to pray, and to shed tears, and to implore the assistance of Almighty God, and to pray most fervently for his help and interference in favour of the Moslem troops. It has been said of him that no army which he commanded ever fled before the enemy. However, Ludherik marched his army to Cordova, meaning to attack Tárik; and when he came close to him he (Ludherik) chose among his host a man of tried courage and experienced in the affairs and stratagems of war; he directed him to go under some pretence to Tárik's camp, and observe all the movements of his men, so as to be able to report to him on their numbers, looks, and general appearance. The man did as he was commanded; he approached the tents of the Moslems, and Tárik, having been informed of it, put into practice the following stratagem in order to overawe his enemies. He ordered the flesh of the slain to be cut piecemeal, and to be dressed as if it were to be served for the men's repast; Tárik's men did as they were ordered, they cut up the dead bodies and cooked the flesh in large cauldrons; and when Ludherik's messenger saw this he doubted not but that the Moslems fed upon dead bodies. However, Tárik, having caused the human flesh to be privately removed and buried during the night, had beef and mutton dressed in its stead, and, when in the morning the men were summoned to partake of their repast, Ludherik's messenger was also invited to partake of it, and he ate along with them. The repast concluded, the messenger returned to his master, and said to him, "Thy kingdom has "been invaded by a nation of people who feed upon the flesh of the slain; their description "is the same as that found by thee in the sealed palace; they have set fire to their vessels, "and seem determined either to conquer or to perish." This news filled Ludherik and his men with utter consternation, but the contest had now become inevitable, and both armies

[9] Rodericus Toletanus adds that the mules were white. See *De Reb. Hisp.* apud *Schottum*, vol. ii. p. 64.

came to an engagement on a Sunday. The Moslems sustained the fight with great courage; they charged desperately and at once upon the infidels, whom God was pleased to put to flight, for their first ranks having given way, they were closely pursued by the Moslems, dealing death among their scattered bands and making numbers of them prisoners. What became of their king, Ludherik, nobody knows; they pretend that while flying from his pursuers he contrived to hide himself among the bushes on the banks of the river, but that he came up to a marsh[10] and was drowned; in corroboration of which it is said that some soldiers found one of his sandals, sprinkled with pearls and rubies, having the strings[11] still fixed to it, which no doubt fell off one of his feet. So precious were its materials that when, after the battle, the division of the spoil was made, it was valued at one hundred thousand dinárs. Ludherik's camp was, moreover, completely plundered, and the Moslems spread right and left over the country, gaining every where considerable spoils, of which Tárik religiously put aside the fifth for the royal coffers, distributing the remainder among all those present at the battle, by which means the hands of his men were filled, and all, without one exception, became rich.

When the people on the other side of the sea were informed of Tárik's success they flocked to him from all parts, from the East as well as from the West, and Músa dispatched immediately a messenger to the Khalif Al-walíd, informing him of the victories gained by the Moslems. Tárik, in the meanwhile, marched to Toledo, which he took; he then went to a place beyond that city, where he found in the principal church the table of Suleymán, son of Dáúd, (on whom be peace!) which was so beautiful to behold that whoever gazed at it the world vanished before his eyes. It was inlaid with precious stones of various kinds and hues, as well as with aromatic woods; it was, besides, most beautifully ornamented with several inscriptions in the Greek tongue. But this was not the only jewel which Tárik found; he seized also on one-and-twenty copies of the Torah, the Gospels, and the Psalms, as well as a copy of the book of Abraham, and another of that of Moses, (the salutation of our Lord be on them!) He found, likewise, five-and-twenty royal diadems, beautifully ornamented with jewels, one for each of the kings who had ruled over the country, since it was a custom among them for every monarch to deposit there before his death a crown of gold bearing an inscription indicative of his name, personal description, duration of his life and reign, and the children he had. He found also several books treating of the manner of using plants, minerals, and animals, advantageously for man, besides many wonderful talismans, the work of ancient philosophers, and another work on the great art,[12] and its roots and elixirs;—all

[10] فصادف غدايرا فغرق فيها The word *ghadáyira* is the plural of *ghadír*, meaning 'a tank, a receptacle for stagnant waters, a lake.' It has been preserved in the Spanish *guadayra* or *gadayra*, as it ought to be pronounced. The river Guadayra owed its name to this circumstance,—its still waters flowing through a marshy ground.

[11] The text says عليه الخمل The word خمل which I have translated by 'the strings of a sandal' means 'the eye-lids,' and also 'a fringe at the bottom of a gown.'

[12] الصناعة الكبري is what the Spaniards call "Arte mayor," and is applied to that science which teaches the construction of talismans, charms, &c.

these precious objects, together with an immense quantity of rubies and other coloured gems, stored in golden and silver urns of beautiful workmanship, and ornamented with large pearls, were the fruits of Tárik's conquest.

After penetrating far into the country of the Rúm, Tárik returned to Cordova, and fixed his abode in that city. He is reported to have made war on the infidels until they came up to him like cattle, and like so many tamed beasts, and until his men were exhausted through excessive marching, and their bodies dried up through privations and fatigue, when they unanimously said to him, "Have we not conquered enough countries, that thou seemest not "yet satisfied?" and Tárik burst out laughing, and said, "By Allah! were I to consult my "wishes only, I would march with you until we had reached the gates of Rome, or those of "Constantinople, and gained possession of those cities, with God's permission; but since you "are tired and weary, you had better return."

They say that when Músa was made acquainted with these words of Tárik to his men, he began to be envious of him, and to fear lest the fame of his exploits, and of his praiseworthy conduct, should reach the ears of Al-walíd, and he should rise in favour with the Khalif, and perhaps be appointed his own superior in command: he therefore hastened to cross the sea with ten thousand horse, taking with him many illustrious Arabs, in the number of whom were several *tábi's*, (may God be favourable to them!) such as Hansh Ibn 'Abdillah As-san'ání, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Yezíd Al-bajelí, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Shamásah Al-misrí, Abú-l-nadhar Hayyán[14] Ibn Abí Hoblah, a *maulí* of the Bení 'Abdi-d-dar; some add Jebel Ibn Hasanah and various others, to the number of twenty-five. Músa landed at Algesiras, and took the road to Cordova; he was met by Tárik, who treated him with respect and submission, but Músa, raising his staff, gave him a blow on the head, and continued marching until he reached Cordova.[15] Once there, he said to Tárik, "Bring me all the spoil thou hast made, "and all the treasures thou hast found," and Tárik obeyed and brought before him all he had taken, as well as the table; but this with only two feet, for the third he had previously taken away and hidden, foreseeing what would take place. Músa took possession of all these inestimable treasures without even thanking Tárik, who was the first to acquire them. As to the table, it was made of a solid piece of emerald, but, as stated before, it wanted one of the feet[16] and the whole of the border, seeing which, Músa said to him, "What is the meaning of this?" and Tárik replied, "So I found it," and Músa believed him, and caused a foot of gold to be wrought and to be fixed to it instead of the one wanting: he then asked him to deliver into his hands the fifth of all the spoil taken since his arrival in Andalus, and Tárik having also complied with this demand, Músa became possessed of countless treasures. After this Músa

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14 Instead of Hayyán I find in the MS. حبان Habbán, by the omission of one point, but I have no doubt the former was intended.

15 This passage is very remarkable, since Tárik is said to have met his master, Músa, between Cordova and Algesiras, which is contrary to the statement of all other historians, who assert that the interview took place between the former city and Toledo.

16 The text only says خرط منها ارجلها و حواشيها 'the feet and the borders had been detached from it;' but, by adding أحد the meaning is complete.

left Cordova, and repaired to Toledo; he went even beyond that capital, reducing no less than eighteen principal cities, gaining much spoil, and making numbers of prisoners, after which he returned, but still persevered in making war on the infidels, and fulfilling that holy precept during his stay in Andalus, which lasted three years.

After this Músa left Andalus, taking Tárik with him, and leaving his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz[17] to command in his absence. Arrived in Africa, where he made a short stay, he departed for Damascus, the court of the prince of the believers, Al-walíd, then the reigning Khalif, taking with him all the spoil of Andalus, consisting of thirty skins full of gold and silver coin, necklaces of inestimable value, pearls, rubies, topazes, and emeralds, besides costly robes of all sorts; he was followed by eleven hundred prisoners, men, women, and children, of whom four hundred were princes of the royal blood. Not far from Damascus Músa was informed how Al-walíd was seriously indisposed and not expected to live, and he received a letter from his brother and heir, Suleymán, begging him to delay his entry into Damascus until his brother was dead and himself on the throne, but, instead of complying with his request, Músa quickened his march, and arrived in Damascus with all his suite before the death of the Khalif; although, owing to the bad state of his health, Músa was unable to present to him his treasures, and Al-walíd died without appreciating as they deserved the many curiosities brought by Músa.

Músa's arrival in Africa to take possession of his government is generally fixed in the month of Jumádí-l-awal of the year seventy-nine (July or August, A. D. 698), he being then sixty years old. His landing on the coast of Andalus took place in the year ninety-three (A. D. 712). He left Africa in the year ninety-five, and arrived in Damascus in ninety-six (A. D. 714-5), after having been for sixteen years at the head of the Moslem armies of Africa and Spain. Soon after Músa's arrival Al-walíd died.

APPENDIX E.

The MS. which forms the subject of this Appendix is likewise in my possession. It is a folio volume of about three hundred and fifty pages, written in a very loose African hand, upon coarse yellowish paper of Egyptian manufacture. The MS. bears no date, nor is the name of the copyist any where mentioned; but I learn from a note[1] at the end of the volume that the MS. from which mine professes to be a copy was executed in the year nine hundred and sixty of the Hijra (A. D. 1554); so that if this be taken into consideration, as well as the hand-writing and general appearance of

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[17] The MS. says his brother, and makes him the son of Nosseyr, أخاه عبد العزيز بن نصير but I have not hesitated in correcting it as above.

[1] وكان الفراغ من النسخة المنتسخ منها عام ستين و تسعماية

the MS., I cannot be very far from the mark when I suppose it to have been written in the ensuing century. (See Preface.)

The work is entitled احاديث الامامة و السياسة 'traditions of commandment and government,' or rather, 'traditional stories relating to supreme commanders and wise rulers,' and is attributed to Abú Mohammed 'Abdillah Ibn Moslem Ibn Koteybah Ad-dinawarí, a celebrated writer of the third century of the Hijra. Its contents are a history of the Eastern Khalifs, from Abú Bekr down to the time of Hárún Ar-rashíd (A. H. 8 to 192). The work is divided into two books of nearly the same size, the first ending with the death of the Khalif Mu'awiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán; the second with that of Hárún Ar-rashíd. In the first book is introduced a detailed history of Músa, and of his conquests in Africa and Spain, together with a short account of the principal events which occurred in those countries until their separation from the Eastern empire.

Ibn Koteybah, the supposed author of this book, is well known to have written two works on Eastern history, one entitled *'Oyúnu-t-tawáríkh* (fountains of history); the other, *Kitábu-l-ma'árif fí akhbári-l-'arabi wa ansábihum* (the book of information respecting the history and genealogy of the Arabs). Yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, and that his name is, as usual, written in capital letters at the beginning of the first page, I have strong reasons to suspect that the present work has been falsely attributed to him. Oriental scholars know too well what little faith can be placed in the titles and names of the authors of Oriental books, as stated by booksellers, when there is nothing else to corroborate the statement. Such is the case with the present work. Hájí Khalfah, who has preserved us the titles of many of Ibn Koteybah's works, makes not the slightest mention of this. On the other hand, Ibn Khallekán, As-sadfí, Abú-l-mahásen, all of whom wrote in great detail the life of that author, do not mention the present among his literary productions. The same might be said of Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 330-356, *et seq.*), Ibn Shihnah, and other historians, who have treated at length on his life and writings; and it is hardly credible that an historical work—the production of a writer who is justly considered as one of the most eminent ornaments of Arabian literature—should have escaped either the search of the diligent bibliographer, or the attention of his many biographers and panegyrists.

But there are other circumstances connected with the work which convince me that it was not written by Ibn Koteybah. 1st. As will be seen in the following extracts, the author, whoever he may be, repeatedly gives his information as derived from persons who were either the friends or the relations of people who assisted in the conquest of Spain; and this could not well be the case with Ibn Koteybah, whose birth took place one hundred and twenty-one years after that memorable event. 2nd. The style in which the work is written is very different from that of the *Adabu-l-kátib* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7464), the *Muntekhab fí-l-loghah* (Arab. MS., *ib.*, No. 7525), and other productions of the same author which have passed through my hands. 3rd. Nowhere in the work do the names occur of Abú Hátim As-sejestání, Suleymán Ibn Abí Bekr Al-ayádí, and other eminent theologians, who, according to Ibn Khallekán, (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 327,) were the preceptors of Ibn Koteybah, and the authors from whom he borrowed his traditions. 4th. Ibn Koteybah was a native of Baghdád, where he resided most of his life, while the author of the present work appears, from different passages,—which I omit for the sake of brevity,—to have inhabited Damascus.

But if it is easy to prove that the present work is not the production of Ibn Koteybah, it is by no means so to say who was the author of it. I have carefully examined all those passages which might lead to a discovery of the author's name, but in vain. That he was a native of the East,—perhaps of Damascus,—where he says he resided,—that he wrote shortly after the death of Hárún Ar-rashíd, which took place in 193 of the Hijra,—are the two only facts which I have been able to establish. Be this as it may, certain it is that the present work is not only valuable for its great antiquity, but

also for the numerous details it gives upon events which have been treated with great brevity by the historians of most repute among the Arabs. Seen under this light, the author's account of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, of his conquests in Africa and Spain, of his arrival at Damascus, &c., is really invaluable, as by means of it, and of other passages which I shall occasionally introduce in my notes, I shall be enabled to rectify many errors that have crept into the chronology of the Spanish Arabs.

I must end this prefatory notice by stating that the following translation has been executed as literally as the simple and antiquated style in which the work is written enabled me to do; as, by doing otherwise, I might have altered the sense, and impaired the highly interesting historical evidence contained in the work.

Appointment of Músa Ibn Nosseyr.

The author says,—I was told by Yezíd Ibn Sa'íd, a *maulí* of Moslem, that the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán wishing to appoint his brother, Besher Ibn Merwán, to the government of 'Irák, wrote to 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán,[2] then governor of Egypt, and to whose care Besher had been intrusted owing to his extreme youth, as follows: "I have "appointed thy brother Besher to the government of Basrah; let Músa Ibn Nosseyr go "along with him and be his Wizír and his counsellor. I have sent thee the military rolls of "'Irák, give them to Músa, and tell him that all responsibility shall henceforth rest on him." Accordingly Besher left Egypt for 'Irák, where he arrived soon after, accompanied by Músa Ibn Nosseyr. No sooner had he taken possession of his government than he delivered his seal of office into the hands of Músa, and intrusted him with the entire management of affairs. In this manner Músa remained with Besher as long as that youth held the government of Basrah.

One day a man entered the room where Besher was, and said to him, "If thou wish, "O Governor! I can procure thee a draught that will prevent thy hair from ever turning grey, "but thou must first of all agree to a condition." "And what is it?" said Besher. "Thou "must pass forty days," said the man, "without either riding a horse, touching a woman, "entering a bath, or getting into a passion." Besher agreed to try the experiment, and, having promised strictly to comply with the proposed injunctions, the man came to him a second time, and presented him with the potion, which Besher drank off at one draught. He then shut himself up in his room, avoiding all society, and shunning the company of his women and slaves, and went on so until there happened to come a messenger from the Khalif, who brought him the news of his appointment to the government of Kúfah, which he was to hold independently of that of Basrah, when Besher's satisfaction was so complete, and his joy so extreme, that he immediately ordered horses to ride, and, regardless of the prohibition, prepared to go out of Basrah, and repair immediately to Kúfah. The man of the draught then came up to him, and entreated him, for God's sake, not to mount a horse, not to agitate himself, and not to move from where he was. But Besher, disregarding alike his entreaties and his advice, and forgetting the instructions given him by the man, persisted in

[2] 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of the Khalif Merwán, and brother of 'Abdu-l-malek, his successor in the empire, had been appointed governor of Egypt and the African conquests in his father's lifetime.

his resolution, and issued the necessary orders for his journey. When the man saw his determination, he said to him, "O Besher! take God for witness that thou bearest me "innocent of the results," and Besher promised to do so; and then he mounted his horse and took with his cavalcade the road to Kúfah. Scarcely had they marched a few miles, when Besher happening to put his hands on his beard, lo! it all peeled off, and the hairs remained stuck to his fingers, seeing which, he returned in haste to Basrah, and died soon afterwards.

'Abdu-l-malek having heard of his brother's death, sent Al-hejáj[3] Ibn Yúsuf to Basrah. On his arrival in that city, Músa went to meet Al-hejáj, and said to him, "Here I am, I shall "not run away, neither will they." It must be understood that 'Abdu-l-malek had sent Al-hejáj to Basrah for the purpose of punishing Músa, with whom he was displeased, for certain offences received at his hands; but Músa, at the same time, had received a letter from Kháled Ibn Abbán,[4] who was then at Damascus, saying, "Thy deposition is signed, and "Al-hejáj has been dispatched with orders to seize on thy person, and inflict upon thee the "most severe punishment; so away! away! off with thee, thy safety depends only upon the "fleetness of thy horse; if thou succeed in reaching 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán and placing "thyself under his protection, all will go well with thee, thou wilt escape from that accursed "and treacherous man, and be free from his persecutions." Músa lost no time in deliberation, he mounted his steed and fled to Damascus, where 'Abdu-l-'azíz was then residing, having just arrived from Egypt with the tribute of that country. In the meanwhile Al-hejáj wrote from 'Irák, "O Commander of the Faithful! I cannot collect the sums which Músa "engaged himself to pay every year as the taxation of this province; thy commands are "thereby disobeyed. Músa is not to be found in 'Irák. If he is there, send him to me, that "I may deal with him as he deserves, if God be pleased."

Músa's interview with 'Abdu-l-malek.

The author says,—And they relate that 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Sálim told them, on the authority of his father, who was Músa's friend, and was present at his interview with 'Abdu-l-malek, that the whole affair passed as follows. These are the words of Sálim. "Músa "enjoyed great favour with 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, who had already given him so many "proofs of it that it would be too long to enumerate them. Immediately on his arrival at "Damascus, he went to see his patron, 'Abdu-l-'azíz, and acquainted him with the whole of "his tale; and Músa himself told me," continues Sálim, "that it was a most providential "favour of heaven that he should then meet 'Abdu-l-'azíz at Damascus, for he received him "with the greatest kindness, and offered to take him immediately to his brother, the Khalif "'Abdu-l-malek, that he might hear what he had to say in his defence. Músa and his patron "then went together to the royal palace, and were immediately introduced to the presence of

[3] Al-hejáj was appointed governor of 'Irák in the year seventy-five (A. D. 694). See Al-makin, *apud* Erpen. p. 63; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 427; and D'Herb. *Bib. Or.* voc. *Al-hadjaj.*

[4] The name of this individual might also be read Ibn Abbár, the last letter being formed in a manner that admits of both readings.

“ ’Abdu-l-malek, who no sooner cast his eyes on his visitors, than he exclaimed, ‘ Is that “ Músa?’ ‘ The same,’ replied he. ‘ And how darest thou show thy beard here?’[5] said “ ’Abdu-l-malek. ‘ And why should I hide it?’ answered Músa, ‘ what have I done to “ displease the Commander of the Faithful?’ ‘ Thou hast disobeyed my orders, and “ squandered my treasures.’ ‘ I did no such thing,’ replied Músa firmly, ‘ my conduct has “ been always that of a faithful subject, my intentions have been pure, and my actions true.’ “ ‘ I swear to God,’ said the Khalif, ‘ that thou shalt pay the defalcation in my revenue fifty “ times over.’ Músa told me, ‘ When I heard this, I was going to make an angry reply, but “ ’Abdu-l-’azíz made me a sign to conform myself to the sentence, however unjust, and I said, “ Very well, O Commander of the Faithful! thy will must be done; and I left the room. “ ’Abdu-l-’azíz then came to my assistance with the sum required, and before three months “ were elapsed I paid down the fifty thousand gold dinárs in which I had been fined.’ ”

Músa’s appointment to the government of Africa.

The author continues.—They relate that when ’Abdu-l-’azíz Ibn Merwán returned to his government of Egypt, he took along with him Músa, who continued to grow in his good graces, and became one of his most chosen favourites. Músa remained with him until Hossán Ibn An-no’mán, who was governor of Eastern Africa, happened to pass through Egypt on his way to Damascus to present himself to the Khalif, and tell him of his battles against the Berbers, the victories he had gained over them, and the death of their queen *Káhinah*[6] (the sorceress), killed in battle. Hossán arrived safely at court, and there saw the Khalif, who complimented him on his good success, rewarded him munificently, loaded him with honours and distinctions, granting him the government of Barca to add to his own, and sent him back to Eastern Africa. On his return thither, Hossán passed through Misr, where he made some stay, and, leaving orders with the inhabitants to lodge and provide for a portion of his army, which came at some distance behind him, left that city. Soon after his men arrived, and when they had been paid and furnished with all necessaries they all marched to *Dhátu-l-jamájim*,[7] where they halted. By that time ’Abdu-l-’azíz, the governor of Egypt, had been informed how Hossán Ibn An-no’mán had asked his brother, the Khalif, for the government of Barca, and how the Khalif had granted it to him. He immediately dispatched a messenger to Hossán, and, arrived into his presence, spoke to him thus: “ Is it “ true that ’Abdu-l-malek has appointed thee governor of Barca?” “ It is,” replied

5 و ما تزال تعرض لحيتك

6 كاهنة *Káhinah* is the epithet, not the name, of a certain queen of the Berbers, who fought resolutely against the Arabs at the time of their invasion of Africa. Her name, according to Ibnu Khaldún, (*loco laudato*, fo. 67,) was Dhabbá. She is also mentioned in Al-bekrí, fo. 38; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 306; Cardonne, *Hist. de l’Afrique*, vol. i. p. 50; and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 16, who mistook her for her son.

7 ذات الجماجم ‘The plain or the spot of the skulls’ is the name of a place between Tripoli and Alexandria. It is mentioned in Al-bekrí (Ar. MS. in my possession).

Hossán. "Well, then," said 'Abdu-l-'azíz, who had previously given the government of that province to one of his *maulis*, "thou shalt not take possession of thy office." "This is no "business of mine," said Hossán, "the Khalif's mandate must needs be obeyed." Upon which 'Abdu-l-'azíz flew into a passion, and said, "Bring me thy diploma, that I may examine "it, and see if what thou sayest be true." Hossán then left the room, and returning soon after with his diploma, put it into the hands of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, who, having perused it attentively, found it correct. 'Abdu-l-'azíz then turned towards Hossán, and said, "Wilt thou "relinquish thy right, and resign thy office?" "Certainly not," replied Hossán, "violence "only will deprive me of an office to which I was appointed by the Commander of the "Faithful." "Well, then, since thou persistest in thy resolution, I shall deprive thee of both "governments, and I shall name in thy stead a man who is much thy superior in talents "and experience, and God will permit the Commander of the Faithful to reap soon the "advantage of my nomination." Saying which, he tore to pieces the diploma, and, sending for Músa, invested him with the government of Eastern Africa. This happened on a Thursday of the month of Safar of the year 79.[8]

Músa immediately took his departure, having before caused the treasures of the army to be transported to Dhátu-l-jamájim, where the troops were already in waiting for them. When he arrived at the camp, and presented himself before the first division of the army, a sparrow was observed to come down upon him, and get into his breast. Músa immediately caught him, and, asking for a knife, cut the bird's throat, severing the jugular vein; he then, with the victim's blood, besmeared his breast over his clothes; this done, he plucked his feathers, and scattered them in the air, throwing them over his head. The operation being at an end, he was heard to exclaim, all filled with enthusiasm, "Victory! Victory! my friends. By the "master of the Ka'bah! victory is ours, if such be the will of the Almighty."

Músa's address to his soldiers.

The author says,—They relate that when Músa reached Dhátu-l-jamájim, the place of meeting for the troops, the men gathered round him, when, after praising and returning due thanks to God, he addressed them in the following words: "O men! the Commander of "the Faithful (may God prosper him!) thought of appointing Hossán Ibn No'mán to the "command of this frontier, and making him your general. Now man among men is generally "qualified by his deeds, and judged by what he does before men, not by what he does behind "them. When this Hossán came to see the Amír he not only showed himself ungrateful "for the favours he had received, and forgetful of past benefits, but he even went so far as to "assert that the command was his own, and that he deserved it, thus effacing by his disrespectful "behaviour whatever merits he might have formerly possessed. Seeing this, the Amír, who, "as you well know, is brother and flesh of the Khalif, and whose experience and good "judgment is sufficiently tested, has thought fit to depose the said Hossán, and name me in

[8] The month of Safar of the year seventy-nine began to be counted on the 9th of April, A.D. 698.

"his stead to command you in this expedition, and you may remain sure that when he made "the appointment he believed his choice to be good. I am a soldier, like any of you; "whenever you see me do a good deed, thank God for it, and let every one of you try to "imitate it; if, on the contrary, I commit a bad action, let any one of you reprove it and "show his dislike, that I may amend myself; since all men being sinners and subject to "error, I might also sin myself. I have orders from the Amír (may God grant him his "bounties!) to pay you three times over the arrears due to you. Take it, and may it turn to "your advantage. If any one of you has a wish to express or a complaint to make, let him "come forward and state it, and it shall be attended to. Praise be to God, who is the "consoler and helper of his creatures; there is no power but in God the only one!"

Músa's arrival in Ifrikiyyah.

The author says,—And they relate that Músa went on marching towards Eastern Africa[9] all the remainder of the month of Safar, all Rabi' the first, and all Rabi' the second. He set his foot in the city of Ifrikiyyah[10] on Monday, five days after the beginning (the 5th) of Jumádí the first of the year 79. The first act of his administration was to seize on Sefayn Ibn Málik Al-fehrí and Abú Sáleh, and after fining each of them ten thousand dinárs, to send them in irons to 'Abdu-l-malek. The same author says, Músa arrived in Ifrikiyyah and the surrounding country, fearing lest the Moslems encamped in the city should not be able to go out of their camp, as is customary among them, at their two great annual festivities, owing to the proximity of the enemy, who surrounded them on every side. Nor was their camp a very strong or commodious one; the houses of the common people and soldiers were made of reeds, and those of the officers of the same materials, with the difference only of being of a conic form, and having a sort of cupola on the top. As to the mosque, it resembled a stable, only that it had a roof thrown over some beams, and that Hossán Ibn An-no'mán, Músa's predecessor, had caused the *kiblah* and the adjoining parts to be built of mud; but the whole building was, nevertheless, in a ruinous state.

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[9] The MS. says towards *Maghreb* (Western Africa), but it is a mistake; Músa's government was that of *Ifrikiyyah*, or Africa proper. Western Africa had not yet been entirely subdued.

[10] I have said elsewhere (Note 62, book IV. chap. iii.) that the word *medínah* was formerly used to designate the capital of a district or province. Al-bekrí, Idrísí, and most of the African geographers and historians, speak of a city called *Medínah Ifrikiyyah* as being the capital of the province called Ifrikiyyah by the Arabs, and designated by the Latin historians under the various appellations of Carthaginensis, Byzacena, Marmarica, Cyrene, Zeugitana, and Africa Minor. Marmol (*Africa*, tom. ii. fo. 269,) thinks it to be the same as the *Adrumento Colonia* of Ptolemy. It was destroyed by the Arabs, and rebuilt by 'Abdullah Mahdi, the first Khalif of the Fátimites or 'Obeydites, who called it Mahdiyyah. See Abú-l-feda, *An. Mosl.* tom. ii. p. 328; Leo Africanus, *apud* Ramusium, p. 573; Marmol, *Africa*, tom. ii. fo. 269; and the Geography of Bakuwí, in the sixth vol. *des Not. et Ext.* p. 462.

Músa's address to the men on his arrival in Ifrikiyyah.

They relate that when Músa arrived in Ifrikiyyah, and saw the mountains in the neighbourhood, and the districts round them, he caused his men to be assembled in the mosque, and, mounting the pulpit, after praising God, and returning Him thanks, he addressed them thus: "O men! tell me what sort of a governor was there before me in this city. Was he a man "who loved war, or one of those who are fond of peace and tranquillity? Was he generous "and munificent, or mean and avaricious? Did he speak to you with affability, and salute "you with a pleasing countenance, or was he one of those morose men who look as if God "had tied a knot in their throats, and as if they could not utter one single word? I know "well what sort of commander you want; you want one of those warriors who confide "in their good fortune, who are firm and steady in their purposes, who always do more "than is expected from them, who consult men of learning and experience in all their un-"dertakings, who rely on their experience but are not blinded by their vanity, who are brave, "and perhaps rash and adventurous, but never cowards; one of those men who become "doubly cautious after victory, doubly brave after defeat, who always place their hopes of "success on no one but God, and who constantly point out to their followers, from among "the faithful, these encouraging words of their Lord, 'Success is reserved only for the "pious.' Take courage, O men! for if God be on our side he will place our enemies within "our reach, and lead us into their strong holds. You may safely rely upon me as your "commander, for I shall seize every opportunity of leading you on to victory; and, by "Allah! I will not cease making incursions into yonder high mountains, and attacking the "strong passes leading into them, until God has depressed their elevated summits, reduced "their strength, and granted the Moslems the victory. I shall lead you on until God "Almighty makes us the masters of all or part of the territories lying beyond them, and until "we have subdued the countries which his immutable decrees have already allotted us,—for "He is the best of decreers."

How the conquest of Zaghwán[11] *came to pass.*

The author says,—And they relate that Músa Ibn Nosseyr made war on certain people from among the Berbers called *'Arwah,*[12] who, with one of their great chiefs at their head, were continually making incursions into the countries already occupied by the Moslems. These people, who beheld with an evil eye the establishment of the Arabs so close to their territory, began to make repeated forays beyond their frontiers, and to scour night and day the land between Zaghwán and Cairwán. Against these Berbers, who were commanded by a chief of their nation named Warkattáf,[13] Músa dispatched one of his bravest officers with a body of five hundred horsemen. The Moslems met the enemy, and, with the help of the Almighty,

[11] زغوان [12] عروة [13] ورقطاف

put them to flight, killing their king Warkattáf, and making ten thousand of them prisoners; these being the first Berber captives that entered Cairwán during Músa's government.

After this, Músa sent in another direction a son of his, named 'Abdullah, who also returned victorious, bringing with him one hundred thousand captives; he then dispatched to another quarter Merwán, another of his sons, who was also successful, and came back with one hundred thousand captives. Músa himself took a different road, and returned with a similar number of prisoners, so that the fifth belonging to the Khalif amounted on this occasion to sixty thousand captives. God be praised for it! Since His is the empire, and He only is the mighty conqueror of nations!

How the news of these victories reached 'Abdu-l-'azíz.

The author says,—They relate that Músa Ibn Nosseyr wrote to 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, who was then at Misr, acquainting him with the victories which God had granted to his arms, and telling him how he had made so many prisoners that the fifth belonging to the Khalif amounted to thirty thousand captives, (the writer having written that number by mistake for sixty thousand.) However, when 'Abdu-l-'azíz perused the letter, he was so astonished that he sent for his secretary, and said to him, "By thy soul! read this letter unto me," and the secretary did as he was commanded, and said, "O Amír! this is impossible, it must be a "mistake of the writer, return the letter that it may be corrected." And 'Abdu-l-'azíz sent back the letter to Músa, and wrote with it, "Thy letter has reached us, and we have perused "its contents, but what thou sayest about the fifth of the spoil gained in the victory that God "has granted thee being thirty thousand captives seems to us an exaggeration. We cannot "help thinking that it must be a mistake of thy secretary; so let us hear the real amount, "and let the error be corrected." On the receipt of the Amír's letter, Músa replied immediately,—"The words of the Amír (may God prosper him!) have come to our hands, as well "as his suspicion that the number of captives announced may be erroneous. The Amír is "right, the secretary made a blunder, for, instead of writing sixty thousand, which is the real "number, without any mistake, he put down thirty thousand." And when Músa's answer reached 'Abdu-l-'azíz, and he had perused its contents, his heart was filled with joy and satisfaction, and he was greatly astonished by it.

How the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek was displeased with Músa's appointment.

He says,—And they relate that when the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek heard how 'Abdu-l-'azíz had deposed Hossán and appointed Músa in his stead, he not only did not approve of his brother's nomination, but was exceedingly angry on account of it, especially as the news of Musa's victory had not yet reached him. He therefore thought to himself of removing Músa, and to that effect sent orders to 'Abdu-l-'azíz, purporting, "The Commander of the "Faithful has heard of thy deposing Hossán and naming Músa in his stead, and as he has

" not been made acquainted with the motives that moved thee to act so,[14] he is expecting to " hear from thee that on the receipt of the present order thou hast done the same with Músa, " for such is the wish of the Commander of the Faithful. Thy sovereign has transmitted to " thee his power, and intrusted thee with his authority, for no other purpose than to have his " commands punctually executed there. Let Hossán then be restored to his office, for the " Commander of the Faithful is very well disposed towards him, and wishes him to be " promoted, as he thinks him a very brave, experienced, and fortunate officer."

The answer of 'Abdu-l-'azíz to his brother 'Abdu-l-malek.

They say,—And when the letter reached 'Abdu-l-'azíz, he wrote the following answer: " I have received the letter sent me by the Commander of the Faithful treating about my " removing Hossán from his government and my nominating Músa in his stead, and also " conveying orders for the removal of Músa and the reinstalment of Hossán, saying, 'that if " my sovereign has transmitted me his power and intrusted me with his authority, it is in " order that his commands be faithfully executed;' but, by Allah! I feel certain that the " Commander of the Faithful, dazzled by the victories which God granted to Hossán, has " formed too high an opinion of him; there are men better qualified than he is for this enter- " prise; one of whom is Músa, whose virtues, commendable actions, and good fortune in " military affairs, are sufficiently known to me. As to that saying of the Commander of the " Faithful, 'I am waiting to hear of thy having complied with our orders,' by my life! I also " am waiting and watching, and I entreat thee to have patience and wait a little longer, when " something will occur that will bring on me the thanks of the Commander of the Faithful, " and his praises for my good choice and honest intentions.—Fare thee well."

'Abdu-l-'azíz acquaints his brother 'Abdu-l-malek with Músa's victories.

The author of the tradition says,—And they relate that 'Abdu-l-'azíz wrote to his brother, 'Abdu-l-malek, the following letter: " O Commander of the Faithful! thy conduct and mine " in this affair of Hossán and Músa very much resembles that of the two men who laid down " a wager as to who had the fleetest horse; they therefore let their horses go to a given " distance, which both traversed, arriving at the end of it together, when, upon measurement, " it was found that one of them had traversed a longer distance.[15] Yes, if God be pleased,

[14] The original says و علم الامر الذي عزلته فيه 'and he knows the reason why thou hast deposed him;' but I think that the negative particle لا has been omitted.

[15] I am not sure that I have seized the right meaning of the allusion, which reads thus in the text: كالمترهنين ارسلا فرسيهما من غايتهما فاتيا منهما معًا و مدت الغاية لاحدهما و لك عنده مزيد I presume, however, that what the author means is this, " that both Hossán and Músa would fulfil well the duties of their charge, but that Músa " would surpass Hossán in the same manner as the horse, which, notwithstanding he reached the mark at the same time as " his competitor in the race, had traversed a longer distance."

" the excess this time shall be in thy favour. I have just received from Músa the letter " which I enclose, that thou mayest peruse it, and praise God for it."

'Abdu-l-malek's answer.

The author of the tradition says,—The following was the answer sent by 'Abdu-l-malek to his brother's letter: " The Commander of the Faithful has received thy letter, and understood " its meaning. He has likewise penetrated the sense of the comparison thou madest of him " in the affair between Hossán and Músa, and thy saying that one of the two horses certainly " surpassed the other, and that the Khalif will reap the benefit of it. The Commander of the " Faithful says, that thou hast at last gained thy purpose in making Músa governor, but of " this he is certain, that whoever acknowledges the true God is sure of prosperity and " victory at his hands, and all those who have experienced privations are glad.—Fare " thee well." After this, 'Abdu-l-'azíz sent a messenger with the Khalif's letter to Músa, that he might read and see what 'Abdu-l-malek said about him. According to Músa's own account, a messenger brought him the above letter, besides another from 'Abdu-l-'azíz himself, and when the messenger reached Músa he presented him the passage to read.

Músa's conquests in the territories of Hawárah, Zenátah, and Kotámah.[16]

He says,—And they relate that Músa sent 'Ayyásh Ibn Akhyal[17] with one thousand horsemen against the tribes of Hawárah and Zenátah. 'Ayyásh made incursions into their territory, and killed numbers of them; he took, besides, five thousand captives, among whom was the chief of the Hawárah tribe, named Kámún.[18] This Berber, together with other illustrious captives of the same tribe, Músa sent to 'Abdu-l-'azíz. Kámún, moreover, was executed near a tank close to the village of 'Okbah, which has ever since been known by the name of the sufferer, Berkah Kámún (the tank of Kámún). After this, 'Ayyásh made a second irruption into their territory, but this time they all came before him and asked for peace, and 'Ayyásh sent their principal men to Músa, who granted them terms. It happened about this time that the tribe of Kotámah sent messengers to Músa asking him for peace; this the Moslem general readily granted, taking hostages from among their best families, and appointing one of them to command the whole tribe. However, some time afterwards, the people of Kotámah killed the chief appointed by Músa, and one of the tribe wrote to Músa, " We are certainly thy slaves; one of us having killed our king, we are now " without a ruler; be pleased to appoint another: I can answer thy purpose much better than " the last, and supply his place." When Músa received this message, he doubted not but that

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[16] هوارة .·. زناتة .·. كتامة   [17] عَيَّاش بن أخيل

[18] This كامون Kámún must have been put to death before he reached his destination, perhaps too by Músa's commands; since the place here mentioned and called قرية عقبة is a town between Cairwán and Alexandria, which received its name from the defeat and death of 'Okbah taking place under its walls. See Al-bekrí, *Memálek wa-l-mesálek*, fo. 58.

the Kotámah were inclined to rebellion: he was further confirmed in his suspicions by the fact that only a few days before this event the hostages of the tribe of Zenátah had asked his leave to absent themselves for one day from the camp to attend a hunting expedition, and the permission had been granted them; but when the news reached Músa of the assassination of their chief, he doubted not but that his hostages had fled on account of it, as a preconcerted plan before their rebellion. He accordingly sent a body of cavalry in pursuit of them, and the fugitives having been all caught and brought back to his presence, he ordered that they should be immediately crucified. But they said to him, "Do not be too "hasty, O Amír! in having this thy sentence carried into execution. Delay it, for fear thou "shouldst find out afterwards that our fathers and relations never dreamt of rebelling. We "are in thy hands, and in thy power, and no one can better than thyself ascertain if the crime "be a real or supposed one. Shouldst thou put us to death, and we be innocent, thou couldst "not restore us to life." These reasons prevailed; Músa suspended the sentence, and having put them in irons, made them march before him towards the territory of Kotámah, where no sooner were they arrived than the elders of the tribe, who heard of his approach, came out to him and made their excuses. Músa accepted them, and being convinced of their innocence, spared the lives of the hostages, and ordered them to be released.

Subjugation of the tribe of Senhájah.

The author says,—And they relate that the scouts came one day to Músa Ibn Nosseyr and told him how the tribe of Senhájah was unaware of them, and unprovided, and how their camels had just brought forth and could not stir. Músa, accordingly, made an invasion into their territory at the head of four thousand men of the regular army, and two thousand volunteers and Berbers, leaving behind 'Ayyásh, with two thousand horsemen, to guard the baggage and families of the Moslems at Tobnah.[19] He himself went on with his army, giving the command of the van to Músa Ibn 'Iyádh[20] Ibn 'Okbah; the right wing to Al-mugheyrah Ibn Abí Burdah, and the left to Zor'ah Ibn Abí Mudrik; and marched until he fell unawares upon the Senhájah, and such other among the Berber tribes as were with them at the time. Músa fought with them the battles of extermination; he killed myriads of them, and made a surprising number of prisoners, since on this occasion only they amounted to one hundred thousand men, to say nothing of the camels, cows, sheep, horses, mules, grain, and articles of dress, for their numbers exceeded all computation. After this, Músa and his men returned with their prey to Cairwán;[21] all these forays taking place within the year eighty (A.D. 699-700). And when the soldiers of distant countries inhabited by the Moslems heard of the success which God had granted to Músa's arms, and the immense spoil collected by the

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19 The text says طنبة *Tanbah*, but Tobnah is no doubt intended. It is the Tubnah of Shaw (Trav. p. 141). See also *Edrisii Africa*, apud Hartmann, p. 132.

20 عياض may be pronounced *'Ayádh*, *'Ayyádh*, or *'Iyádh*, according as it is pointed. I have followed the latter reading, which I believe to be the most common.

21 The name of this city is written thus قروان not قيروان as it is generally found in the Arabian geographers.

men under his orders, they all wished to go to Western Africa, Músa's army being soon reinforced by numbers which increased it to double its original force. After this, Al-mugheyrah had several very sharp encounters with the Senhájah, but God was pleased to permit that he should rout them every where,[22] and put them to flight, the number of captives taken in this expedition amounting to sixty thousand. Al-mugheyrah then returned.

The taking of Sejúmá,[23] and how it happened.

He says,—And they relate that in the year 83, Najdah Ibn Músa came and joined Músa Ibn Nosseyr with the van of the Egyptian army, upon which that general commanded his men to get themselves ready to make war against the infidel tribes. He then sent Yezíd against Sejúmá and the surrounding country, and, leaving his son 'Abdullah Ibn Músa to command in his stead at Cairwán, he himself went out at the head of ten thousand Moslems. 'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah led the van, Zor'ah Ibn Abí Mudrik Ar-ro'ayní had the command of the right wing, Al-mugheyrah Ibn Abí Burdah Al-korashí that of the left, the rear remaining under charge of Najdah Ibn Muksim Ibn Najdah.[24] Músa, moreover, having intrusted to his son Merwán Ibn Músa the keeping of the banners, marched until he reached a spot known by the name of *Shajaru-l-molúk* (the tree of the kings), whence, leaving behind all the heavy baggage under the orders of 'Omar Ibn Oways[25] with a body of one thousand horsemen, he proceeded with the rest until he reached a river called Mulwiyah,[26] which he found much swollen by the rains. Not choosing to remain long on its banks, for fear the provisions of his army should be exhausted, and that if the enemy knew where he was encamped they would attack him, he looked for and found a ford,—not the ford of 'Okbah Ibn Náfi', for this he would not use,—and passed the river by it. When Músa saw himself safe on the other side, he marched against the enemy, whom he found on the alert and prepared for war. He then attacked them, and fought with them great battles near a mountain chain, to which there was no approach but through certain passes or gorges. There the armies were engaged all Thursday until night, and all Saturday until the hour of evening prayers. One of the Berber chiefs then came out before the ranks of the Moslems, and stood for some time challenging any of them to come out and fight him. None, however, came out, which being observed by Músa, he turned towards his son Merwán, and said to him, "O my son! go out

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22 The author uses here an expression which is almost untranslatable, و منح اكتافهم 'he granted him their shoulders,' that is, 'he granted to him to see their shoulders in the fight.'

23 سجوما which I find in Ibnu Khaldún and Al-bekrí written سقيوما and سغيوما appears to be the Segeme of Marmol, *Descrip. de Afr.* vol. ii. fo. 72.

24 نجدة ابن مقسم بن نجدة This appears to be the same individual named higher up, Najdah Ibn Músa.

25 عمر ابن اويس

26 ملوية is the name of an African river between Telemsán and Rabát; it was known to the Roman and Greek geographers. Strabo calls it Μυλαχάθ; Pliny and Mela, *Mulucha.*

" against him." Merwán obeyed his father's commands, he passed the banner which he bore to his brother 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Músa, and advanced in front of the ranks. Merwán was then very young, and had scarcely attained the age of manhood, so that when the Berber saw him he laughed with scorn, and said, " Return to the camp, for I am unwilling to deprive thy old " father of so comely a youth as thou art." Merwán, however, without saying a word, attacked the infidel, who retreated and swiftly mounted his horse. Once on the saddle, the Berber rushed against his antagonist, and dealt him a furious blow with his javelin; this Merwán parried by seizing the Berber's weapon with his hand; he then rushed on his adversary, and ran him through with his javelin. So fierce was the blow that the weapon went first through the Berber's side and then sunk deep into the flanks of his steed, both the rider and his charger falling dead to the ground. The two armies then came to an engagement, and a most desperate battle was fought, which caused all previous battles to be forgotten: at last, God was pleased to put the infidels to flight, and grant a complete victory to the Moslems; the King of the Berbers, whose name was Kuseylah,[27] remaining dead on the field of battle. Innumerable maidens, inestimable by their beauty and accomplishments, and the daughters of the kings and chiefs, were on this occasion the prize of the victors. When the spoils gained in this battle were to be divided, Músa caused the daughters of the kings to stand before him, and having sent for his son Merwán, he said to him, " Come, O my son! come and choose " among these maidens." And Merwán chose among them one that was the daughter of their late king, Kuseylah, and who became afterwards the mother of two sons by Merwán,—'Abdu-l-malek[28] and Músa.

About this time Zor'ah Ibn Abí Mudrik had an engagement with the Berbers, in which he had the worst, for he was defeated, and severely wounded besides in the thigh. When Músa was informed of it he caused him to be borne on the shoulders of his own men, and carried to Cairwán, fifty men relieving one another in turn every day. After this, Músa also returned to Cairwán, but not without having previously subdued the whole of that country. He then began to write to 'Abdu-l-'azíz, announcing to him conquest after conquest,[29] like the

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27 This chief, whom Ibnu Khaldún (*loco laudato*, fo. 49, *verso*,) calls كسيلة بن لرم Kuseylah Ibn Leram, and Al-bekri (fo. 59) كَسيلة بن لَهْذَم Kasílah Ibn Lahdham, is the Kuscileh of Cardonne, *Hist. de l' Afr.* vol. i. p. 41.

28 The text reads فهي ام عبد الملك بن مروان بن معوية و ام موسي ابن مروان 'and she was the mother of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán Ibn Mu'awiyah,' which I need not observe must be an error of the copyist.

29 The text says و جعل يكتب الي عبد العريز بفتح بعد فتح مرّاكش Perhaps كالفتح is wanting, for otherwise the sense is incomplete. The city of Morocco was not built until the year four hundred and fifty-four (A. D. 1062-3), when Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín or Táshefín, the first Sultán of the Almoravides, laid the foundation of it with his own hands, by erecting a mosque, and a castle to keep his treasures. His son, 'Alí Ibn Yúsuf, continued the building, and surrounded it with a stone wall. It was increased by his successors, but not completed until the reign of the Sultán Abú Yúsuf Ya'kúb, the grandson of 'Abdu-l-múmen, in the year five hundred and eighty-five (A. D. 1189-90), when it became the capital of Africa, and the residence of the Almohades. (See the *Kartás*, translated by Moura, pp. 277-300, *et passim;* Marmol, *Descrip. de Africa*, vol. ii. fo. 17, *et seq.;* Leo Africanus, *apud* Ramusium, p. 149; Gråberg, *Specchio di Marocco*, pp. 58, 228; Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. pp. 384, 409, *et passim;* Ibnu Khaldún; and the African historians.) However, the author of a history of Morocco, entitled *Al-holalu-l-muwashshiyyah*, (see a

conquest of Morrékosh (Morocco); his soldiers possessed themselves of innumerable captives, and all became attached to him, and fond of the country where they were. It is further said that whenever 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán received, through 'Abdu-l-'azíz, news of Músa's conquests, he used to say, "Victory has rendered thee vain, O Abú-l-asbagh!"[30]—after this he added, "but the time is not distant when they will oppose those very things which are "best for them."

He says,—And Músa sent a messenger to 'Iyádh, 'Othmán, and Abú 'Obeydah, all three sons of 'Okbah, and said to them, "Go and revenge yourselves by putting to the sword the "murderers of your father 'Okbah."[31] Accordingly, 'Iyádh departed, and slew six hundred of their best and principal men. After which, Músa sent him a message telling him to stop; 'Iyádh did as he was desired, though not without exclaiming, when he received the order, "By Allah! Hadst thou left me alone, I would not have stopped as long as there was one of "them remaining."

Arrival of the news of this victory to 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán.

The author says,—And they relate that when Músa heard of the victory gained by 'Iyádh, he immediately sent a messenger to acquaint 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán with it. The messenger, whose name was 'Alí Ibn Rabáh,[32] marched until he arrived in Egypt, and presented himself to 'Abdu-l-'azíz, who treated him kindly, and rewarded him munificently. He then sent him with the news to 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, who, on his arrival, also rewarded him, and added to his other gifts twenty thousand pieces.[33] On the return of 'Alí Ibn Rabáh

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preceding note, p. 349, and Preface,) informs us that the spot where that splendid city was built was from time immemorial known as the فحصْ مُرَّاكُشْ '*plain of Morrékosh,*' and was in the hands of the Berber tribe of Masmúdah, from whom the ground was purchased by Yúsuf. It is therefore probable that the author alludes here to some town called *Morrékosh* which stood there in Músa's time.

I ought to observe, that not having hitherto met with this word pointed as above, I have in two or three instances in this translation written the name of that town in the usual way (*Marrekash*), which I now find to be a mistake. Not only is that word pointed in my MS., but by referring to Ibnu Khaldún, the author of the *Karttás*, and the history of Africa attributed to Ibn Battúttah, I find it constantly written and pointed in the same manner; nay, Ibnu Khaldún (*loco laudato*, fo. 44, *verso*,) says that *Morrékosh* is a compound of two Berber words, meaning 'pass by quickly,' owing to the spot being infested by robbers and wild beasts. See also Ibn Khallekán, at the life of Yúsuf Ibn Táshfín (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 854).

30 Abú-l-asbagh was the surname of 'Abdu-l-'azíz. What follows is obscure: لتهنك الغلبة اباالاصبغ ثم يقول و عسي ان تكرهوا شيأً و هو خير لكم I have taken upon myself to substitute لهم for لكم but even then the sentence is by no means clear.

31 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' was put to death by the Berbers in A.H. 62.

32 The same individual who afterwards erected the castle called after him *Kal'ah Rabáh*, now Calatrava, in the province of la Mancha.

33 The text merely says و زاده في عطايه عشرين الف 'he added to his other gifts twenty thousand,' without saying whether that number applies to gold pieces (*dinárs*) or to silver ones (*dirhems*); the latter is most probable. The omission, however, must not be attributed to the copyist, since it occurs several times in the course of this narrative, and the expression is very much used by ancient writers, such as the author of the present work.

to Egypt, 'Abdu-l-'azíz asked him, "How much did the Commander of the Faithful give "thee?" "Twenty thousand pieces," replied 'Alí. 'Abdu-l-'azíz then said, "Were it not "that I dislike to imitate his example, I would give thee a similar sum; however, I shall add "to it ten thousand pieces,"—and he did so. As to 'Abdu-l-malek, he wrote to apprise Músa how he had granted him a pension[34] of two hundred pieces from his treasury, and another of one hundred for each of his sons; how he had likewise decreed that five hundred men chosen from among his freedmen and soldiers who had behaved best, or received wounds on the field of battle, should be remunerated with thirty pieces each.[35] He at the same time wrote to him, saying, "As to thyself, the Commander of the Faithful grants thee the one hundred "thousand pieces paid by thee some time ago into his treasury as the amount of thy fine.[36] "Thou mayest deduct it from the Khalif's share in the spoil, and take it for thyself." When the letter of 'Abdu-l-malek reached Músa, he said, in the presence of his men, "I take you "all to witness that this sum shall be spent entirely in the promotion of religion and the "good of the Moslems;" and so he did, for whenever after a victory there was a number of slaves put up for sale, he used to buy all those whom he thought would willingly embrace Islám, who were of noble origin, and who looked, besides, as if they were active young men. To these he first proposed the embracing of Islám, and if, after cleansing their understanding and making them fit to receive its sublime truths, they were converted to the best of religions, and their conversion was a sincere one, he then would, by way of putting their abilities to trial, employ them. If they evinced good disposition and talents he would instantly grant them liberty, appoint them to high commands in his army, and promote them according to their merits; if, on the contrary, they showed no aptitude for their appointments, he would send them back to the common depôt of captives belonging to the army, to be again disposed of according to the general custom of drawing out the spoil by arrows.

And they say that Músa wrote to 'Abdu-l-'azíz, telling him of the wound of Abú Zar'ah Ibn Abí Mudrik, and how much he had suffered, and that, had it not been for his accident, he would have sent him as a messenger to the Khalif instead of Ibn Rabáh. In reply to this letter 'Abdu-l-'azíz sent him a provision of one hundred pieces for Abú Zar'ah, and other pensions in proportion for thirty of his best men. After this Músa returned with his army to Cairwán.

Incursions at sea, and how they came to pass.

The author says,—And they relate that Músa stayed at Cairwán the remainder of the month of Ramadhán, and all the month of Shawwál, after which he ordered the building of a dock-yard at Túnis, and declared his intention of sailing thither in person. Having accordingly put to sea, he entered the port of that city soon after. They say that when the people first

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34 انه فرض بجميع ولده The verb *faradha* has here the meaning of granting or assigning a yearly pension.

35 و فرض في مواليه و اهل البلآء و الجزاء خمس ماية رجل ثلاثين ثلاثين

36 See above, p. liv.

heard of Músa's determination they all wondered at it, and considered it a most rash undertaking, saying unto him, "Thou wilt not be able to accomplish thy purpose." And that then a man from among the Berbers, converted to Islám, whose conversion had been sincere, presented himself to him, and spoke thus: "O Amír! I am one hundred and twenty-one "years old, and I remember well hearing my father say that when the Lord of Kartájénah "(Carthage) thought of building his city, the people came up to him wondering, and repre- "sented to him the difficulties of the undertaking; but one of them rose, and said to him, 'O "King! if thou put thy hand to this work thy wishes shall be fulfilled, for the kings, thy "predecessors, left no undertaking unachieved, whatever its magnitude or difficulty might be.' "And I now say unto thee what was said to the King of Carthage, put thy hand to this "work, which is certainly not greater than those achieved by them, and God will help "thee." When Músa heard this he was highly delighted, and wondered much at the old man's words. He immediately issued orders for the building of the dock-yard, and having heard of its being finished, he put to sea, and, after sailing twelve miles, entered it. From that moment the port of Túnis became a place of safety for ships when winds blew at sea and the waves were high. He then ordered the building of one hundred vessels, and passed in these preparations the remainder of the year eighty-four (beginning Jan. 23, A.D. 703).

About this time 'Attá Ibn Ráfi' Al-hudhelí, with the Egyptian fleet, arrived in Eastern Africa. He came, sent by 'Abdu-l'azíz, with instructions to make a descent on the coast of Sardániyyah (Sardinia), and he entered the port of Súsah. No sooner was Músa informed of his arrival than he sent him provisions for his crew, and wrote to him, saying, "The season "for navigating the sea is gone by for this year. Remain where thou art, and do not expose "thyself and thy men to certain perdition. Think that the men under thy orders have "fathers and sons. Wait until the fine weather returns." But 'Attá raised his head with contempt at Músa's letter, and shut his ears to his advice; he fitted his vessels, and weighing anchor, imprudently put to sea. They first came to an island called Salsalah,[37] which they conquered, making considerable spoil, and taking a variety of valuable things, such as gold, silver, and precious stones; but, as 'Attá and his men were returning from this expedition, a terrific storm arose at sea, all their vessels were dashed against the shores of Eastern Africa, and 'Attá and nearly all his men were drowned. When the intelligence of this disaster reached Músa, he dispatched his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz with a body of cavalry towards the shore, to see what could be saved from the wreck of 'Attá's fleet. Arrived on the spot, 'Abdu-l-'azíz found a heavy box,[38] which, when opened, proved to contain the share of the spoils of Yezíd Ibn Masrúf. After this, the author of the tradition says,—I one day found an old man sitting on the sea shore with a reed in his hand; I went up to him, and tried to take it, but he disputed possession with me; at last, I wrested it from him, and struck his head with it, and when the reed broke, lo! pearls, precious stones, and dinárs fell out of it.

After this Músa ordered that all the vessels and crews saved from the storm should enter

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37 سلسلة This must be the island of Linosa or that of Lampedusa, between Malta and the eastern coast of Africa.

38 تابوت Tábút is a long and narrow box. The Spanish word *atahud*, meaning the bier where a corpse is deposited for interment, is derived from it.

the port of Túnis, and this was done as he commanded. When it was the year eighty-five (beginning Jan. 12, 704), he issued orders for all the men to prepare for sea, announcing that he himself would embark and accompany the expedition. This intelligence increased the ardour of the troops, and they all hastened to embark; the vessels were stored, and every thing got ready, and there was not a noble Arab, among those who were in Músa's army, who did not embark on this occasion, so that there only remained on shore a few men to repel a sudden attack of the enemy. However, Músa did not go on board as he had promised to do, but having given the command of these naval forces to his son 'Abdullah, he ordered him to weigh anchor immediately. Músa's intention, as it was afterwards divulged, had been to send all his best men with the fleet. Accordingly, all the soldiers known for their courage and resolution, and all the noble Arabs who were with Músa, embarked for this expedition, which, owing to this circumstance, was afterwards called "the expedition of the nobles," (*Ghazawatu-sh-shorafá.*)

However, 'Abdullah put to sea with his fleet, this being the first maritime expedition which had put off from the shores of Eastern Africa since its invasion by the Moslems. They arrived in sight of the island of Sicily,[39] and landed to the west of it, entering a city there in which they found so much spoil that each man on board received one hundred dinárs of gold for his share, although the Moslems were between nine hundred and one thousand in number. After this the fleet returned safe to Africa.

About this time news came to Músa of the death of his patron, 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Merwán, and soon after of that of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdu-l-malek, son of Merwán, who was succeeded in the Khalifate by his son, Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, in the year eighty-six (beginning Jan. 1, 705). On receiving this intelligence, Músa sent a messenger to court to take the oath of allegiance in his name, and to acquaint the Khalif with the victory gained by his son 'Abdullah, and the spoil made by the Moslems.

In the meanwhile Zor'ah Ibn Abí Mudrik was dispatched by Músa against the Berber tribes, but he had no opportunity of coming to an engagement with them, for no sooner had he arrived in their territory, than they all came before him and sued for peace. Seeing which, Zor'ah sent the principal among them to Músa, who, taking hostages from each tribe, granted their request. Músa then gave to Ibn Akhyal the command of the fleet of Eastern Africa, with instructions to put to sea and invade some of the enemy's islands. In compliance with these orders that general passed the winter on the sea, and attacked a city called Sirakúsa, whence he returned safe in the same year (A.H. 86). Three years afterwards (A.H. 89), 'Abdullah Ibn Marrah, having arrived with a body of men from Egypt, presented himself to Músa, who gave him the command of the sea. 'Abdullah landed on the island of Sardinia, and entered its cities, where he gained so much spoil that each man's share amounted to three thousand prisoners, exclusive of the gold, silver, &c.; so that all present received abundantly.

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[39] Nuwayrí speaks of two expeditions; one commanded by 'Abdullah Ibn Kays Al-fezárí, the other by Mohammed Ibn Idrís Al-ansárí, both of which sailed from Africa to Sicily long before the time here assigned. See a preceding note, p. 450, and Nuwayrí's History of Sicily in Gregorio's Collection, p. 2.

Expedition to Sús-al-aksá.

The author continues:—They relate that Músa Ibn Nosseyr sent his son Merwán to Sús-al-aksá, a country which was at that time under the rule of Al-audi.[40] Merwán marched with five thousand men of those inscribed on the rolls of the army. The recorder of this tradition says,—"The troops were already assembled, and the men prepared for battle, when "Merwán saw the enemy waiting to receive them, with the spear in the right hand and the "shield in the left, and pointing with their hands towards his men as if they were inquiring "'How many are ye?' However, Merwán and his men met the Marzáyah,[41] and fought "valiantly with them. The Marzáyah were defeated, and God granted their shoulders to "the Moslems, who slaughtered among them the slaughter of extermination. This expe-"dition to Sús was afterwards the cause of all the tribes in that country coming before "Merwán, and putting themselves under his orders. The prisoners taken on this occasion "amounted to forty thousand. After this Músa gave the command of the African sea to his "son 'Abdullah. This general scoured the seas, made a descent on the island of Mallorca, "and conquered it."

How and when the news of these victories was brought to Al-walíd.

They relate that a servant of Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek told them, "I was close to the "Khalif, who was performing his ablutions in a vessel of gold that was before him, when in "came a messenger from Koteybah Ibn Moslem, announcing the conquest of some districts "in Khorassán. I went to Al-walíd and told him of his arrival, and the Khalif commanded "me to take the letter from him and read it to him; I did so, but before I had come to the "end of it, in came another messenger from Músa Ibn Nosseyr with the news of the conquest "of Sús-al-aksá, by his son Merwán. I told the Khalif of it, and was likewise ordered to "bring in the letter and read it to him. I obeyed, and my master then praised God, and "returned thanks, and went upon his knees and prayed. Scarcely, however, had I ended the "letter, when another messenger, also from Músa Ibn Nosseyr, made his appearance, and "having informed the Khalif of his arrival, I brought the message in as I had done with the "others, and read it to Al-walíd, who praised and thanked God for it, and fell upon his knees, "worshipping and praying. This being done, the Khalif turned towards me, and said, "'Stand outside by that door, and do not let any one come in.' There was at the time in "the room a young infant, a son of Al-walíd, who was crawling on the floor, and who, while "his father was absorbed in his prayers and returning thanks to the Almighty for the favours "received, approached the vessel, and fell inside of it. The child being hurt by the fall, "screamed out for help, but, although I saw his danger, I could not run to his assistance,

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[40] الاودي may be the name of the tribe, as well as that of the king ruling in those districts.

[41] فلما التقي مروان و مرزاية اقتتل الناس قتلا شديدً Thus in the text.

"since I had been ordered to stand by the door; the prayer was a long one, and so was the "prostration, and the child ceased to cry; the Khalif then raised his head, and cried out to "me to come in; I entered, and took the child out of the vessel, but he was senseless."

Taking of the castle of Ausáf.

They say,—After this the Lord of the castle of Ausáf made a foray into some district of Eastern Africa, and gained some advantage over the Moslems. This having reached the ears of Músa, he went out against him in person, but could not overtake him; upon which Músa was sadly vexed, and exclaimed, "May God Almighty kill me if I do not kill the infidel as "soon as an opportunity is offered me." Accordingly, after some time, Músa sent for one of his men, and addressed him thus: "I have sent for thee to give thee orders which must "needs be executed; if thou fulfil them, ample shall be thy reward. Take these two parcels,[42] "and march until thou art arrived at such a spot in such a country, where thou wilt find a "temple, and the Rúm worshipping in it. Approach the temple by stealth, and when night "comes leave one of these parcels, and then return to me." Músa had previously directed that in both the parcels should be placed silks, brocades, and other novelties and valuable articles from Arabia, together with a letter in the Rúmí language, purporting to be an answer to the governor, as if he had written to Músa suing him for peace, and offering in return to lead him into the country of the Rúm, and deliver into his hands their strong places. There was, besides, in the parcel a safe conduct of Músa for the governor. The commission was faithfully executed; the man travelled to the place described to him, approached the temple at night, and leaving one of the two parcels[43] with its contents, returned, as he had been told, with the other to the place where Músa was. When the Rúm came out of the temple and found the parcel they were very much surprised, but, not knowing whence it came, nor who had left it there, they apprised the Batrik (Patrician), who was governor of the district, of the case. The governor opened the parcel, and examined the contents, but, seeing the presents and the letter inside, he was so terrified that he immediately sent a messenger with the whole to his superior, the king of the country. The king read the letters, together with the safe conduct, and, not doubting that the governor of Ausáf was a traitor, secretly dispatched a man to the castle with orders to take the command of it and put the governor to death. The king's commands were punctually executed; the man who had made the incursion into Eastern Africa was beheaded, and Músa revenged.

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42 خذ هذين الاذنين The word اذن which I have ventured to render by 'parcels,' must have had in ancient times a meaning which it has not at present. *Adhen* means 'an *ear*;' perhaps the name was also applied to some sort of travelling bags having that shape,—but this is a conjecture for which I cannot give the least authority.

43 فترك احد الاذنين بما فيه وانصرف مقبلا في الاذن الاخر Why the messenger should take two loads, if he was to leave only one, I cannot guess.

The conquest of the opposite land of Andalus.

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate! The blessing of God and salutation be on our Lord and Prophet Mohammed, and on his family and companions! After this Músa sent his freedman Tárik against Tangiers and the neighbouring districts. Tárik accordingly marched thither, and took the cities and the castles of the Berbers. This being done, Tárik wrote to his master, Músa, "I have found here six vessels;" and Músa answered him, "Try to make them seven, and when the number is completed, take them to the sea "shore, and fill them with men and provisions; thou wilt then look for a man acquainted "with the months of the Syrians, and when the twenty-first day of the Syrian month called "Adár[44] has come, put to sea with thy men, after imploring the favours of the Almighty. "When at sea, thou must pursue thy course until thou seest before thee a small mountain "deprived of vegetation, and of a reddish hue, having on one of its sides a fountain running "towards the east, and by the side of the fountain a building with an idol at the top in the "shape of a bull. Thou must first break the idol to pieces, and then thou wilt look among thy "men for a tall man having red hair and a white complexion, with a cast in one of his eyes[45] "and a mole on his hand; give that man the command of the van, and remain wherever "thou mayest be at the time, waiting for further instructions from me, if God be pleased."

They say that when Tárik received the above orders from Músa, he answered him thus: "I have scrupulously fulfilled thy orders, but respecting the man thou didst describe to me, I "can nowhere find one of his description, except in my own person." Accordingly, Tárik set out on his expedition with seventeen hundred men in the month of Rejeb of the year 92. Ludherik, being at that time engaged in making war on some enemies of his called Bashkans (Basques), had appointed one of his nobles, named Tudmír, to command and rule the kingdom in his room. When Tudmír, therefore, heard of the landing of Tárik and his followers on the coast of Andalus, he wrote immediately to Ludherik, his master, telling him to hasten to meet the enemy. This Ludherik did at the head of ninety thousand cavalry, bringing all his treasures and riches in waggons; he himself came borne on a litter placed between two mules, and having over his head a vaulted canopy richly set with pearls, rubies, and emeralds; he brought also with him ropes to tie the hands of the captives, for he doubted not but that he should take every one of the Moslems prisoners.

When Tárik heard of the arrival of Ludherik with his formidable host, he praised and exalted God; he then called together his men, and urged them to fight for religion and the cause of God, setting before them the advantages of martyrdom, and strengthening their hopes in the Almighty. He then exclaimed, "O ye men! Whither can ye fly? the sea is "at your backs; the enemy in front of you: by Allah! there is no salvation for you but in "courage and perseverance,—two virtues that never were defeated, and which are like two

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[44] ادار *Adár* or اذار *Adhár* is the sixth month of the Chaldaic or Syro-Macedonian calendar, answering to our month of March.

[45] The Monk of Silos, Rodericus Toletanus, and most of the ancient chroniclers of Spain, call Tárik *strabo*, i. e. squinting.

" victorious armies; with them small numbers cannot but succeed, while a multitude without " them is of no avail, especially to men, like those now before you, oppressed by tyranny, " enervated by luxury, weakened by discord, and stained by cowardice and vanity. O ye " men! imitate my example, and whatever ye see me do, do it also; if I charge, charge; if " I stop, stop. Let all your movements be uniform, as if you were only one man. For my " part, I intend to make for the tyrant, and shall not desist from my intention, nor deviate " from my course, until I reach the spot where he is, or die in the attempt. If I should be " killed, let not fear enter your hearts, or the want of a commander throw confusion into your " ranks; for if once you are overpowered by terror, if the gales of victory cease to blow for " you, if you turn your backs on the enemy, you may all count yourselves either slain or " prisoners. If you have, therefore, any attachment to this world, do not throw away with " your own hands the splendid opportunity now offering itself of gaining numberless treasures " to spend them hereafter in a life of luxury and comfort, or of gaining a still greater reward, " —the bright crowns of martyrdom,—for if ye do, (which God forbid!) your names will be " hereafter coupled with infamy and shame, and will only be matter of derision and contempt " to your friends the Moslems. Follow me, O men! I shall not stop until I reach the " tyrant in the middle of his steel-clad warriors." Having said this, Tárik charged, and his men charged also; they mixed with the infidels, and a most desperate battle ensued. Tárik kept his word, he penetrated to the spot where the tyrant was, and killed him with his own hand. Ludherik's followers were then disheartened and dispersed, and the rout became general. After this Tárik took Ludherik's head and sent it to his master, Músa, who dispatched one of his sons with it to the Khalif Al-walíd. Músa sent, along with his son, some of the principal inhabitants of Ifrikiyyah, and they all reached safely the court of the Khalif, who was highly delighted to hear the news of the victory, honoured and distinguished Músa's son much, and rewarded every one of those who came with him. After this Al-walíd dismissed the messengers, who returned to Músa.

It has been said that, after the defeat of Ludherik, the Moslems found on the field of battle so many riches belonging to him or to the nobles who were with him, that the calculation of their amount was almost impossible, and that on this occasion all the Moslems were guilty of fraud and rapine, except Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-jiyalí. However, some time after this event Tárik wrote to his master, " People are coming against us from every " province of this kingdom. Help! help!" No sooner did Músa receive this letter than he called together his men, and assembled a numerous army, intending to cross over to Andalus in the month of Safar of the year ninety-three (Nov. or Dec. A.D. 711). The departure was fixed for a Thursday (of the said month) at dawn of day, so that, leaving his son 'Abdullah to command in his name in Eastern Africa, as well as in Tangiers and Sús, he wrote to his son Merwán, who was occupied in the back settlements, to come and join him with his army, which he did. Thus reinforced, Músa took his departure on the appointed day, and, crossing over to Andalus, met his freedman Tárik, whose army he found reinforced by numbers of adventurers who had already joined him from all countries. He then marched until he entered, as a conqueror,[46] the mighty city of Cordova, and the towns, castles, and

[46] The word فتح 'to open,' means generally 'to enter a town by force of arms;' but as Cordova and the neighbouring

fortresses in its neighbourhood. They say that most of the Moslems were on this occasion guilty of much excess, defrauding their comrades of their share in the spoil by hiding what they took themselves; the only man who behaved well was Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-jiyalí. After this Músa marched through the country, doing nothing else on his route but subduing cities and towns right and left, until he came to the city of the Kings of Toledo, where he found a palace called *Beytu-l-molúk* (the mansion of the kings), so named from the circumstance of twenty-four gold diadems, one for each of the kings who had reigned over Andalus, being found in it. Each diadem had an inscription bearing the name of the king to whom it had belonged, and stating the number of children the king had left, the days of his birth, accession to the throne, and death; for it was a custom among the Gothic sovereigns of Andalus that the diadem worn by each of them during his life should, after his death, be deposited in that mansion. Besides these treasures Músa found in the same palace a table, on which was the name of Suleymán, son of Dáúd, (on whom be peace!) and another table of onyx. When Músa saw these things, he immediately placed them under the custody of trustees[47] appointed by him, and concealed them from the eyes of his followers, since such was the value of these and other precious objects found at the time of the invasion of Andalus by the Moslems, that there was not a single man in the army who could, even approximatively, fix a value on them; and as to the silver, the gold, the silks, the brocades, and other articles of apparel or furniture, no man, however learned, could ever arrive at a computation.

Al-walíd meditates the removal of Músa.

They relate that when the Khalif Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek heard of Músa's departure for Andalus, and was informed of the nature and extent of that country, suspicion entered his mind that Músa might make himself independent, and resist his authority. In this belief he was confirmed by the opinion of his courtiers, as well as by the delay experienced in receiving news from Andalus, since Músa, occupied as he was in the subjugation of the country and the entire reduction of the enemy, had no leisure to write to acquaint him with his progress. Al-walíd's fears grew so strong at last, that one day, being at the mosque, he commanded the Kádí, after prayers, to implore the Almighty that he would defeat Músa's ambitious projects. However, it happened that immediately after his victorious entrance into Toledo, Músa dispatched 'Alí Ibn Rabáh with another messenger to the Khalif, to inform him of the conquest. Ibn Rabáh and his companion marched until they arrived at Damascus, which city they entered in the afternoon. It being then prayer time, they went to the mosque to pray with the other Moslems. When the service was over the Kádí began, as usual, to invoke the interference of the Almighty against Músa, hearing which, Ibn Rabáh rose, and exclaimed, "O ye men! pray to God for Músa, instead of praying against him, for, by Allah!

country had already been subdued by Mugheyth, it is probable that *fataha* does not imply here that Músa reduced that city.

47 الامناء the plural of الامين *al-amín*, 'an inspector, a trustee;' whence the Spanish word *alamin* (which has the same meaning) is derived.

"is to see what it contains; I am devoured by curiosity, and have sworn by the Messiah "not to be tormented by it any longer. I will certainly go in before I die.' And the "priests replied, 'May God prosper thee! It is neither safe nor convenient to go against "the customs established by thy honourable ancestors, the kings of this country, or to "infringe the laws promulgated by them; desist therefore from thy rash determination, "imitate their conduct, and add thy padlock to the door, as thy fathers and predecessors, "who had better reasons than either thou or we to dread the mystery contained in this "palace, have done. Let not thy passion lead thee to commit an act which thy ancestors "considered as most dangerous to themselves.' But Ludherik exclaimed, 'No, by the faith "of the Messiah! you shall not dissuade me. The palace must and shall be opened.' Then "the priests, making a last effort, said to him, 'Give us, O King! thy estimation of the sums "of money and jewels thou thinkest this palace contains; name even as many as thy fancy "can represent, and we shall collect them among us, and bring them to thee without fail, "rather than thou shouldst thus innovate and violate a custom which our kings, thy prede-"cessors, kept as sacred, since they, who knew well what they did, commanded that none "should after them presume to investigate the mystery.' However, disregarding their "advice, Ludherik had the door opened, and when he went in he only found paintings "representing Arabian warriors, and an inscription bearing—'Whenever this palace shall "be opened, those whose description, manners, and dress, are so and so, will invade this "country and subdue it entirely;' and so it was, for in that very year the Arabs invaded "Andalus."

On the spoils which God granted to Músa and his followers.

They relate, on the authority of Al-leyth Ibn Sa'íd, that during Músa's stay in Andalus, some of his men having picketed their horses to the walls of a church, went inside and began looking about them; when, lo! they saw sheets of gold and silver behind the palace of the Rúm.[48] They relate also, on the authority of a man who accompanied Músa in all his expeditions in Andalus, that he once saw two men carrying away a carpet all woven with gold, silver, pearls, and rubies, which they had stolen from a church, but, finding it too heavy, he saw them lay down their burden, and, taking an axe, divide it in twain, when they took one half and went away, leaving the other half on the ground. "I saw also," says the same individual, "several men passing right and left close to the remaining half "without paying the least attention to it, their hands being filled and their minds occupied "at the time with more valuable objects."

And they relate that a soldier once came up to Músa and said to him, "Send with me "some of the men, that I may guide them to a spot where I know there is a hoard;" and Músa sent some men along with him, and one of those who were present at the discovery

[48] فاذا بصحايف الذهب والفضة خلف بلاط الروم Thus the text; but the meaning is obscure: perhaps words are wanting. The word *sahàyif*, plural of *sahífah*, means 'a sheet of iron, copper, or any other metal.' *Balát* means 'a pavement,' especially a mosaic one. It is also used by some ancient writers as a translation of the Latin *palatium*.

said, on his return, that their guide had told them on their arrival on the spot, "Here! "knock here!" and they did so, when lo! a shower of emeralds and rubies, the like of which no human eyes ever saw before, came down upon them. So great a quantity was there of these precious stones that they were astounded with marvelling, and one of them said to the others, "Let us send for the Amír Músa, that he may see the treasure with "his own eyes, for otherwise he will never credit our account." They accordingly sent for Músa, who came immediately, and, gazing at the hoard, was struck with utter astonishment at its magnitude and value.

Another individual who saw the carpet represents it as being worked with two broad stripes of gold, ornamented with threads of pearls, rubies, and emeralds. He says that the men who found it were two Berbers, and that, being unable to carry it away, they left it where it was, and returned with a hatchet and cut it in twain, and took as much as they could carry, and left the remainder behind; all owing to their being intent upon things of greater value.

Al-leyth adds, "I was told that a man who accompanied 'Attá Ibn Ráfi' and other generals, "in their expeditions in the West, once found a treasure which he was criminal enough to "conceal from his comrades, putting it in a purse which he wore (suspended) between his "chest and his shoulder blade, and that being soon after attacked by death, he did nothing "else but repeat, 'The purse! the purse!' And I was told by Ibn Abí Leyla At-tojibí, who "held it from Hamíd, who repeated it on the authority of his father, that it was not an "unfrequent thing for those who accompanied Músa's expeditions to meet with horses which, "on their hoofs being examined, proved to have been shod with gold and silver nails."

Músa's letter to the Khalif, apprising him of the conquest of Andalus.

Músa wrote to Al-walíd, "O Commander of the Faithful! these are not like conquests, "they are more like the meeting of the nations on the last day of judgment;" and they relate, on the authority of 'Abdu-l-hamíd, son of Hamíd, who held it from his father, that he said, "There came to the conquest of Andalus a woman who traded in perfumes, and when "she left this country she was the mistress of five hundred slaves;[49] as to what she took "away of gold, silver, jewels, and vases, no idea can be formed of it." The same person told me, "O master Rajá! there once came to this country (Andalus) an old man who inhabited "Medínah, and he began to tell us about Andalus and about Músa's invasion, and we said to "him, 'How didst thou learn all that;' and he answered, 'I was one of Músa's prisoners "and slaves; and, by Allah! what I shall presently relate to you is certain. Músa Ibn "Nosseyr bought me for a handful of baked pepper;'—and we said to him, 'How camest "thou hither;' and the man answered, 'I will tell you. My father was one of the principal "people in Andalus, and had great wealth, so that when he was informed of Músa's arrival

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49 Five hundred 'heads' says the text. The Spaniards to this day count in the same way. *Res*, from رأس, is by them applied to a head of cattle.

"he collected together all his treasures, consisting of gold, silver, and jewels in great quan-"tities, besides many other precious articles, and concealed them in a spot which I well know, "and I now come to take these treasures, if it be God's pleasure that they should be mine.' "'How many years is it since thou left that country.' 'Seventy,' he said. 'Is that true?' "inquired we. 'Quite true,' he said; after which he left us, and we never afterwards heard "what became of him."

Músa makes war on the Bashkans (Basques) and Afranj (Franks).

The author of the tradition says,—And they relate that Músa left Toledo with the troops to make war against the infidels, and that he conquered cities and towns until the whole of Andalus submitted to him. Indeed, so far did he push his conquests, that the principal inhabitants of Galicia came up to him to sue him for peace, which he granted. After this Músa invaded the country of the Basques and made war against them, until they all came to him in flocks, as if they were beasts of burden. He then took the route of the country of the Franks, until he reached Saragossa, a city one month or forty days' march from Cordova. And they relate that 'Abdullah Ibn Mugheyrah Ibn Abí Bordah said to them, "I was in the "number of those who accompanied Músa to the conquest of Andalus, and I was with him "when we arrived in sight of Saragossa, which was, with the exception of some slight "incursions in the districts beyond it, the farthest limit of our conquests under him. Upon "one occasion we came up to a city on the seashore which had four gates:" he says, "and "while we were besieging it, behold! 'Ayyásh Ibn Akhial, who was *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* to "Músa, came up to him and said, 'General! we have divided the army into four bodies, one "for each of the gates of the city. But there remains still the farthest gate, with a buttress "to it, and I have no men to send against it.' Músa answered, 'Do not heed that gate, I shall "take charge of it myself, and see what is to be done.' He then turned to me and said, "'What stock of provisions hast thou with thee?' 'Only one sack,' answered I. 'What!' "said Músa, 'dost thou really mean to say that thou hast no more than one sack? I am "surprised to hear it; for if thou, who art one of the wealthiest men in the army, hast only "one, what will the others have?' He then said, 'O my God! Permit that the enemy come "out of that gate, or increase the numbers of my men;' and Músa's prayer was granted, for "soon after the enemy sallied out of that gate, and Músa sent in pursuit of them his son "Merwán, who overtook them, and spread death among them, and entered the city by that "very gate. His men collected considerable spoil, not only from what they found on the "slain, but from what they took inside the city."

He says,—And they relate that Ja'far Ibnu-l-ashtar said, "I was in the number of those "who invaded Andalus with Músa, and we came to a large fortress, which we besieged for "upwards of twenty days without being able to reduce it, upon which he (Músa) grew "impatient, and ordered a crier to call together the men, and we received orders to be ready "at dawn of day, every man at his place, with his weapons and baggage. We all thought "that the general had received intelligence of the arrival of some body of the enemy, and "that he wished to retreat. However, on the next morning we turned out as we were

" ordered, and then Músa came in person, and, after praising God, said to us, 'O men! " I have come among you, and in front of the ranks, that you may see what I do, and do " like me. I shall exalt God, and then charge; do therefore as I do.' Hearing which, the " men said to each other, 'God be praised! our general has certainly lost his wits, since " he orders us to attack stone walls.' However, Músa placed himself in front of the host, " so that he might be seen by all his men, and, raising his hands to heaven, began to pray, " and to implore the mercy of the Almighty, and to weep, he remaining long in the same " position, while we were all standing looking at him, and getting ready to attack the enemy. " At last Músa finished his prayers, and so did the men; he charged, and we all did the " same, directing our steps towards one of the sides of the fortress that we were investing. " Some of the garrison then came out to meet us, but in a moment our horsemen gave the " war-cry, charged them, and, by the help of God, the town was ours. We entered it early " in the morning, and made a large booty in prisoners, jewels, and numberless treasures.

The author says,—And I was told by a freed slave girl of 'Abdullah Ibn Músa, who was a trustworthy and honest woman, " Músa besieged the town where my family resided, which " was a very strong fortress, placed opposite to another fortified town in the neighbourhood. " Músa and his men remained for some time besieging us, but without being able to penetrate " into the town, owing to the strength and thickness of the walls. He had with him his " family and his sons, for he never went on an expedition without taking them with him, " persuaded as he was that by so doing he would gain for them the rewards of the " Almighty. However, the garrison made a sally and fought desperately with the Moslems, " victory hanging long uncertain, until at last God was pleased to grant it to his people, " and the town was taken. Seeing this, the people of the other town surrendered, and " thus did Músa become the master of both towns in one day. On the next day Músa " came up to a third town, the garrison of which also sallied out against him, and fought " so bravely with his men that part of them gave way. Músa then ordered his tent to " be pitched, and his women and daughters to be placed in it without their veils. When the " army saw this, scabbards without number were thrown away by the soldiers, who resolved " not to sheath their swords until the enemy was vanquished; the Moslems were inspired " with fresh vigour; the fight was renewed with increased fury, and kept up with equal " determination on both sides, until God was pleased to bestow his favours on Músa and " make his army victorious, the town falling soon afterwards into the hands of his men."

'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Sálim says, " I accompanied Músa in all his expeditions, and never " did I see a banner fly from him, or a troop under his orders turn back, until the moment " of his death."

Ibn Dhahan says, " When Músa arrived in Andalus, one of the bishops of that country " said to him, 'O Músa! we find thee mentioned in the books of the prophecies; for they " tell us of an illustrious prince answering exactly thy description who is to come to this " country. He is to be both a fisherman and a hunter, and be provided with two nets, one " to imprison the beasts of the land, the other to catch the fishes of the sea; and such art " thou, since thou hast warriors both on the land and on the sea.' When Músa heard this, " he was astonished and highly pleased."

The author says,—And 'Abdu-l-hamíd Ibn Hamíd said, on the authority of his father, that when Músa penetrated into the enemy's territory, and went beyond Saragossa, his men began to murmur, and said to him, "Whither dost thou take us? We have gone far enough; we "are satisfied with the spoil we have collected." To which Músa answered, "Did 'Okbah "Ibn Náfi' or 'Abdullah ever stop in the career of their conquests?" It must be remarked that, on his entering Eastern Africa, Músa had been heard to say, alluding to his predecessors in command, 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' and 'Abdullah, "that they had certainly exposed "themselves to imminent peril, by penetrating so far into countries where they had to meet "enemies right and left, in front and at the back, especially as they had not with them a man "in whom they could trust as a faithful and experienced guide." So that when he was heard to express the above sentiments, Hansh As-san'ání, who was a *tábi'*, and one of the most virtuous men in the army, came out of the ranks, and taking Músa's horse by the bridle, thus addressed his general: "O Amír! I have heard thee say, that upon one occasion 'Okbah Ibn "Náfi', whom I knew, had exposed himself and men to certain ruin by not having a sure "guide to take him through the enemy's country. It shall not be so with thee, for I will be "thy guide, I will conduct thee wherever thou wishest to go, be it to go out of this world, or "in search of conquests still more splendid and more fraught with danger than those which "God has already granted thee. But I must not conceal from thee that I have heard from "the mouth of the men what thou never didst hear; they have filled their hands with "plunder, and now they wish for rest." The author continues,—When Músa heard Hansh speak thus he burst out laughing, and said, "May God direct thee, O Hansh! "and make many Moslems like thee;" after which he ordered his men to march and return into Andalus, not without exclaiming first, "By Allah! had the men chosen to follow me, "I would have led them to the very walls of Rome, and God would, I have no doubt, have "granted us the victory."[50]

Músa quits Andalus.

The author of the tradition says,—And they relate that 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Sálim, who was in Andalus with Músa, told them "Músa stayed in Andalus the remainder of that year "(93), and some months of the year 94; in the meanwhile letters had reached Al-walíd, "purporting, 'These are, O Commander of the Faithful! not like conquests; they are like "the meeting of mankind on the day of judgment.' Músa then began his march, taking "along with him the sons of the Gothic kings, and the sons of the Frankish kings, and an "immense booty, consisting of gold diadems, and the famous table, and the rich vases of "gold and silver, and many thousands of male and female slaves, and jewels beyond computation, and all sorts of novelties. On this occasion the principal officers of the army also "left Andalus and accompanied Músa."

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[50] See a similar adventure told of Tárik. Appendix D., p. xlix.

Description of the stupendous table.

The author of the tradition continues,—They say that this inestimable jewel was a dining table,[51] but without any feet to stand upon; its materials were pure gold and silver mixed, the colour yellow and white. It was ornamented with three rows of inestimable jewels, one of large pearls, another of rubies, and a third of emeralds. "Nothing," says he, "could "be conceived more rich or beautiful."[52]

Arrival of Músa in Eastern Africa.

He says,—And they relate that Yezíd Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Moslem, who was a *mauli*, told them how Músa, on his arrival at Jezírah Al-khadhrá, ordered some waggons to be made, and thirty waggons were accordingly built, in which he stored the jewels, the gold, the silver, the silks and brocades, and the rest of the spoil of Andalus. In this way he reached Eastern Africa, where he stayed the remainder of the year 94. After this he left that country, and having previously appointed his son 'Abdullah[53] Ibn Músa to command in his place over Eastern Africa, Tangiers, and Sús, he took the road of Egypt. Músa was followed by his son Merwán, and by his son 'Abdu-l-'ala, and by his son 'Abdu-l-malek, and by one hundred of the principal officers of his army, men belonging to the noble stock of Koraysh, or to the Ansarís, and to others among the most illustrious by birth or adoption of the Arabian tribes, such as 'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah, Abú 'Obeydah, 'Abdu-l-jabbár Ibn Abí Salmah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Oúf, Al-mugheyrah Ibn Abí Bordah, Zor'ah Ibn Abí Mudrik, Suleymán Ibn Bahr, and others from among the nobles. He had also with him one hundred men from the most illustrious Berber tribes, such as the Bení Kuseylah, the Bení Yasdar,[54] besides many sons of the Berber kings, and the King of Sús-al-aksá, Marzáyah,[55] and the Lord of the Castle of Ausáf, and the King of Mallorca and Menorca, and twenty kings from the islands of Rúm, and one hundred princes from Andalus, Afranj, Cordova, and other countries. Músa took also with him innumerable samples of all the natural productions of Andalus, such as hawks, mules, horses, slaves, fruits, and every description of novelties. "Músa," adds the recorder of the tradition, "came astonishing the inhabitants of the countries through "which he passed with the immense treasures he carried, treasures the like of which no "hearer ever heard of before, and no beholder ever saw before his eyes."

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51 كانت مايدة خوان

52 I have suppressed here some uninteresting details.

53 The text reads 'Abdu-l-malek, but as this is a contradiction to what follows, I have not hesitated in substituting 'Abdullah.

54 بني يصدر

55 من دابة—instead of which I believe مرزاية is meant. See above, p. lxviii.

Arrival of Músa in Egypt.

The author says,—And they relate that Yezíd Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Moslem told them that on Músa's arrival in Egypt the Khalif Al-walíd, who had been previously informed of his approach, wrote to Kowah Ibn Sharík,[56] who, on the demise of Ibn Refá'h,[57] had been appointed to the command of the Egyptian army, to sally out from Misr to meet Músa. In compliance with this order Kowah went out, and made haste, and met Músa when about to mount his horse, and went to him, and gave him the *salam*. Músa then said to him, "Who "art thou? cousin!" upon which Kowah, making a profound bow, said, "I am one who loves "thee, and wishes thee prosperity." Kowah and his escort joined Músa. They all journeyed together until they came to the Minyeh (pleasure-house) of 'Omar Ibn Merwán, where they pitched their tents. Ibn Refá'h then spoke to Músa about the sum of money which he had extorted from Sufyán Ibn Malek Al-fehrí[58]—this being after the death of Sufyán; and Músa said, "Thine is the money," and he gave immediate orders that ten thousand gold dinárs should be given over to the sons of Sufyán Ibn Malek.

Músa stayed three days in Misr, during which time he was visited by all the principal inhabitants of the town, and there remained not a Sherif in the place who did not come to him to do him honour, and who returned not loaded with his presents. He made likewise plentiful gifts to the sons and relatives of 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, his ancient benefactor; so that they all came up to him from every part of Egypt, and Músa showed great affability to them all.

From Egypt Músa proceeded to Filisteyn (Palestine), where he was met by the tribe of Rúh, son of Zanbá',[59] among whom he pitched his tents; and I have heard people say that they entertained Músa and his suite most splendidly, slaughtering for their repasts no less than fifty camels. After staying for some time among these people, Músa took his departure, leaving with them some of his people, and his young children; and after remunerating the generous hospitality of the Bení Rúh, son of Zanbá', with male and female slaves, and many other things, the produce of his conquests.

Arrival of Músa at the court of Al-walíd.

They relate that Mohammed Ibn Suleymán, and others from among the principal inhabitants of Misr, told them that when Músa arrived in Syria Al-walíd was suffering from the indisposition which soon after caused his death, and that Suleymán, who was the presumptive heir to the throne, hearing of his approach to Damascus, dispatched a messenger to

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56 The name of this individual is not distinctly written in my MS. It may be read alike قوة ابن شريك or قرة—قدة

57 ابن رفاعة

58 No doubt while he was in Egypt serving under 'Abdu-l-'azíz.

59 ال روح بن زنباع

him, enjoining him to proceed by slow marches, so as to arrive after Al-walíd's death, which was expected to take place every moment. When the message reached Músa, and he read the contents of the letter sent him by Suleymán, he is said to have exclaimed—"God forbid "that I should be guilty of such a crime! By Allah! I shall neither delay my march, nor "stay on the road; on the contrary, it is my intention to proceed at the usual speed: if I "arrive before the death of my sovereign, I need not dread his brother's vengeance; if he "should die before my arrival, I leave my destiny in the hands of God." He then dismissed Suleymán's messenger, who failed not to threaten him with his master's resentment for not complying with his wishes, and to represent to him the awful revenge he would take for the offence, should he succeed soon to the throne, and get Músa into his power. However, when Al-walíd heard of Músa's arrival, and how he had disregarded the propositions made to him by Suleymán's wish, he wrote commanding him to make haste and appear immediately at court; so that even if he had wished to conciliate things, there remained no evasion, and he could not but comply with the order of his sovereign: he therefore quickened his march and entered Damascus before the death of Al-walíd, and in time enough to present him with the rich spoils of Andalus, the curiosities, the pearls, the rubies, the emeralds, the male and female slaves, the table of the prophet Suleymán, son of Dáúd, (to whom may God be propitious!) and another table made of mother-of-pearl of different hues, and the royal diadems of gold. All these treasures Al-walíd kept for himself, and having caused the table to be taken to pieces, ordered that the costly materials of which it was formed, such as the rows of jewels in which it was encircled, and the mother-of-pearl, should be deposited in his treasury, and that the remainder should be sent to Mekka, where it was placed in the holy temple; disposing also in the same manner of other precious things. Soon after this Al-walíd died.

Músa's arrival at the court of Al-walíd.

The author says,—And they relate that when Músa presented himself before Al-walíd, he was sitting in the *minbar*, it being that day a Friday. Músa had previously issued orders to the men of his suite to array every one of the captives he had brought with him, and to give to each of them a gold diadem, and the robes once worn by the owners of the diadems. He told them to dress thirty of the finest men in royal robes and royal crowns; he also gave directions respecting the Berber princes, and the kings of the islands of Rúm, and the sons of the kings of Al-ishbán (Hispania), all of whom were to be splendidly arrayed in the costumes of their respective countries, and to wear gold diadems on their heads. The prisoners were thus to be introduced into the great mosque, where Al-walíd was sitting at the time: he ordered also that all the treasures collected in Andalus, the jewels, the pearls, the rubies, the emeralds, the mother-of-pearl, the splendid carpets, the robes of gold and silver tissue, sprinkled with pearls, rubies, and emeralds, should be brought in and placed also before Al-walíd. These orders being complied with, Músa made his entrance into the mosque, followed by thirty youths belonging to the royal family of the Franks, magnificently arrayed in robes of gold tissue, and wearing royal crowns upon their heads. When Músa entered, Al-walíd was preaching to the men from the top of the *minbar*; for although he was very

weak and sickly, having been very much reduced by disease, and suffering great agony, he had nevertheless mustered all his strength for the occasion, and prepared to receive in due pomp Músa and his companions. When Al-walíd saw them come in such admirable order he seemed struck with astonishment; a loud murmur was also heard among the men, and voices saying, "Here comes Músa, the son of Nosseyr; here comes Músa:"—and Músa then came forward, and advanced majestically toward the *minbar;* and having saluted Al-walíd, remained standing where he was with the princes with the royal crowns, drawn up in two lines, half to the right side of the *minbar*, and the other half to the left. Al-walíd then began to praise God, and to give him thanks for the favours and victories he had been pleased to grant the Moslems; he then delivered a speech, the like of which no human ears ever listened to, and protracted it until the hour of prayers was at hand: he then said his prayers along with the men, and the service finished, he sat down, and bade Músa approach his person; and taking his own dress off, put it on him three times in succession, and gave him besides fifty thousand dinárs, and granted pensions for all his sons, as well as for five hundred of his *maulis*. After this Músa gave orders for the rest of the suite and the prisoners to make their appearance; and presently in came the kings of the Berbers, and the kings of the Rúm, and the kings of Al-ishbán, and the kings of the Franks; then followed all the Moslems whom Músa had brought with him from Africa, most of whom belonged to the tribe of Koraysh, and other illustrious families, who were most magnificently attired for the occasion. Al-walíd then distributed among them pensions, honours, and distinctions. Forty days after Músa's interview with Al-walíd, this Khalif died, and was succeeded by his brother Suleymán.

Suleymán's accession to the throne, and his conduct towards Músa.

They relate that 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Sálim told them that the first thing Suleymán did on his coming to power was to send for Músa and make him appear in his presence, when he bitterly abused him and reproached him for his past conduct. They say that he told him among other things—"Thou hast run against my will, and disobeyed my orders, and, by Allah! "I will cut off thy resources, scatter thy friends, and seize upon thy treasures; I will "deprive thee of all the honours conferred upon thee by the sons of Abú Sufyán and the "sons of Merwán, those whose benefits thou hast repaid with ingratitude, betraying the "hopes they placed on thee." And Músa answered, "By Allah! O Commander of the "Faithful! do not charge me with the faults of others; I was always faithful to the Khalifs "of thy family, as well as to thy predecessors in command; I showed myself on every "occasion the grateful servant of those who protected me and extolled me: as to thy saying, "O Commander of the Faithful! that thou wilt cut off my resources, scatter my friends, and "seize upon my treasures, that rests in the hands of the Almighty God, who is the arbiter of "men's fortunes, and can take away whenever he pleases the favours he bestows on his "creatures. In Him I trust, O Commander of the Faithful! for He is the refuge of those "who are accused of crimes which they never committed, and who are threatened with "chastisement which they do not deserve." Suleymán then ordered Músa to be exposed to the sun, and his commands were immediately executed: he was left standing under a broiling sun; and as he was subject to asthma, the excessive heat, together with the fatigue

of many hours' standing, brought on his complaint more fiercely than ever, and he was on the point of being suffocated several times; remaining in that state until 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, whom Suleymán had sent out to see that his orders respecting Músa were punctually executed, came upon the spot, and found him in a swoon. 'Omar is known to have said some time after this,—"I declare I never passed a worse day in all my life; I never was "so sadly afflicted as that day when I saw the old warrior, on whom God had been pleased "to bestow so many favours, after so many battles fought for the cause of God and true "religion, and so many victories won, lie in that miserable plight. I went straight to "Suleymán, and when he saw me he said, 'What is the meaning of this, O Abú Hafs?[60] "I really think that thou also wishest to deny me obedience.'"—'Omar says, "I thought the "opportunity a favourable one, and said to him, O Commander of the Faithful! Músa is an "infirm old man, he is subject to an asthma, and, by Allah! thou wilt be the cause of his "death; I have come to implore thy pardon for him: consider that the old warrior has "fought long and bravely for the cause of God and religion, and that he has been the means "of gaining the many victories by which the Moslems have become rich."—'Omar added, "and whoever prevents me from speaking as I do in his favour, I deny him all allegiance, "and I shall hate him for it."—'Omar says, "I was fearful lest I should have gone too far, "and that we should get into a dispute, and he should feel hungry;[61] so when I heard him "say what he afterwards said to me, I praised God, (may His name be praised!) and I be- "came certain that He had inspired him with generous sentiments, and that he began to feel "repentant of what he had done; and so it was, for all of a sudden he exclaimed—'Who "will be security for Músa's future behaviour, if I pardon him?' Then Yezíd Ibn Muhlib, "who was an intimate friend of Músa, and was present at this interview, rose and said, 'I "will be his security, O Commander of the Faithful!'—'Well, then, I take thy security for "Músa, and thou shalt not be treated harshly on account of him.'" Yezíd then went up to Músa with a horse belonging to his son[62] Mokhlid, and made him ride it, and took him away. Some days after this Yezíd contrived to adjust matters between Suleymán and Músa, and the former set him entirely free, on condition of his paying a fine of three millions of dinárs.[63]

The number of Músa's maulis.

They relate, on the authority of an inhabitant of Basrah, that an Arab, living in that city, told them—"The night of the day in which Músa was released by the interference of Yezíd,

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60 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, who succeeded his cousin Suleymán in the Khalifate, took the name of Abú Hafs from one of his sons. See Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 94.

61 The Khalif Suleymán was a second Heliogabalus. According to Al-makín, p. 75, he could eat one hundred pounds weight of food every day, and his courtiers never dared approach him before his meals.

62 و قدم اليه دابة ابنه مخلد It is probable that instead of ابنه مخلد as in the text, ابيه مهلب 'his father Muhlib' is to be read; but as Yezíd might, for aught I know, have had a son called Mokhlid, I have suffered it to remain.

63 حتي افتدي منه بثلاثة الاف الف دينار Lower down (p. lxxxvii) the amount of Músa's fine is stated at four millions and thirty thousand dinárs.

"as they were sitting up late engaged in conversation, the latter asked him, 'O Abú 'Abdi-"r-rahmán! how many *maulis* and adherents hast thou?' 'Many,' replied Músa. 'Will "their number amount to one thousand?' 'Yes,' retorted Músa, 'and thousands of thou-"sands too; they are beyond calculation, for I shall certainly leave behind more *maulis* than "any other man ever did.' 'And how is it,' said Yezíd, 'if what thou tellest me be true, "that thou gavest up so brilliant a position? Why didst thou not remain in the seat of thy "power and the abode of thy glory? why didst thou not send by means of messengers that "which thou didst bring in person? Hadst thou done so, we should have been satisfied with "thy presents, and overlooked thy disobedience, and thy affairs would not have come to the "evil plight in which they now are.' 'By Allah!' replied Músa, 'had my intention been "such, you would never have seen a single thing of the many treasures you have received "from Andalus, never until the last day of judgment; but I swear to God, that it never "entered my mind to deny obedience to the Khalif, and desert the cause of the people.'" The author of this tradition adds,—That when Yezíd took leave of Músa to go home, the latter made a sign to the company and exclaimed, "By Allah! had I had Abú Khâled's [64] "good sense, I should not be reduced to this condition."

[I have omitted the translation of a chapter entitled "The wonderful things which Músa saw in the West," because, though very interesting in itself, it contains no historical information].

Suleymán questions Músa about Maghreb.

The author says,—And they relate, on the authority of Mohammed [65] Ibn Suleymán, that Suleymán Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek said once to Músa, "Whom didst thou appoint to command in "thy name in Andalus?" "My son 'Abdu-l-'azíz," said Músa. "And who is thy lieutenant "in Africa proper, Tangiers, and Sús?" inquired Suleymán. "My son 'Abdullah," answered Músa. "Thou seemest to me to entertain a very favourable idea of thy sons, since thou "didst appoint them to such trusts," replied Suleymán. The same individual above mentioned, Mohammed Ibn Suleymán, says that Músa answered Suleymán in these words: "O "prince of the believers! who is there in thy dominions who can boast of having sons more "accomplished than mine? My son Merwán brought Ludherik, the King of Andalus, "captive; my son 'Abdullah brought the Kings of Mallorca, Menorca, Sicily, and Sardinia; "my son Merwán brought the King of Sús-al-aksá; and they shared between them the "cities and the countries, bringing innumerable captives. Who can after this boast of "better sons, O prince of the believers!"—upon which Suleymán appeared angry, and said to Músa, "Dost thou really mean to say that the prince of the believers has no advantage "over thee on this account?" "The case of the prince of the believers," said Músa, "is "above all others; every thing is subordinate to him, and all are to obey his power and "authority."

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64 Abú Khâled was Yezíd's surname.

65 This Mohammed Ibn Suleymán seems to have been one of the sons of that Khalif, for I find in the *Kitábu-l-khamís*, by Diyárbekrí, that Suleymán left a son of that name.

Various other opinions current upon Suleymán's treatment of Músa.

They say,—When Suleymán succeeded his brother Al-walíd in the Khalifate, he was greatly incensed against Al-hejáj and against Músa, towards whom he had conceived great enmity, for things which it would be too long for us to relate here; he had, therefore, sworn their execution whenever he should get them into his hands. One day, accordingly, Suleymán sent for his brother 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, and said to him, "I shall have Músa crucified "to-morrow;"—upon which 'Omar immediately sent for Músa, and when in his presence said to him, "O son of Nosseyr! I love thee for four things. First, I love thee on account "of thy praiseworthy actions in the cause of God and religion, and thy brilliant exploits "against his enemies. Secondly, I love thee because thou art a Moslem, and followest "strictly the precepts of our Prophet, (may God's blessing and salutation be on him!) "Thirdly, I love thee because of the affection and esteem thou hast always shown for 'Iyádh "Ibn 'Okbah, knowing the regard I entertained for him. ('Iyádh was a very honest and "religious man.) Fourthly, I love thee because of the great favour thou didst always enjoy "with my father 'Abdu-l-'azíz, and the many benefits he conferred upon thee, and I now "wish to follow his example, and add a new favour to the sum of his favours. Owing to the "above-mentioned reasons I come to tell thee how I have this very moment heard the prince "of the believers say that he intended to have thee crucified to-morrow, and I now come to "warn thee of thy danger, that thou mayest consult thy safety, since it is incumbent upon "thee to do so." And Músa said to him, "I have already done so, and my determination is "taken; I place myself entirely in thy hands." And 'Omar replied, "Very well, if pardon "is to be obtained for thee, it shall be at my hands; those whom I love may safely rely on "me." Músa then retired and went home; he washed and perfumed himself, and sat quietly waiting for his execution, for he doubted not but that he would be crucified in the course of that day. It was then summer time, and the heat was intense; presently, when noon came, and the sun was at the highest, in walked Suleymán's officers and took him to the Khalif's presence. Músa was a very aged and corpulent man; he was subject to an asthma which troubled him much. Arrived in the presence of the Khalif, Músa stood humbly before him, when Suleymán began to rail at him and upbraid him. Músa then said, "By Allah! O "prince of the believers! is this my desert? Is this the reward of a man who, like myself, "has been so meritorious in the service of God, and who has, through his exertions, been "the cause of pouring boundless wealth on the Moslems,—of a man who has so faithfully and "honourably served thy ancestors?" And Suleymán said to him, "Thou liest! may God kill "me if I do not put thee to death, and cause thee to be crucified." After many sayings on both sides, Músa exclaimed, "By Allah! those who are underneath the earth are dearer to "me than those who are upon it." "Whom dost thou mean?" replied Suleymán in a violent rage. "I mean," said Músa, "thy brothers Merwán, 'Abdu-l-malek, and Al-walíd, "and thy uncle 'Abdu-l-'azíz." Hearing this, Suleymán was on the point of bursting with rage; he then repeated again, "May God kill me if I do not put thee to death!" And Músa said, "My destiny is in the hands of God. I expect no mercy at the hands of the prince of

"the believers. But if God has decreed that I should live, all his anger is to no purpose." "Wretch!" said Suleymán, and he gave orders for Músa's exposure; and Músa was exposed to a scorching sun until his blood was heated and his strength exhausted. Some time afterwards Suleymán turned towards 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, and said to him, "O 'Omar! I "shall not be satisfied unless thou go out and see that my orders are faithfully executed." And 'Omar seized the opportunity and went out, as I have elsewhere related, for he afterwards said to the person from whom I hold this narrative, "I was unwilling to draw on "myself the ill-will of the Arabian tribes, who were all, to a man, the friends of Músa, by "not interfering warmly in his favour;" so, when 'Omar returned, he said to the Khalif, "Forgive him, O prince of the believers! He is a weak old man, exhausted by fatigue and "the asthma under which he is suffering; and if he remain longer in that state I expect to "find him dead when I return." These words made some impression upon Suleymán, who, turning towards the counsellors who were sitting with him, said, "Whoever will take this "[order] shall deliver Músa from his present situation, upon the surrender of all these "treasures." Then Yezíd Ibn Muhlib rose from his seat and said, "I will, O Commander of "the Faithful!" "Take it, then," said Suleymán; "I grant thee his life; but mind, I do "not intend to remit the punishment of his two sons, Merwán and 'Abdu-l-'ala."[66] Yezíd then went out with the Khalif's order, and, having released Músa, made him mount his own horse, and took him to his house, where he treated him kindly, and administered to him such remedies as he stood in need of. He then said to him, "Thou art free on these "conditions, but leave the rest in my hands, and I shall satisfy the Commander of the "Faithful as to his decree respecting thee and thy two sons; give me thy instructions, and I "will be the bearer of thy answer." And Músa said to him, "Since thou art the principal "manager in this business, and hast offered thyself a security for me, I shall in no manner "interfere in thy arrangements with the prince of the believers; had any one but thee taken "in hand this affair, I would willingly have died, and surrendered my soul to God, rather "than give up to him one single *dirhem* of my money; but since matters stand thus, I am "ready to abide by thy agreement." He then turned towards his two sons who were in the room and said to them, "My sons, prepare to suffer, and may God help you and your "father;" and they answered, "We shall."

On the morning of the next day Yezíd went to the palace and told Suleymán how Músa had agreed to abide by his sentence. Músa was then ordered to the presence of the Khalif, and when admitted said to him, "Did I not tell thee that unless the Almighty decreed it, "thou wouldst never accomplish my execution;" upon which Suleymán said to him, "Thyself and thy two sons are in my power until the sentence issued against thee be fully "accomplished, and the whole of thy fine delivered into the hands of my treasurers."— And Músa said to him, "May thy will be done, O Commander of the Faithful! only grant "me four things, and thine are all my riches." "And what are they?" exclaimed Suleymán.

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66. These two sons of Músa, who were with him at Damascus, could only be Merwán, who was afterwards killed in battle in Spain, and 'Abdu-l-'ala; for his two other sons, 'Abdullah and 'Abdu-l-'azíz, had been intrusted by their father,—the former with the government of Africa, the latter with that of Spain. Neither is it easy to guess why Suleymán should be offended with them.

" Firstly, not to remove my son 'Abdullah from his government of Eastern Africa and the " adjacent countries for a space of two years to come; secondly, not to remove my son " 'Abdu-l-'azíz from the government of Andalus; thirdly, that all the plunder taken from " the infidels by my two sons shall not be confiscated, but given to me; and to deliver into " my hands the person and the property of my *mauli* Tárik: upon these conditions I am " prepared to abide by thy sentence, and to deliver into thy hands all my treasures." Suleymán then replied,—" As to thy request that I should suffer thy sons, 'Abdullah and " 'Abdu-l-'azíz, to remain in command of their respective governments for two years, I grant " it; as to my delivering into thy hands thy freedman Tárik, in order that thou mayest freely " dispose of his person and property, that I cannot accede to, for it would be a sad reward for " a man who has behaved so honestly towards the Commander of the Faithful. No! Thou " shalt not punish him, neither shall I make thee the master of his treasures." Músa then paid down the sums asked by Suleymán; and, having received a written discharge, was suffered to go whither he pleased.

The following is a transcript of the sentence issued against Músa.

This is the sentence imposed by the servant of God, Suleymán, Commander of the Faithful, on Músa, the son of Nosseyr; namely:—" That the said Músa shall pay into the hands of " Suleymán, or of his collectors, the sum of four millions and thirty thousand gold dinárs, of " good weight. The Commander of the Faithful has already received one hundred thousand " dinárs on account of the above sum; but, as the remainder is still unpaid, the Commander " of the Faithful grants Músa a term during which a messenger shall be dispatched to " Andalus to procure the said sum from his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz: the messenger will present the " order to 'Abdu-l-'azíz, and wait one month for its fulfilment; at the expiration of which " time, without waiting one day more, he is to return with or without the money, and go to " Africa, and do the same with his son 'Abdullah. Músa shall not consider as part of the " payment of that fine the sums which he may have collected in his various governments " since Suleymán's accession to the throne, whether proceeding from the capitation-tax " paid by the infidels, or from the ransom of cities threatened with the sword, or from " any spoil gained on the field of battle; since all those sums the Commander of the " Faithful considers as his own, and takes possession of them. And when the said Músa " has paid down the sums of money specified in this letter, and for the final payment of " which the Commander of the Faithful grants him a month's time, as above stated, " the said Músa shall be held free, as well as his sons, relations, and *maulis;* they shall " in nowise be molested, nor fined, nor disturbed, but shall, on the contrary, be allowed " to settle and reside where they best like. Whatever governments Músa and his sons by " delegation may hold at the arrival of the messenger sent by the Commander of the Faithful, " there shall be no alteration made in them. The Commander of the Faithful shall not in- " terfere in any manner whatsoever between Músa Ibn Nosseyr and his relations and *maulis,* " and no complaint from the same against Músa shall be listened to; but neither the person " of his freedman Tárik, nor any article of his property, shall be delivered up to Músa.

"Witnesses:—Ayúb, son of the Commander of the Faithful; Dáúd, son of the Commander "of the Faithful; 'Abd . . . . ,[67] son of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Al-walíd; Sa'íd Ibn Kháled; "Ya'ish Ibn Selámah; Kháled Ibnu-r-riyán; 'Omar Ibn 'Abdillah; Yahya Ibn Sa'íd; Al-"'abbás Ibnu-l-walíd; Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek; 'Ammar Ibn Zeyád; 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn 'Ab-"dillah; 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'íd. Written by Ja'far Ibn 'Othmán in Jumáda of the year 97."[68]

When Músa had complied with this sentence, and the amount of his fine had been paid into the royal coffers, for which end Yezíd Ibnu-l-muhlib gave him one hundred thousand dinárs, Suleymán gave orders that neither Músa, nor his sons, nor his security, should be in the least degree molested. In return for his present Músa gave Yezíd a sandal[69] embroidered with pearls, which, when valued, proved to be worth three hundred thousand dinárs. And they say that Yezíd asked Músa one day, "Dost thou know why I said to "the Commander of the Faithful that I would stand security for thee?" and Músa answered, "No, I do not." "I did it," replied Yezíd, "fearing lest some one else should come "forward who was not bound to thee by the same obligations."

[Here follows a chapter entitled "How Músa became a favourite with Yezíd Ibn Muhlib," which I have altogether omitted, as well as three more,—giving an account of the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa;—the series of the Mohammedan governors of Spain;—and the establishment of the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah;—which will find a place in the second volume of this work.]

The questions which Suleymán put to Músa on his doings and his conquests.

They say that Suleymán upon a certain occasion asked Músa the following questions. "What made thee so bold whilst attacking the enemy of God?" "Reliance on his power, "and prayers for his help, O Commander of the Faithful!" answered Músa. "Didst thou "fortify thyself in castles, or surround thy encampments with trenches?" "I did nothing "of the sort," replied Músa. "What then?" inquired Suleymán. "I always fixed my tents "in the plains, that I might judge better of the courage or cowardice of my men; I never had "any fortification but that of the sword, no other help but that of the Almighty, whom I "never ceased to beg and implore to grant me the victory." "Whom among the Arabian "tribes, serving under thy orders, didst thou deem the bravest soldiers?" said Suleymán. "The Arabs of Himyar," answered Músa. "And what horses the fleetest and the best?" "The bays." "And tell me what nations didst thou conquer—who among thy enemies "were the most formidable in battle?" "That is more than I can say, O Commander of the "Faithful! for I had to contend against innumerable nations, all of whom were brave on the "field." "Tell me about the Greeks," retorted Suleymán. "The Greeks," said Músa, "are lions within their castles, eagles on their horses, women in their ships; if they see an

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67 There is a blank in the text; probably 'Abdu-l-malek is intended, for I find further down in the work that Suleymán had a second-cousin thus named.

68 It is not said whether this month of Jumáda is the first or the second of the Mohammedan calendar. The time thus varies from the 13th of December, A.D. 715, to the 10th of February, 716.

69 Roderic's sandal found on the field of battle?

dead." He was soon after buried, and Suleymán said the customary prayer over his body.

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Músa entered Western Africa in the month of Jumáda the first of the year seventy-nine (September, A.D. 698), being then sixty years old. He remained in Eastern Africa sixteen years. He left that country for the East in the year ninety-five (A.D. 713). He died, as we have already stated, in the year 98. His son 'Abdullah governed after him Eastern Africa, Tangiers, and the province of Sús, for two years, until he was deposed at the end of the year 99. His son 'Abdu-l-'azíz was killed in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the same year. May God pour his mercies upon them both! The benediction of the Lord and salutation be on our Prophet Mohammed and those of his family!

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS TRANSLATION OR IN THE NOTES.

The dates of those marked with an asterisk are doubtful.

	A. H.	A. D.
Músa is appointed to the government of Africa on a Thursday of the month of Safar	79	April 18, or 25, or May 2, 9, or 16, 698.
—— arrives in Africa from Egypt on Monday the 24th of Jumáda I.	79	August 7, 698.
—— undertakes an expedition to Zaghwán —— makes war against the tribes of Hawárah, Zenátah, and Kotámah —— subdues the Senhájah	80	beginning March 8, 699, ending February 24, 700.
—— receives reinforcements from Egypt	83	beginning Feb. 3, 702, ending January 22, 703.
—— takes Sejúmá	84	beginning January 23, 703.
—— stays at Cairwán the months of Ramadhán and Shawwál	84	September and October, 703.
—— orders the building of a dock-yard at Túnis—fits out a fleet of one hundred sail	84	January 13, 704.
Arrival of 'Attá Ibn Ráfi' with the Egyptian fleet Expedition to the island of Salsalah—wreck of the fleet 'Abdullah, son of Músa, makes a descent on the coast of Sicily	85	beginning Jan. 13, 704, ending December 31, 704.
Ibn Akhyál lands on the coast of Syracusa, and plunders that city	86	beginning Jan. 1, 705, ending December 21, 705.
'Abdullah Ibn Marrah invades and ravages the island of Sardinia Expedition to Sús-al-aksá 'Abdullah, son of Músa, conquers the island of Mallorca Taking of Ausáf Tárik is dispatched against Tangiers	89	beginning November 30, 707, ending November 18, 708.
* Ilyán lands in Spain	90	October or November, 709.

	A. H.	A. D.
Taríf follows Ilyán in Ramadhán	91	September or October, 710.
Landing of Tárik, 8th Rejeb	92	April 30, 711.
Battle of Xerez—began on the 28th of Ramadhán, protracted till the 5th of Shawwál	92	July 19 to 26, 711.
Taking of Xerez, Ramadhán	92	end of July or beginning of August, 711.
Taking of Ezija	92	August, 711.
Mugheyth takes Cordova in Shawwál	92	end of August, 711.
Granada, Malaga, and Murcia overran by Tárik's lieutenants	92	November or December, 711.
* Arrival of Músa in Jumáda I.	93	March or April, 712.
* Taking of Toledo by Tárik on the 11th of Jumáda II.	93	Palm Sunday, 712.
Taking of Medina-Sidonia by Músa —— Carmona —— Seville —— Beja	93	between March and May, 712.
—— Merida, 1st of Shawwál	93	July 10, 712.
Rebellion at Seville		end of July, 712.
Músa meets Tárik at Talavera, and deprives him of command, at the end of Shawwál	93	beginning of August, 712.
—— takes Saragossa —— invades upper Aragon and Catalonia * Murcia, Malaga, and Granada finally subdued	93	between August, 712, and February, 713.
* Músa makes an incursion into Galicia, in Rejeb	94	April, 713.
—— leaves Spain for Africa in Dhí-l-hajjah	94	August or September, 713.
—— presents himself to the Khalif Al-walíd (forty days before his death) on the 5th of Jumáda	96	February, 715.
* —— is fined by Suleymán, in Jumáda	97	January or February, 716.
—— accompanies him on a pilgrimage to Mekka (in Dhí-l-hajjah?)	97	July or August, 716.
* —— dies	98	September, 716.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 61, line 14. All the copies read distinctly سيرين *Seyrín*, as printed; but there can be no doubt that it is a mistake for سير دين—and that *Seyr* is meant.

Page 102, line 29, read 'predicate.'

Page 142, line 25, read 'Must'arabs.'

Page 176, line 26, read 'Hejáz.'

Page 181, line 22, read 'Nasíj.'

Page 182, line 8, read 'can;' line 15, 'is;' line 16, 'renders;' line 17, add—also 'has' composed.

Page 211, line 16, read '*Kasru-l-háyiri.*'

Page 230, line 9, read 'seventh century.'

Page 245, line 17, read 'were.'

Page 272, line 13, read 'his.'

Page 275, line 8, read 'thus.'

Page 304, line 34, read البحر

Page 305, Note 10. Instead of '*Al-jera'í*' read 'Amín Jelebí;' for the former was merely the transcriber, not the author, of the work therein alluded to.

Page 311, Note 4. In addition to my notice on the life and writings of Ibnu Khaldún, I deem it necessary to state that he must have resided for some time at Granada, for I find that Ibnu-l-khattíb mentions him in his Biographical Dictionary. According to this writer, Ibnu Khaldún wrote a treatise on logic for the use of Yúsuf Ibn Isma'íl, King of Granada, with whom he rose high in favour. There is in the Escurial Library, No. 1609, a work on special jurisprudence, bearing the date of A.H. seven hundred and fifty-two (A.D. 1351), and written by Ibnu Khaldún himself; where he takes the patronymic "Al-gharnáttí."

Page 320, Note 36. There can be no doubt that *Majma'u-l-bahreyn* is here meant; but I am not aware of any promontory on the coast of Galicia being so called by the Arabian geographers. Idrísí, whom I have consulted, states no such thing; on the contrary, he says that the spot called *Majma'u-l-bahreyn* (the meeting of the two seas) was close to Gibraltar, where the junction of the Ocean and Mediterranean takes place.

Page 321, line 30, read 'is not literally transcribed.'

Page 332, line 1, read 'Josef.'

Page 349, Note 75. Since this note was written I have found in the library of the British Museum, among the Rich MSS. (No. 7483), a copy of the work here cited. The title, as there written, is مَبَاهِج الفِكَر و مَنَاهِج العِبَر It is divided into two parts, each composed of nine chapters, treating of the globe, the planets, the seasons; the seas, rivers, and mountains; the mineral productions peculiar to each country, &c. A short but valuable description of the inhabited world, divided into climates, is given also in one of the chapters of the second part. It is a quarto volume, plainly written in the Eastern hand about the middle of the last century: according to the superscription, it was transcribed from a copy executed in A.H. nine hundred and seventy-three (A.D. 1566-7).

Page 376, line 9, read الاماني

Page 382, Note 17. After this note was written I met in one of my manuscripts with a passage, which at once shows me

the origin of the tradition recorded by Ibnu Bashkúwál. It is the history of the Mohammedan conquests under the first three Khalifs, by 'Abu-l-kásim 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Hobaysh. At the end of the chapter treating of the conquest of Africa, I find these remarkable words: و عن محمد و طلحة قالا و ارسل عثمان عبد

الله بن نافع بن الحصين و عبد الله بن نافع بن عبد القيس من فورهما ذلك من افريقية الي

الاندلس فاتياها من قبل البحر و كتب عثمان رحمه الله الي من اقبل الي الاندلس امابعد ان

القسطنطنية انما تفتح من قبل الاندلس و انكم ان ها تفتحو كنتم شركاً من فتحها في الاجر و السلام

" And they say, on the authority of Mohammed and Tolhah, that immediately after this [the taking of Ifrikiyyah] 'Othmán " sent 'Abdullah Ibn Náfi' Ibni-l-hassín and 'Abdullah Ibn Náfi' Ibn 'Abdi-l-kays from Ifrikiyyah to Andalus, which country " they attacked from the sea. And 'Othmán (the mercy of God be upon him!) wrote to them at the time, ' Know ye that " Constantinople shall be conquered by people from Andalus; therefore, if you subdue that country, you shall participate in " the rewards promised to those who will conquer that city.' "

Page 383, line 10, read ' Florez.'

Page 390, Note 28. I believe that the word *al-ma'tisisá*, the meaning of which I have looked for in vain, is nothing more than the word مغنيسيا *maghnisiá* by a misplacement of the points.

Page 394, Note 3. The entire name of the geographer Ibn Haukal was Abú-l-kásim Mohammed Ibn Haukal An-nassíbí.

Page 439, Note 102. Instead of the first verse as it is there printed, read

أُخ الرِجَالَ مِنَ الأَبَاعِدِ ∴ و الأَقَارِبَ لا تَقَارَبْ

' Make thyself the brother of men who are strangers to thee; but never approach thy own relatives, for,' &c.

Page 451, Note 22. I find the title of this work differently written by the various writers I have consulted. Al-makkarí, in the life of that author (fo. 150), gives it thus: المُعَرِب في اخبار محاسن اهل المغرب—Hájí Khalfah المُعْرِب في تاريخ اهل المغرب—and Kheyr Ibn Khalífah المُعْرِب عن سيرة ملوك المغرب. All, however, agree that it was the composition of Alisa' or Al-yasa' Ibn 'Isa Ibn Hazm Ibn Alisa' Al-gháfekí. But I was not aware at the time I wrote this note that Ibn Alisa' died in five hundred and seventy-five (A.D. 1179), and therefore that Ibn Hazm, who preceded him by nearly one century, could never have alluded to a work of his; whence I conclude that there must be two histories of the Mohammedan settlements in the West bearing the same title: one the composition of Ibn Alisa', who died in A.H. 575, the other written much before that time; since it is mentioned by the author of the epistle, whose death took place in A.H. 426.

Page 464, Note 134. The title of Az-zahráwí's work might as well, perhaps better, be rendered by ' ample permission (of borrowing) for those who cannot compose works on medicine.'

Page 530, line 5, read بلاد

Page xxvii, line 14, read العرب

Page xxxix, line 13, read الاندلسي

Page li, line 5, read ' Abdullah.'

Notwithstanding the great attention which the translator has given to the spelling of proper names and titles of Arabic works, some unavoidable mistakes have been committed, chiefly in cases when the words were susceptible of various pronunciations. In the eye of an Oriental scholar these are not, properly speaking, errors; but as the reader unacquainted with the languages of Asia might be startled by finding a proper name or the title of a book spelt in two different ways, the following list of corrections should be attended to.

Al-jauf, page 23, line 12.

Al-khazreji, page 193, line 38; page 404, line 30. Appendix, page xlii, line 14; page xliii, line 1.

Al-mas'hab, page 91.
Al-mugh'rib, page 84, line 18; page 95, line 7; page 195, line 4; page 196, line 2.
Al-mush'rik, page 84, line 23; page 95, line 7.
Al-wáfí bi-l-wafiyyát, page 339, line 35.
As-safadí, page 339, line 33; page 340, line 17; page 474, line 14; page 479, line 35. Appendix, page li, line 21.
As-senhájí, page 130.
Bigh'yatu-l-multamis, page 312, line 35; page 440, line 8.
Dhí-n-nún, pages 46, 126, 354.
Farej, page 311, line 10.
Háfedh, page 150, line 30.
Hayátu-l-haywán, page 391, line 18; page 410, line 25; page 434, line 19.
Jumáda, page 242, line 9; page 304, line 25; page 310, line 8; page 331, line 19. Appendix, page l, line 20; page lvi, line 14.
Ja'ráfiyyah, page 71, line 21; page 73, line 17; page 78, line 19; page 81, line 18; page 89, line 25.
Jebal, page 58, line 32; page 364, line 25.
Khazrejí, page 536, line 10.
Khazrejiyyah, page 404, line 33.
Kheyr, page 404, line 35.
Mattmahu-l-anfus, page 195, lines 8, 14; page 245, line 23; page 436, line 14.
Reyhánu-l-lebáb, page 519, line 12; page 526, line 39; page 527, lines 16, 39.
Sáhibi, page 327, line 1.
Sháfi', page 178, line 12; page 183, lines 22, 30; 317, line 3. Appendix, page i, line 14.
Thimáru-l-kolúb fí-l-mudháf, &c., page 330, line 13; page 331, line 32.
Ummu-s-sa'd, page 161, line 35.
Wáda, page 48, line 19; page 52, line 19; page 53, line 10; page 55, line 13; page 271, line 5.
Yúsuf, page 36, lines 21, 24, 28, 29, 30; page 37, lines 1, 7, 8; page 84, line 3.

END OF VOL. I.

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